

1555. *Townson.* some Darts, and various Instruments of Iron to make their Boats, besides other Utensils; the Women labouring as well as the Men. Divers of the Women, to divert their Visitants, danced, and sung after their Manner, which was not very agreeable to the Ear. Their Song was, *Sakere, Sakere, ho, ho, Sakere, Sakere, ho, ho!* Leaping and clapping their Hands all the while. They saw no Cattle or other Animals among them; except two Goats, some little Dogs, and small Hens.

*Manner of Traffick.* AFTER they had gratified their Curiosity, they returned aboard. Which the Captain of the first Town perceiving, sent two of his Servants in a Boat, with a Basket of Grains; who, by Signs, invited them to come again, when they had slept, into their River, promising Plenty of that Commodity; a Sample of which, they shewed the English.

ACCORDINGLY, the seventeenth in the Morning, Mr. *Townson* sent the Master on Shore, with the rest of the Merchants. When they got into the River, the Captain, with others, came and brought Grains. Not seeing *Townson* there, he made Signs to know where he was; and being answered, that he was on Ship-board, he asked, who was the *Diago*, or Captain? For so they call theirs: And they pointed to the Master of the Ship. Then he began to shew his Grains; but held them so dear, and at the same Time had so small a Quantity, that they took but fifty Pound Weight of them, and came away.

*Fully employed.* THEN going ashore at the little Town, where they were the Day before, one of the Company plucked a Gourd: Which so offended the Negros, that many of them came with their Darts and great Targets, and made Signs to them to depart; which they did, having but one Bow, and two or three Swords. As soon as they got on board, the Ships set Sail. But the Wind being off the Sea, they could not get clear of certain Rocks; and therefore cast Anchor again.

*Tide here.* THIS River of *St. Vincent* ebbs and flows every twelve Hours, but never considerably; the greatest Ebb while they were there, having been one Fathom and an half.

*Strange Trees.* THIS Country, as far as they could perceive, was quite covered with Trees, different from those of *Europe*, and of many Sorts; with great Leaves, like the Dock, taller than any Man is able to reach.

*Pulse and Vegetables.* THERE are certain Pease by the Sea-side, having very great and tall Stalks; one of which the Captain measured, and found twenty-seven Paces long: They grow upon the Sand like Trees, and so near the Sea, that sometimes it floweth into the Woods, as they might perceive by the Water-marks. In this Place the Trees, and all other Vegetables are continually green: Likewise the Wind blows all Day off the Sea, and all

Vol. I. N<sup>o</sup> 7.

a Night off the Land, which the Master wondered at; but it varied sometimes.

THIS Night, at nine o'Clock, the Wind springing up at East (which ordinarily about that Time blew North North-West from Shore) they weighed, and hauled off, but the next Morning hauled in again to Land, and each Ship took in six Tuns of Water.

MR. *Townson* could not perceive that there was Gold here, or any thing else of Value; the People being so wild and idle, that they minded nothing. They might gather Plenty of Grains, if they would take Pains; but he could not perceive two Tuns in all the Place. There are some Fowls in the Country, but the People will not be at the Trouble to catch them. The following Words is a Specimen of their Language.

|                         |                      |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Bezow, bezow,</i>    | Is their Salutation. |
| <i>Manegate a foye,</i> | Grains enough.       |
| <i>Krakow a foye,</i>   | Hens enough.         |
| <i>Zeramme a foye?</i>  | Have you enough?     |
| <i>Begge sakke,</i>     | Give me a Knife.     |
| <i>Begge kome,</i>      | Give me Bread.       |
| <i>Borke,</i>           | Hold your Peace.     |
| <i>Koutrekke</i>        | Ye lye               |
| <i>Verde,</i>           | Put forth, or empty. |
| <i>Brekeke,</i>         | Row.                 |
| <i>Diago,</i>           | Their Captain, and   |

some call him *Dabo*, They speak very thick, and often repeat the same Word three Times together, the last Time longest.

THE eighteenth, toward Night, as they were sailing along the Coast, they met with certain Boats, which informed them, that in a River opposite to them, there were Grains to be sold. But they would not go thither, lest the *Hind* should get before them. This River hath lying before it, three great and five small Rocks; and on its Bank stand a great and little Tree. They hauled this Night, along the Coast, ten Leagues.

THE nineteenth, as they coasted the Shore, about twelve o'Clock, there came out three Boats to tell them, that they had Grains, and brought some for a Sample: But not coming to stay, they proceeded and anchored by the Shore all Night, having ran this Day ten Leagues.

THE twentieth, the *Hind*, having anchored by them among the Rocks, and in foul Ground, lost a small Anchor. At Noon, as they passed along, there came a Negro, shewing Signs, that if they would go ashore they should have Grains. Where they anchored at Night, there came others with Grains, which they shewed them, and made Signs that they should tarry. In the Night also, they lighted a Fire upon the Land, to direct them where to put ashore: The like was done in divers other Places upon the Coast, where the Natives saw them anchor.

EVER

X

1555.  
Townson  
Tides and  
Shore.

EVER since they left the Watering-place, they found the Tide running to Westward; and the Coast ranged with Rocks close to the Shore, besides many, a League or more distant. They ran this Day twelve Leagues.

THE twenty-first, although they had a brisk Gale all Day, yet the Tides came so strong from the Coast, that they were not able to run above six Leagues. Some Negros came to them, as at other Times.

THE twenty-second, they ran all Day and Night to double the Point *das Palmas*, in the whole, sixteen Leagues.

Cape das  
Palmas.

THE twenty-third, about three o'Clock, they were thwart of the Point; and, before they passed the Westermost Part of it, saw a great Ledge of Rocks, which lie about three Leagues West of it, and one, or more, from Land. Shortly after, they had Sight of the Eastermost Part of the Cape, which lies four Leagues from the Westermost Part; and upon the very Corner thereof lie two green Plots like Pastures. Likewise to the West of the Cape the Land parts from it, as it were a Bay, whereby it may be easily known. Four Leagues beyond, there appears a Head-land; and about two Leagues farther, the Coast makes a great Bay, like the Mouth of a River; before which they cast Anchor, and stayed all Night for fear they should over-run a River, where the last Year<sup>a</sup> they had all their Elephants Teeth.

BETWEEN this Cape *das Palmas* (which lieth in four Degrees and a half) and the River *de Sestos*, is the greatest Plenty of Grains; but being past the Cape, there is no great Store to be had.

THIS Day they sailed about sixteen Leagues, and found at Night, that the Tide, which before ran always Westward, from this Cape runs to the Eastward.

THE twenty-fourth being under Sail, about eight o'Clock, there came certain Boats, bringing small Eggs, which were soft without Shells; and they made them Signs, that within Land there was fresh Water, and Goats. The Master thinking it was the River which they sought, cast Anchor, and sent the Boat ashore, with one who knew the River. Finding it was not the same, the Boat came back, and, with Oars and Sail, went along Shore. The *Hart* weighing, did the like, and being thirteen Leagues beyond the Cape, the Master thought he saw the River, when indeed they were two Miles past it: Yet the Boat came from Shore, and those in her said

Eggs without  
Shells.

a there was no River. Notwithstanding, they cast Anchor, and the Master going into the Bay, with the Captain and five Men, went upon the Search, and when they came near the Shore, he perceived it was the River<sup>b</sup> they sought for. They found the Entrance very difficult, the Sea running high. But as soon as they were in, divers Boats came and shewed that they had Elephants Teeth, whereof they bought one of about eight Pound, and a little one of a Pound. Then the Negros brought more Teeth to the River-side, making Signs, that if they would come next Day, they might have more. They gave two of their Captains a Manillio each, and returning aboard, sent the *Hind's* Boat to another Place, where certain Boats that came from Shore made Signs that there was fresh Water. When they got to Land, they found a Town but no River. Yet the People brought them fresh Water, and shewed them an Elephant's Tooth, making Signs, that the next Day they would sell them Teeth enough.

1555.  
Townson.  
Bay and  
Town.

THE Chart places this River thirteen Leagues from Cape *das Palmas*. To the West of it there lies a Rock about a League off at Sea, and the River itself hath a Point of Land, where grow five Trees; which may be easily discerned two or three Leagues off to the Westward: But the River cannot be perceived till one is hard by it. There is a little Town on each Side, and each Town has a Captain. The River is but small, but the Water is good and fresh.

Signs of the  
River.

Two Miles beyond the River, where the other Town is, there thrusts out another Point, which is green, like a Pasture; and upon it not above six Trees, which stand at some Distance one from the other, whereby the Coast may be known: For the Captain had not seen so much bare Land before.

IN this Place, and three or four Leagues to the Westward, there grow Palm-trees along the Shore, whereof they make their Wine *de Palma*. These Trees may be easily discovered almost two Leagues off, being very high, white and strait; the biggest standing in the Middle. They have no Boughs, but only a round Bush at Top, where they bore a Hole, and hang a Bottle to receive the Juice which runs out of the Hole, and that is their Wine.

FROM Cape *das Palmas*, to Cape *Tres Puntas*, there are 100 Leagues; and from Cape *Tres Puntas*, to the Port where they purposed to sell their Cloth, forty Leagues.

THE Language of this Place, as far as Mr.

The Language  
of this Place.

<sup>a</sup> That was 1554: From which Circumstance, and several others in this Journal, it appears, that Mr *Townson* had made the Voyage before; whether with Mr *Lok*, or others, is uncertain. <sup>b</sup> This seems to be *Talo* Village, and the River that of *San Pedro*. 'Tis a great Fault of this Journal, that the Names of the Places they touched at, are seldom mentioned.

**1655.** *Townson.* ~~Townson~~ could perceive, differs not much from a the Language of that where they watered before; but the People were more civilized and comely. As to the Building and Apparel of one and the other, there was no Difference. Here they were fondest of Manillios and Margarites; having no Esteem for the rest of the Things.

*Swear by the Sea.* ABOUT nine o'Clock, there came Boats from both Places, with Teeth; and after they had made Mr. *Townson* swear by the Water of the Sea, that he would not hurt them, three or four ventured into the Ship. Such Victuals as were on board being set before them, they eat and drank very heartily. Afterwards the *English* bought all their Teeth, which were fourteen, ten of which were small. At their going away they made Signs for them to come to their Towns next Day.

*Trade for Teeth.* THE Towns lying three Miles asunder, the twenty-sixth, to avoid losing Time, Mr. *Townson* dispatched the Master, and two Merchants, to one of them, and went himself, with a Merchant to the other; carrying some of every Sort of Goods, and bought twenty small Teeth, at both Places. In their Absence, the Master of the *Hind* had twelve Teeth on board, in Exchange for Manillios; and this was all their Stock, except a small Goat at one Place, and five little Hens at the other, which they bought also; and then returning on board, by one o'Clock, set Sail, and went eighteen Leagues, still within Sight of Land.

## S E C T. III.

*Red Cliffs.* Winds differ from those in other Places. Cape Tres Puntas. Coast on each Side of it Boats come off to trade. Town half demolished by the Portuguese. The Captain thereof. His State and Dress. Manufactures of the Place, and Weapons of the Inhabitants.

*Red Cliffs.* THE twenty-eighth, the Wind varying, they stood out to Sea. Then changing again, they returned towards Land, which appeared like a great red Cliff, round, but not very high; and East of that a smaller, behind which was a round Hummock, and Green, which they took to be Trees. They ran, in twenty-four Hours, not above four Leagues.

THE twenty-ninth, drawing near Shore, they perceived a large Grove of Trees on the Top of the great red Cliff; and Cliffs of the same Colour to the West of it; as far as they could see, which, as well as the Shore, were covered with Trees: They could see no Cliffs to the East, except one near it, and a Mile off a River. This Day and Night's Run was twelve Leagues.

By the Reports of the People, and of those who have been at this Place before, the Winds they met with here were contrary to what is usual on the Coast; blowing North off the Land, in the Night, and from the South off the Sea in the Day-time, that is, commonly North-West and South-West.

THE thirty-first, they sailed Northward along the Shore, which is low and full of Wood, without any Rocks. This Morning the Natives came out a fishing, in greater Boats than they had seen before (though of the same Shape) some holding five Men. About three o'Clock in the Afternoon, they had Sight of a Town by the Sea-side, which the Pilots judged to be twenty-five Leagues West of Cape *Tres Puntas*.

THE third of *January*, in the Morning, they fell with the Cape, and in the Night (as the Pilots said) passed by one of the *Portuguese* Castles, eight Leagues to the West. The Cape, when first seen, appeared very high Land, grown over with Trees. Coming near it, they perceived two Head-lands, with two Bays between, directly facing the West [of the three Capes.] The middle Cape is not above one League distant from the Western, although the Cards [or Charts] make it three Leagues. Right before the middle Cape lies a small Rock so near, that it cannot be distinguished from it, unless one be near the Shore. This Cape has a great Heap of Trees upon it; and being beheld from the Eastward, there riseth hard by it a round green Hummock. The third Cape (about a League beyond the middlemost) is a High-land like to the other two, and betwixt them cometh out a little Point of Land, with several Rocks close to the Shore.

EIGHT Leagues before they came to the Capes, the Land bore South-East and by East, and being past the Capes, it ran in again East North-East. About two Leagues beyond the farthest Cape there is a low Glade, two Miles long, after which the Land riseth high again, and divers Head-lands rise one beyond another; at the first of which lie several Rocks. The middlemost Cape extends farthest South, or into the Sea: So that it may be seen far off from the East, rising with two small Rocks.

THIS Day they anchored for fear of overshooting a Town called *St. John's*, and ran not above eight Leagues. In the Afternoon there came a Boat from Shore, with five Men in her; and went along by them, as they thought, to observe the Flags: But they would not come near them, and after a while went back.

THE fourth, in the Morning, they spied a Ledge of Rocks by the Shore; and to the West, two great green Hills joining together, with a

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps this was Fort *San Antonio*, at the Mouth of the River *Axim*, or *Ashim*.

1555. Hollow between, like a Saddle. The Master a  
Townson. judged the afore-named Town stood within those  
Rocks; but having sent the Boats, with Goods,  
they found none.

ABOUT two Leagues, East of the two Hills,  
a Ledge of Rocks lie out in the Sea almost two  
Miles; and beyond that a great Bay, which run-  
neth in North North-East, as the Coast doth: But  
the farthest Point of Land they could see bore  
North-East by East.

Boats come  
out to trade.

BEYOND the uttermost Head-land they saw b  
a great red Cliff, which the Master taking for  
St. John's Town, went thither with the Boat,  
and found a Town on the Top of the Hill;  
from whence the People waved a Cloth for him  
to come in, there being a fair Bay to the East of  
the Cliff. After waiting a good Space, they sent  
a Boat, with a Piece of Gold to shew, about  
half a Crown Weight; and required to know the  
Measure and Weights the *English* used, that they  
might inform their Captain. Having given them c  
a Measure of two Ells, and a Weight of two  
Angels, they went away, and presently came  
with a Measure of two Ells, one Quarter and  
half, and one Crusado Weight of Gold; making  
Signs that so much they would give for the like  
Measure, and less they would not have. Find-  
ing after an Hour's waiting, that they could do  
no otherwise, and understanding withal, that  
the best Places were before them; they departed  
and ran along the Shore, the Boat going a-head, d  
and having sailed about a League, passed a Point  
with a Ledge of Rocks before it: Beyond which  
the Master spied a Place, which he said positive-  
ly was the Town of Don John, and so it proved.  
Night coming on, they anchored as near  
it as they could. Next Morning they perceived  
it to be the same Town indeed <sup>a</sup>, and manned  
the Boats and went thither, letting fall their  
Grapnel about a Base-shot from Shore. Here  
they waited two Hours, and no Boats came near  
them: For it seems, the Year before, the *Portu-  
guese* took a Man from them, and then drove  
them from the Place, with their Guns demolish-  
ing one half of their Town. Hereupon the  
*Hind's* Boat went into the Bay, which lieth to  
the East of it, and found a fine River. After  
this the People waved to them to come in: Which  
done, the *Negros* came down, and made them  
Signs that they had Gold. But none would ven-  
ture on board the Boats, probably because they f  
had none of their own which the *Portugals* might  
have spoiled: For the *English* being well armed,  
thrust the Boats Heads ashore; and then the Cap-  
tain, who was a grave Man, came with his Dart  
in his Hand, followed by six tall Men with Darts

A Town.

The Chief.

and Targets: The Darts were all of Iron, hand- 1558  
some and well pointed. After them came another, carrying the Captain's Stool <sup>b</sup>. The *Eng-  
lish* having saluted him, by taking off their Caps,  
and bowing: He, like one who thought much of  
himself, did not move his Cap, nor scarce his  
Body, but sat him down very solemnly upon his State,  
his Stool. As to his Attendants, they put off  
their Caps and bowed.

He was clothed, from the Waist downwards, And Habit.  
with a Cloth of that Country Manufacture wrap-  
ped about him, and made fast with a Girdle.  
His Cap was also of that Country Cloth: He  
went bare-legged and bare-footed, as well as  
naked upward.

SOME of his Servants were dressed like him-  
self, others had nothing but a Cloth betwixt  
their Legs, made fast behind and before to their  
Girdles; with Caps of Skins, some like a Basket,  
and some like a great wide Purse.

ALL their Cloth, Cords, Fishing-lines, and Manufac-  
the like, are made of the Bark of certain Trees, <sup>tu</sup>  
which they manufacture very neatly. They  
likewise work Gold very well, and make curious  
Implements of Iron, as Darts, Fish, and other, <sup>Wares</sup>  
Hooks, Iron Heads, and great two-edged Dag-  
gers, some of them as long as a Wood-knife,  
exceeding sharp, and bent, after the Manner of  
*Turky* Blades, which most of them have hang-  
ing at their left Side.

THEIR Targets are made also of Bark, and Targets and  
very closely wrought: They are besides very <sup>Bows</sup>  
large, and as to Form, square somewhat long-  
er than broad; so that kneeling down, they  
cover their whole Body. Their Bows are short,  
and pretty strong; it being as much as a Man  
can do to draw them with one of his Fingers:  
The String is of Bark, made flat, and about a  
quarter of an Inch broad. As for their Arrows,  
they were wrapped up close; and the Author,  
being busy, could not spare Time to look at  
them.

#### SECT. IV

Traffic at this Place. Their Cunning in Dealing.  
Plenty of Gold. Portuguese Designs against the  
English. The latter accused of carrying off *Neg-  
ros*. Caution in Sailing. Language. Castle  
del Mina. Don John's Town. Portuguese  
attack the English, who sail away. Don Villo's  
and other Towns.

M R. Townson sent the Captain two Ells of Traffic bare.  
Cloth, and two Basons, as a Present.  
He sent back for a Weight of the same Measure;  
but would not take a Weight of two Angels,

<sup>a</sup> Yet there must either have been two Towns of Don John, or this was not it: For we find it afterwards  
more to the East.

<sup>b</sup> This is a great Fashion among the rich *Negros*.

1555. nor suffer the Town to buy any thing but the a  
 Town. brass Basons, not liking the other Wares: So  
 that they sold that Morning seventy-four Basons, for about half an Angel Weight, one with another; and nine white Basons, for a quarter of an Angel each.

Many come to trade. ABOUT two o'Clock the Captain came again, and presented Mr. *Townson* with a Hen, and two great Roots; letting him know, by Signs, that the Country would come to his Town that Night, and bring Plenty of Gold. Accordingly, at b four o'Clock, there came about 100 Men under three Captains, well appointed with their Darts and Bows. When they drew near, they stuck their Darts in the Ground, by the Shore; and the Captains having sat down on Stools brought them, they sent a young Man aboard, who brought a Measure with him of an Ell, one quarter and one sixteenth Part, insisting on having four times that Quantity for a Weight of an Angel and twelve Grains. Mr. *Townson* c offered him two Ells, for two Angels Weight; and at last, when it grew late, he came down to four: But falling no lower, they departed. This Day they took for Basons, six Ounces and a half, and one eighth Part.

Cunning in D. shing. THE sixth, in the Morning, they manned the Boat and the Skiff well, for fear of the *Portuguese*, who, the last Year, had taken a Man from the other Ships, and went on Shore, because the Negros had no Boats to meet the *English*. d They were presently accosted by the same young Man, who seemed to have dealt before with the *Portuguese*; for he could speak that Language a little, and was perfect in Weights and Measures. He offered, as he had done before, one Angel and twelve Grains for four Ells; making Signs, that if they would not take that, they might depart: Which they did, after offering him three Ells of rotten Cloth for that Weight, which he refused. The Ships being e a League off, they sent back again for Sand and Ballast. The Captain perceiving that the Boats brought no Merchandize, and that their Intention was to sail away in earnest, made Signs again, to know if they would not give the four Ells; and when they saw the Boats ready to depart, they came and gave the Weight of the Angel and twelve Grains, which was required before; and made Signs, that if the Boats would come again, they would take three Ells. For f quicker Dispatch, Mr. *Townson*, and *John Savill*, went ashore in one Boat, and the Master, (*John Makeworth*) and *Richard Curligin* in the other: The first took fifty-two Ounces, and the other Boat eight Ounces and a quarter.

Plenty of Gold.

NEXT Day, Mr. *Townson* went ashore again, and took three Pound nineteen Ounces by Noon,

\* See more of this hereafter, p

1555. when they had sold most of the Cloth they carried; and many of the People were departed. Town. Those who remained having made Signs to fetch them some Latten Basons, *Savill* and *Makeworth* went again, and took eighteen Ounces of Gold, and then came away; seeing the People departed at a certain Cry that was made. While they were on Shore, there came on board a young Fellow, who could speak a little *Portuguese*, with three more, to whom Mr. *Townson* sold thirty-nine Basons, and two small white Saucers, for three Ounces, &c. which was the most they made by Basons: And in the Forenoon, the Master sold five Basons to the same Fellow, for half an Ounce of Gold.

THIS Fellow seemed to have been taken by *Portuguese* the *Portuguese*, and escaped from the Castle. For D. fig. he said, they were bad Men, and made them Slaves if they could take them, putting Irons on their Legs. He told them also, that they would hang all the *French* and *English* they could take, (which Names he pronounced very well), that there were sixty Men in the Castle, and that every Year a great Ship, and a small Caravel arrived thither; and that Don *John* was in War with the *Portuguese*. This encouraged Mr. *Townson* the more to go to his Town, which lies but four Leagues from the Castle; whence their Men were beaten the last Year.

THIS Negro came aboard the Ship without English Fear; and demanded, why they had not brought accused back the five Men which were taken away a the Year before? He was answered, that they were in *England* well used, and kept only till they could speak the Language; after which, they should be brought again to assist the *English* in their Affairs here. He then spoke no more of the Matter.

THE Boats being come aboard, they set Sail; and a little after, spied a great Fire on Land, by the Light whereof, they might discern something white, which they took for the Castle: And for Fear of passing beyond the Town of Don *John*, they anchored two Leagues off Shore; for it is hard to fetch up a Town here, if a Ship overshoot it. This Day they took seven Pound and five Ounces of Gold. Caut on in Sailing.

THE Town lieth in a great and very deep Bay. The People here desired most to have Basons and Cloth: Some, however, would buy Trifles, as Knives, Horse-Tails, Horns; and some of the Men going ashore, sold a Cap, a Dagger, a Hat, &c.

THEY shewed Mr. *Townson* a certain coarse Cloth, which seemed to be made in *France*; for the Wool was coarse, and the Thread small as Worsted, and striped with Green, White, and Yellow. Several of the People wore about their

159 \*. and 160 b, and Note 2.

Necks,

1555. Necks, large Glass Beads of divers Colours. Here a Signs to tarry, till they had parted their Cloth, as their Manner is, and they could come again: So they went away; and by the Time they had spread the Cloth upon the Sand Piece by Piece, there came one running down from the Town; and having spoken to them, they immediately fled with their Goods to the Woods; waving to the *English* to land: But they suspecting some Treachery, returned aboard the *Hind*. From hence they perceived thirty Men, (whom they judged to be *Portuguese*) with a Flag, shewing themselves on the Hill.

1555. *Townson* follow some of their Words:

|  |   |    |  |
|--|---|----|--|
| <p><i>Don Juan</i><br/><i>guage</i></p> <p>Mattea, Mattea,<br/>Dassce, Dassce,<br/>Shike,<br/>Kowite,<br/>Kracka,<br/>Bassina,<br/>Feko, Feko,<br/>Molita,</p> | } | is | <p>Their Salutation.<br/>I thank you.<br/>Gold.<br/>Cut.<br/>Knives.<br/>Basons.<br/>Cloth.<br/>Much, or good Store.</p> |
|--|---|----|--|

*Del Mina*  
*Castle*

THE eighth, in the Morning, they had Sight of the Castle. But by Reason of a Mist, could not discern it distinctly, till they were almost at Don John's Town; when the Air clearing up, they saw it, with a white House like a Chapel, upon the Hill. Then they hauled into the Shore, within two *English* Miles of the Town, and anchored in seven Fathom Water. Here, as in many other Places before, they perceived, that the Current went with the Wind. The Land is in some Places low, in others high, and quite covered with Trees.

*Don John's*  
*Town*

THE Town of Don John's is but little, of about twenty Houses; encompassed, for the most Part, with a Wall, not over the Height of a Man, made with Reeds or Sedge, or some such Thing. After waiting two or three Hours, and finding no Boats came to them, they sent their own with Goods, to anchor near Shore. Presently there came out a Man, who made Signs, that Don John was in the Country, and would be at home at the going down of the Sun. For this Intelligence he required a Reward, as most of them will do who come first aboard, and Mr. Townson gave him an Ell of Cloth.

NEXT Morning, going again with their Boats to Shore, there came forth a Boat, which made Signs, that Don John was not returned, but would be at home this Day; Hither also came another Boat, from a Town a Mile distant, called *Don Devis*, and brought with him Gold to shew, making Signs for them to go thither. Hereupon, Townson went in the *Hind*, and carried Cloth to Shore. Presently the Boats came out, and brought a Measure of four Yards and half, with a Weight, weighing an Angel and twelve Grains; so nothing was done this Day.

*Portuguese*  
*can draw*

THE tenth, going again to Shore, there came out a Boat with good Store of Gold; and Townson having, after long Chaffering, brought the Measure to three Ells wanting a Nail, and their Weight to an Angel and twenty Grains, he struck the Bargain; and in one quarter of an Hour, took one Pound and a quarter of an Ounce of Gold. After this, they made him

Signs to tarry, till they had parted their Cloth, as their Manner is, and they could come again: So they went away; and by the Time they had spread the Cloth upon the Sand Piece by Piece, there came one running down from the Town; and having spoken to them, they immediately fled with their Goods to the Woods; waving to the *English* to land: But they suspecting some Treachery, returned aboard the *Hind*. From hence they perceived thirty Men, (whom they judged to be *Portuguese*) with a Flag, shewing themselves on the Hill.

MR. TOWNSON, desirous to know what the *Hart* had done, went towards her in the *Hind's* Boat. When he was near, they shot off two Pieces of Ordnance, which he wondering at, made what Haste he could to her; and presently saw her Boat and Skiff hurrying from Shore. Being come on board, they informed him of what had passed. They had been ashore all Day, and had given each of Don John's two Sons, three Yards and a half of Cloth, and three Basons betwixt them. They had delivered also to the Father, three Yards of Cloth more, and the Weight of an Angel and twelve Grains: But while they waited for his Answer, the *Portuguese* came rushing from the Hill upon them, whereof the Negros, a little before, had given them Warning, in order to be gone; but they did not understand them. The Son of Don John had conspired with the Enemy, so that they were almost upon them, before they recovered their Boat. The *Portuguese* then shot their Calivers at them, but hurt no Man, which the Ship perceiving, shot off two Pieces among them.

HEREUPON putting Guns in the Skiff, and both the Boats, which were all well manned, they went ashore again: But the Wind not permitting them to land, they lay off at Sea, about ten Score, and shot at them; while they from the Rocks and Hills, (which defend them) plied the *English* with their half Hakes. The Negros, more for Fear than Love, joined to help them: But when they saw that they were in such Subjection, that they durst not sell them any Thing, they returned aboard. Next Morning, perceiving the *Portuguese* to be still in the Town, they weighed, and went along the Coast.

THIS Town of *John de Viso*, is situate upon a Hill, like the Town of Don John, but had not above six Houses standing, the rest having been burned. Most Part of the Gold that is there, comes out of the Country; and no Doubt, good Store might be had, if it was not for the great *Ame* which the *Portuguese* have over the Natives.

\* Or Don Juan: This Place stands at Cape Kere, or Corv. See before, p. 146. In Rutter's Voyage, inserted hereafter, we find this Town of Don John was called *Equi*.

Afterwards called *Deviso*.

1555.  
Townson.  
And other  
Towns.

THE eleventh, they had Sight of a little Town, four Leagues from the last they came from; and about half a League farther, of another upon a Hill: Half a League beyond that, they saw a great Town upon the Shore; whither they went to try what could be done; with Design (in case nothing could be had) to return to *de Viso's* Town, concluding, the *Portuguese* had left it on their Departure. From the Castle hither, there are very high Hills, which may be seen above all others; but they are full of Woods, and great red Cliffs by the Sea Side. The Boats of these Places are pretty large; for one carries twelve Men. But they are shaped like the rest on this Coast. There are few Rivers about these Towns. Their Language is the same spoken at *Don John's* Town: But every one had three or four Words of *Portuguese*, in which they talked to the *English*.

## S E C T. V.

*The Ships alarmed. The Negroes afraid to go near them. A large Town. The English decoyed ashore, and set upon by the Natives, and Portuguese; in Revenge for taking away five Men, with all their Gold, the Year before. They go on trading. The Natives fond to traffic. Great Quantities of Gold brought away. They return homewards. Put into Ireland. Come to Bristol.*

The Ships  
alarmed.

THIS Night about five o' Clock, they saw twenty-two Boats run along the Shore, to the Westward: Whereupon, suspecting some Design against them, they set Sail the twelfth, and descried more Towns with larger Houses, than in the former; and the People came out to look upon them, but they could see no Boats. Two Miles beyond the Easternmost Town, are black Rocks, which continue to the uttermost Cape of the Land, which is about a League off; and then the Coast runs in East North-East, and a sandy Shore begins again. Upon these Rocks, certain Negroes came, waving them with a white Flag; but perceiving the principal Place to be near, they would not stay. As soon as they had opened the Point of the Land, they raised another about a League from the Point, which had a Rock lying off it. This they judged to be the Place they sought, and finding it so, anchored within half a Mile of it, in five Fathom Water, and fair Ground.

The People  
afraid.

GOING on Shore <sup>a</sup> with the Boat, they anchored about ten o' Clock in the Forenoon. They saw many Boats lying upon the Shore, and several passed by them. But none would come near, being, as they judged, afraid of them; be-

<sup>a</sup> cause four Men were carried off by Force from thence the last Year. Hereupon they went aboard again, and concluded they should do no Business there: But towards Night a great many came down to the Water Side, and waved them ashore with a white Flag. Afterward, their Captain, and several with him, came and sat down by the Shore under a Tree. When Mr *Townson* saw this, he took Things with him for a Present. At last, the Captain sent a Boat to call to them, which would not approach; but made them Signs to come again next Day. However, at length, our Merchant got them to come aboard, by offering them Things to give to their Captain, which were two Ells of Cloth, two Basons, one Latten, the other Tin, a Bottle, a great Piece of Beel, and six Basket Cakes. These they received, making them Signs to come again next Day, saying, their Captain was *Grand Captain*, as appeared by those who attended on him, with their Darts, <sup>c</sup> Targets, and other Weapons.

1555.  
Townson.

THIS Town is very large, and stands on a <sup>d</sup> Hill among Trees; so that it cannot well be seen, till one is near close by it. On the East Side stand two high Trees, which are a good Mark to know it by. And under it lies another Hill, whereon the Sea beats, being on that Side all black Rocks. Beyond this Town, in a Bay, lieth another small Town.

THE thirteenth, in the Morning, they went <sup>e</sup> to Shore in the Boat, and having staid till ten, without any body coming to them, they prepared to return. When the Negroes saw that, they came running down with a Flag, to wave them, and they anchored again. Then Signs were made, that the Captain would come down by and by. Mean Time, a Ship passed by them, but being small, they regarded it not. Being on Shore, they made a Tilt with their Oars and Sails. And then there came a Boat to them with five Men, who brought again their Bottle, and a Hen; making Signs by the Sun, that in two Hours the Merchants of the Country would come down and buy all their Wares. Mr *Townson* gave them six Manillios to carry to their Captain, and they made Signs to have a Pledge, offering to leave one of their Men: But not performing, the Pledge was taken back again.

SOON after, one came down, arrayed like their <sup>f</sup> Captain, with a great Train after him. He saluted the *English* in a friendly Manner: And one of the chief among them, went and sat down under a Tree, where the last Year the Captain was wont to sit. At last, they perceived a great Number of them standing at the End of a hollow Way; and behind them, the *Portuguese* had

<sup>a</sup> By going on Shore (and to the Shore) with the Boat, here, and in most Places of this Journal, is meant only, going near the Shore.

1555. planted a Gun, which suddenly let fly at, but a  
Townson. overshot, them, although they were in a Manner  
hard by them; and before they could slip their  
Oars to get away, they shot at them again, but  
did no Hurt. Then the Negros came to the Rock  
just near them, and discharged Calivers, and the  
*Portuguese* shot off their Gun twice more. By  
this Time, their Ship began to shoot, but the  
Rocks and Hills defended them.

THE Negros were bent against them, because  
the Year before, Mr. *Gainsh* \* took away the  
Captain's Son, and three others, with their  
Gold, and all that they had about them. This  
made them become Friends to the *Portuguese*,  
whom before they hated, as appeared by the cour-  
teous Entertainment which the *Trinity* had there,  
when the Captain came aboard, and brought  
them to his Town, offering Ground to build a  
Castle on; and there they had good Sale for their  
Wares.

THE fourteenth, they plied back again to  
seek the *Hind*, which meeting with, in the Morn-  
ing, they both turned back to the Eastwards, to  
see what could be done at that Place, where the  
*Trinity* sold her eight Prizes last Year. The *Hind*  
had taken eighteen Ounces and a half more of  
Gold of other Negros, the Day after the *Hart*  
left her. About one of the Clock, perceiving  
certain Boats on the Sand, and Men by them,  
they went with Merchandizes, and took three  
Ounces of Gold for eighteen Suffs of Cloth; every  
Suff three Yards and a half, at one Angel and  
twelve Grains the Suff. Then they made Signs,  
that the next Day they should have Gold enough:  
So the Master took the *Hind*, with *Savill* and  
*Makeworth*, and went to seek the Place aforesaid;  
Mr. *Towrson*, and *Richard Pakeman*, staying be-  
hind, to see what they could do next Day.

WHEN the Negros saw the Ship go away, they  
feared the other would follow; and sent two  
Boats with four Men, requiring them to tarry, and  
deliver one Man into their Hands for a Pledge, two  
of them offering to stay for Security. *Edward*, Mr.  
*Morleis*'s Servant, seeing them so earnest therein,  
desired to go, and two came aboard in his Stead;  
one whereof had his Weights and Scales, with a  
Chain of Gold about his Neck, and another  
round his Arm. They eat such Victuals as were  
given them, and seemed well contented. In the  
Night, the Negros kept a Light on Shore, oppo-  
site the Ships; and about one o' Clock, three  
Guns were shot at it: Which in the End, they

found came from the *Portuguese* Brigantine, 1556.  
which followed them from Place to Place, to  
warn the People of the Country, not to deal  
with them.

NEXT Morning, the Captain came down with  
one hundred Men, and brought his Wife, as did  
many others, because their Town was eight Miles  
up in the Country, and they determined to lie by  
the Sea Side, till they had bought what they  
wanted. He presently sent their Man aboard;  
and though he required, and had two Pledges for  
himself, yet he took but one. He came aboard  
with his Wife, and several others, bringing Mr.  
*Towrson* a Goat, and two great Roots; who gave  
him in Return, a latten and a white Bason, six  
Manillios, and a Bottle of Malmsey, and his Wife  
a small Casket. After this, they began to agree  
upon their Measure and Weight. He had a  
Weight of his own, which contained one Angel  
and fourteen Grains, and required a Measure of  
four Ells and a half. In fine, they concluded,  
the eighth Part for one Angel and twenty Grains;  
and before they had done, they took Mr. *Towr-  
son*'s Weight and Measure.

THE sixteenth, he took eight Pound one Ounce  
of Gold: And since the Departure of the *Hind*,  
heard nothing of her; only the Pledge said, when  
he went into the Country the first Night, he saw  
her cast Anchor above five Leagues off. Next  
Day, he sold about seventeen Pieces of Cloth, and  
took four Pound four Ounces and a half of Gold.  
The eighteenth, the Captain desired to have some  
of his Wine, and offered half a Ducat of Gold  
for a Bottle, but he gave it him, and made him  
and his Train drink besides. This Day also he  
took five Pound five Ounces of Gold. The  
nineteenth, he sold about eighteen Cloths, and  
took four Pound four Ounces and one quarter of  
Gold.

NEXT Day, he took three Pound six Ounces  
and a quarter of Gold; the twenty-first, eight  
Pound seven Ounces and a quarter; the twenty-  
second, three Pound eight Ounces and a quarter;  
and about four o' Clock, the Captain, who had  
lain all this while upon the Shore, went away  
with his People.

THE twenty-third, they were waved ashore  
by other Negros; and sold them Cloth, Caskets,  
Knives, and a Dozen of Bells; taking one Pound  
ten Ounces of Gold. The twenty-fourth like-  
wise, they sold Bells, Sheets, and Thimbles, and  
took two Pound one Ounce and a quarter. The

\* Mr. *Hakluyt*, in the Margin, puts *Robert Gainsh's Voyage to Guinea, in Anno 1554*: Yet does not mention  
where it is to be found, or that it was the same, which in that Edition of his Collection, he had given under the  
Name of *Lok*, instead of *Gainsh*, to whom he ascribed it in the first Edition. All the Light we have into the  
Matter from the second Edition, is, that in a marginal Note, at the Beginning of *Lok's Voyage*, it is said, that  
*Robert Gainsh* was Master of the *John Evangelist*; nor is there any Mention of this villanous Action in that Re-  
lation. Such Crimes deserve severely to be punished; since a whole Community may suffer for the Fault of one  
bad Man.



1555. twenty-fifth, they disposed of seven Dozen of a Town. small Bells, and other Things. After which, there being no more Gold to be had, they departed to Leeward to seek the *Hind*. About five o' Clock they had Sight of her; and coming up, understood she had made some Sales.

By both  
of them.

NEXT Day, they received out of the *Hind*, forty-eight Pound three Ounces, and one eighth Part of Gold, which she had taken in their Absence; and at the Request of a Negro, who came from a Captain, they went to Shore with their Merchandize, and took seven Pound and one Ounce of Gold. At this Place the Negros required no Gages; but in the Evening sent a Boat aboard, which continued all Night, to let the Merchants know, that they would also come next Day. The twenty-seventh they took, in both Ships, eight Pound one Ounce, three Quarters and an Half of Gold. The twenty-eighth, Sale was made for the Company, and one Pound and Half an Ounce of Gold taken. The next Morning two Guns were heard from Shore, which they judging to be shot off either by the *Portuguese*, or their Negros, manned out their Boat, armed and went to Land; but they were gone. The thirtieth they made more Sales for the Company, and the Masters.

These in Ballast  
left.

NEXT Day they sent the Boat to take in Ballast: They met with the Negros, who had dealt with the Ships, the Day before. They were a fishing, and having no Gold, exchanged Fish for Handkerchiefs and Night-Caps, helping the Men to load Sand into the Bargain. The first of *February*, removing to another Place, they took one Pound, nine Ounces, three Quarters of Gold. The second, they made more Sales; but finding most of their Drink, and what remained, turning sour, resolved to stay no longer on that Coast.

Return  
of the goods.

THE third and fourth, they made some Sales, though not great, and finding the Wind to come off Shore, ran along it Westwards. Upon this Coast they found, that ordinarily, about two o' Clock in the Night<sup>a</sup>, the Wind comes off the Shore, at North North-East, and continues till eight in the Morning; and all the rest of the Day and Night it blows from South-West. As for the Tide, or Current upon this Shore, it goeth continually with the Wind.

<sup>a</sup> Rather Morning; although it is hard to tell sometimes, whether, by *Night*, the Author means Morning or Evening.

THE fifth they continued sailing, and thought to have met with some *Eng<sup>l</sup>ish* Ships, but did not. Next Day they steered South-West to fetch under the Line, and ran twenty-four Leagues. The thirteenth, they thought themselves, by their Reckoning, to be clear of *Cape das Palmas*, and ran twelve Leagues.

THE twenty-second, they were thwart of *Cape de Monte*, about thirty Leagues Westward of the *River de Sestos*.

THE first of *March*, in a Tornado, having lost the *Hind*, they set up a Light, and shot off a Piece, yet could not hear of her. But waiting thereabouts in the Morning, they had Sight of her again, three Leagues a-stern.

THE twenty-second they found themselves to be in the Height of *Cape Verde*, which stands in fourteen Degrees and an half.

CONTINUING their Course, the twenty-ninth, they found themselves in twenty two Degrees. This Day *William King*, one of the *Hart's* Men, who had been long sick, died in his Sleep. His Cloaths were distributed to those who wanted them; and his Money kept to be delivered to his Friends in *England*.

THE thirtieth they were under the Tropic; and next Day made eighteen Leagues. Sailing on till the twentieth of *April*, they then found themselves in the Altitude of the *Azores*.

THE seventh of *May*, they fell with the South Part of *Ireland*; and going on Shore had fresh Drink, and two Sheep of the Country People, who were wild Kernes, with such other Victuals as they judged would serve them till they arrived in *England*; for which they gave them Gold.

THE fourteenth, with the Afternoon Tide, they cast Anchor in the Port of *Bristol*, called *Hungrade*.

#### TABLE of LATITUDES.

|                          |   |   |   | Degr. | Min. |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|-------|------|
| <i>Porto Santo Isle</i>  | — | — | — | 33    | 00   |
| <i>St. Vincent River</i> | — | — | — | 4     | 30   |
| <i>Cape das Palmas</i>   | — | — | — | 4     | 30   |
| <i>Cape Verde</i>        | — | — | — | 14    | 30   |

## C H A P. V.

1556. *The Second Voyage of Mr. Towrson\* to the Coast of Guinea, and the Castle* 1556.  
 Towrson del Mina, in 1556. *Towrson*

## S E C T. I.

*They pass the Canaries. Meet three French Ships, which join them. They trade for Ivory. Rio Sant Andre. The red Cliffs. Allow or Lahow. Castle del Mina. Dondou. Bulle and Shamma Towns. Trade for Gold. Get News of the Portugueze. Keep on their Guard. Portugueze Fleet appears: Chased by the English. The Fight begins. The Tyger left in the Lurch by all the other Ships. The Enemy sheer off.*

[THE Ships employed in this Voyage were the *Tyger* of London, Admiral, of one hundred and twenty Tons, Mr. *Towrson*, Commander; the *Hart* of London, sixty Tons, *John Stairs*, Captain; and a Pinnace of sixteen Tons, *John Davis*, Captain. They carried back with them the Negroes, which had been brought by Force from Guinea two Years before, as mentioned in the former Voyage.]

*They set out.* THE fourteenth of September, 1556, the *Tyger* departed from Harwich for the Isle of Sicily, to meet the *Hart* and Pinnace, which were rigged and victualled at Bristol. She arrived there the twenty-eighth, but they were not come; and after waiting for them several Days, returned to Plymouth the twelfth Day of October. At length they joined her, and the fifteenth of November all departed together from Plymouth at one o'Clock in the Afternoon. The twenty-eighth, they had Sight of the Isle of Porto Santo; and next Day, in the Morning, of Madera.

*From to P. Santo.*

THE third of December, they fell with the Isle of Palma; and the ninth were thwart of Cape Blanco, and found there certain Caravels fishing for Pargoes.

*Sierra Leone.*

*Strong Currents.*

THE nineteenth, they found themselves in the Height of Sierra Leona, and all this Day ran thwart of certain Currents, which set West South-West, so swift, as if it had been the Overflow of a Sand; making a great Noise like a Stream, or Tide-gate, when the Water is shoal. Yet they could find no Ground with one hundred and fifty Fathoms.

*Coast of Guinea.*

THE thirtieth, they fell with the Coast of Guinea, which they discovered about four Leagues off. The View consisted of three Hills, which lay North-East by East from them: And betwixt the two Northernmost, were two great Trees; and a little more to the North-West, certain Hummocks.

a HAVING sailed somewhat into Shore, they judged they were shot a little beyond the River *de Sestos*, and tacked about to fetch it. A little after they saw three Sail of Ships, and two Pinnaces in the Weather of them, and made ready to meet them; hauling off the Ships, to fetch the Wind as near as they could. Having sailed about an Hour or two, they also tacked about, and went the same Course to make themselves ready; then our Ships chasing them, they made off: But when they had put themselves in Order, they tacked about again, and came up very finely appointed with their Streamers, Pendants, Ensigns, and the Noise of Trumpets, very bravely.

WHEN both Fleets met, they had the Weather of ours, which being determined to fight, waved them to come under their Lee. This they stoutly refusing, the English demanded of them whence they were? They said of France; and being told our Ships were of London, they asked what Portugueze they had seen? The Answer was, none but Fishermen. They said, there were certain Portugueze Ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the River *Sestos*, of 200 [Tun] which they had burned, having saved none but the Master, two or three Negroes, and a few others grievously burned, whom they left ashore there. The Names of the Ships were, the *Esperier* of Hableness, Admiral, *Denis Blundell*, Captain; the *Lauriere* of Roan, Vice Admiral, *Ferome Baudet*, Master. The third was of *Hunfleur*, the Master called *John de Orleans*.

The Captain of the Admiral, and several others, came aboard our Ships in a friendly Manner; desiring they would keep them Company, because of the Portugueze, and to go to the Mina with them. The English told them, they had not watered, and were but just fallen with the Coast. They made it appear, that they were fifty Leagues beyond the River *de Sestos*: Yet said, there was Water enough to be had, and promised to help them to it with their own Boats; because they were desirous to have their Company. They declared farther, that they had been six Weeks upon the Coast, and had gotten but three Tuns of Grains among them all.

THE English weighed this Proposal: They considered that if the Mina Coast was clear, f the French would spoil their Market, in case they

\* The Original to be found in Hakluyt's Collection, Vol. 2. part 2. f. 36. takes up seven Pages and a Half.

1555. went there before them; and that, if it was not clear, and the *Portuguese* should take them, they would understand that they were behind, and so lie in wait for them. They farther considered, that in case they went with them, they should fare as their own Companions, if the Coast were clear: And that if it were not clear, they would be sure to be stronger then the *Portuguese*. Upon these Considerations, the *English* told them, that the next Day they would confer more largely of the Matter. Whereupon they desired Mr. *Townson* to come next Day to Dinner with them, and to bring with him the Masters of the Ships, and such Merchants as he should think fit; offering to give them Water out of their own Ships, or help them to it, as they promised before.

Go a Company.

THE thirty-first in the Morning, the Admiral having sent his Boat aboard the *Tiger*, Mr. *Townson* took the Masters with some of the Merchants, and went to him. He had provided a notable Banquet, and treated them very friendly. He renewed his Request to keep him Company, promising them half of the Victuals, or whatever else they fancied aboard his Ships throughout the Voyage; and offering even to furl his Flags, and be at their Command in every Thing. In the End, they agreed to come to an Anchor, and send their Boat and the Admiral's ashore, with one of his Pinnaces, and an *Almaine*, which they had brought out of *France*, to seek Water. As for their own Pinnace, she anchored out at Sea, and would not come near them.

Trade for Ivory.

THE first of *January*, the Boats returned without finding any River. Whereupon they set Sail, and came at Length to a River; going into which, next Day, they bargained and took five small Elephant's Teeth. The third, they took five more. The fourth, the *French* Admiral and they took fifteen small Teeth. This Day they went to seek Elephants, with thirty Men well armed, with Harquebusses, Pikes, Long-bows, Cross-bows, Partizans, Long-swords, and Swords and Bucklers. They found two, which they hit several Times with Harquebusses and Long-bows, but they went away, and hurt one of the Men. The fifth they set Sail, and ran along the Coast.

River Saint Andre.

The sixth, they fell with the River de *Saint Andre*; to the West of which there is high Land, and a fair Bay. Next Day, they went in and found no Village, but wild Negros not accustomed to Trade. It is a very great River, and is seven Fathom deep in some Places at the Entrance: Having taken in Water, they set Sail.

The red Cliffs.

The eighth, they proceeded along Shore, and came to the red Cliffs<sup>a</sup>, and went forward next Day also.

THE tenth, they conferred with Captain *Blundell*, Admiral of the *French* Ships; *Jerom Bau-*

a det his Vice-Admiral; *John de Orleans*, Master of a Ship of seventy Tuns, and their Merchants. It was agreed, that to whatever Place they came, they should be of one Mind, and not hurt each others Market. To which End some of their Boats should settle the Price for all, and then one Boat make Sale for each Ship. This Night their Boats, going to Shore, met with certain Negros, who said that they had Gold, and therefore they here cast Anchor.

1556. Townson

b THE eleventh, they took but one half Angel Weight of four Grains all the Day, which they dealt for by Hand; for the People of this Place, which they called *Allow*<sup>b</sup>, had no Weights.

Allow, How.

THE twelfth, running along the Coast, they found only one Town; but no Boats would come out to them, and therefore they went on.

THE thirteenth, Mr. *Townson* went along the Coast in his Boat, and passing by divers small Towns, was waved to land at three Places. But the Sea went so high upon the Shore, that it was not possible. Neither could the Negros have come to him, if they had had Boats; for he could see none but at one Place. There a Boat would needs venture out, but was overfet by the Violence of the Land-Wash, and one of the Men drowned. For which Misfortune the People made such loud Lamentation, that the *English* could easily hear them. They got his Body out of the Sea, and carried it to their Town.

THE fourteenth, they came within Gun-shot of the Castle; from whence an *Almade* was immediately sent out to observe them; and perceiving they were not *Portuguese*, ran back to the Town again: For there is a great Town by the Castle, called by the Negros, *Dondou*. Without this there lie two great Rocks like Islands, and the Castle stands upon a Point, which appears almost like an Island. Five or six Leagues, before they came to the Castle, the Land was high, and low for about seven Leagues before they came to it, and then they found the Land high again. This Castle standeth above five Leagues to the East of Cape de *Tres Puntas*. Here Mr. *Townson* went in the Boat with his Negros, and ran along the Shore, as far as the Cape, and found two small Towns, but no Boat at them, neither any Traffic to be had. Here his Negros understood the People well; one of them called *George* went ashore at all the Places, and was well received.

Castle del Mina, and Dondou.

f NEXT Day he went along the Shore, and about three Leagues beyond the easternmost Part of the Cape, ran into a fair Bay, and found a small Town, and some Boats belonging to it; but the Natives for a long Time would not come out. At last, by the Persuasion of his Negros, one Boat came, with which he sent *George* ashore; and after he had talked to them, they approached the

Bulle Town.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 155

<sup>b</sup> Rather *Lu how*, or *La hu*.

<sup>c</sup> These were the Negros brought back from *England*. Boats

1556. Boats without Fear. He gave their Captain a a Brother's Wife of one, and an Aunt of another. 1556.  
 Townson. Bafon, and two Strings of Margarets, and they Townson.  
 shewed him about five Ducats Weight of Gold, In short, all the People shewed as much Fondness for them, as if they had been their own Brethren. The *English* comforted the Captain, and told him, that he need not fear the *Portuguese*, for they would defend him from them: Hereupon they ordered their Boats to shoot off their Bases and Harquebusses. They likewise caused their Men to land with their Long-Bows, and shoot before the Captain and his People; who were much surpris'd, especially to see them shoot so far as they did, and assayed to draw their Bows, but could not. When it grew late, they departed to their Ships, for they looked every Hour for the *Portuguese*. Here the *Negros* gave them to understand, that there was an *English* Ship at the *Mina*, which had brought one of the *Negros* again, whom *Robert Gaynsh* took away <sup>b</sup>.

HERE the Boats were informed, that a Month ago two Ships attacked one, and put it to Flight, and that a little before, one *French* Ship being met by four *Portuguese*, made them sheer off. This they took to be the Row-Barge: For the *French*, who were in Company, judg'd her to have been there about that Time, with her Pinnace. They said also, that after her went first a Ship of 240 Tons, called the *Shaudet*; and then another of fourscore, both bound for the *Mina*. And that they had left one at *Cape Verde*, called the *Louriere* of *Diepe*, and another at the River de *Seflor*.

Hanta, or  
Anta  
Town.

THE sixteenth, Mr. Townson went along the Shore, with two of the *French* Pinnaces, and found a Bay and River; after which they went to a Town called *Hanta*, twelve Leagues beyond the Cape. Here his *Negros* were well known, and People weeping for Joy when they saw them, and asked where *Antony* and *Binne* were; the others told them, they were at *London* in *England*, and should be brought home the next Voyage. After this the Native *Negros* came aboard with them, and brought a Weight, which was so small, that they could not give them half their Demands.

THEY informed the Boats, that there were five Ships at the Castle, and one Pinnace, that the *Portuguese* did much Harm to their Country, and that they lived in Fear of them. But were very glad, when the *English* told them, that they would defend them from those Disturbers.

THE seventeenth, they went ashore along with the *French*, but did no great Good, the *Negros* were so unreasonable. They sold eighty Manelios for one Ounce of Gold.

Town of  
Shamma.

THEN departing, they came to *Shamma*<sup>a</sup>, (two Leagues beyond) and went into the River with five Boats well appointed with Men and Ordnance, under Sound of Trumpets and Drums; for they thought here to have found some *Portuguese*, but did not. After sending their *Negros* on Shore, several of them followed, and were very well received. The People were overjoyed to see their Countrymen again, especially a

<sup>a</sup> Called before, p. 146<sup>d</sup>. *Samma*, or *Samua*; and by others, *Sama*.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 157<sup>d</sup>.

with

THE eighteenth, they went into the River with no less Strength than before; and concluded with the *Negros* to give them, for every Fuffe, two Yards and three Nails of Cloth, and to take for it one Angel Ducat. They took in all seventy Ducats, whereof the *French* had forty, and the *English* thirty.

THE nineteenth, they went ashore, every Man for himself, and took a good Quantity of Gold. Mr. Townson, for his own Part, took four Pound, two Ounces, and half of Gold; and the *Harris* Boat twenty-one Ounces. At Night the *Negros* gave them to understand, that the next Day the *Portuguese* would be with them by Land, or Sea: And when the Boats were ready to depart, they heard Harquebusses shoot off in the Woods, which they knew to be the *Portuguese*, who did it to frighten them, and make them give over their Traffic, but durst not venture nearer themselves.

THE twentieth, the *English* manned their five Boats, and a great Boat of the *French*, with their and the Admiral's Men. Twelve of them had on their Murrians and Corsets, and the rest were all well armed. There were four Trumpets, a Drum, and a Fife, and the Boats were adorned with very fair Silk Streamers and Pendants. In this Order they went into the River and trafficed, their Man of War lying off and on in the River to waite them, but they heard no more of the *Portuguese*. This Day the *Negros* told them, that some Ships were arrived at *Hanta*.

THE twenty-first, the *English* manned their Boats, and went to a Place a League westward; and there found many *Negros* with another Captain, and sold at the same Rate they had dealt with the others.

THE twenty-second, they went ashore again, and trafficed quietly; Mr. Townson taking four Pound and six Ounces of Gold.

THE twenty-third, about Night, the *Negros*,

1556. *Towrison.* with their Captain, came and told them, that the King of Portugal's Ships had sailed from the Castle, with Design, next Day, to ply up to the Windward and come to them, warning them to be on their Guard. They told them, that they were very glad of their Coming, and would be ready at all Times to meet them. To let them see they were serious, they sounded their Trumpets, and shot off some Guns: At which the Negros rejoiced, and entreated them to fall on the *Portuguese* without Mercy, if they offered to hinder their Traffic; promising, if they came by Land, to give them Notice.

The twenty-fourth, they went ashore with their Trumpets and Drums, and trafficked; the Captain of the Town that Day dining with Mr. *Towrison*.

*Portuguese  
first ap-  
pear.*

NEXT Day, while their Boats were ashore, the Ships descried five Sail of the *Portuguese*; and having shot off Ordnance to call them away, they threw every Man his Cask ashore for Water, and returned. But by that Time they had weighed and given out Orders, it was dark. They set Sail, and lay close all Night to get the Wind, if they could, and made themselves ready for the Fight. The *Tyger* coming near some of them, one Shot off a Gun, which they judged to be the *Portuguese* Admiral, for the rest of his Fleet to come and speak with him.

*The English  
advance,*

THE twenty-sixth, the *English* Ships, coming in with the Shore, had Sight of the *Portuguese*, where they rid at Anchor, and bare with them. They gave all their Men white Scarves, that the *French* might distinguish one from the other, if it came to boarding. However, Night came on, that they could not fetch them; but they anchored within Demi-culverin Shot of them.

*And chase  
them.*

THE twenty-seventh, they weighed, (so did the *Portuguese*) and about seven o'Clock, having got the Wind of them, they went room with them; which when the Enemy perceived, they tacked about to Shore again, and our Ships after them. When they were so near the Shore, that they could not well run any farther that Way, they tacked about again, and lay to the Seaward: Our Ships tacked at the same Time, and being ahead of them, took in their Topails and waited for them. The first that came up was a small Bark, which carried good Ordnance, and sailed so well, that she valued no-body. She shot at the *Tyger*, but over-shot her; and then let fly at the Admiral of the *French*, and shot him through in two or three Places. After this, she went a-head of the *English*, because they were in their fighting Sails. Then came up another Caravel, under the *Tyger's* Lee, and shot both at her and the *Frenchman*. She hurt two of his Men, and shot him through the Main-mast. Next came up their Admiral under the Lee of the *Tyger* also: But he

*The Fight  
begins.*

was not able to do them so much Harm as the small Ships, because he carried his Ordnance higher; neither was the *Tyger* able to make a good Shot at any of them, because she was so weak in the Side, that she lay all her Guns under Water. Mr. *Towrison* therefore resolved to lay the great Ship aboard. But as soon as the *French* Admiral went room with him, he fell a-sterm, and could not fetch him. After that he fell behind two Caravels more, and in short could fetch none of them, but fell to Leeward of them all; and tacking about to the Shore, left the *English* to shift for themselves. The other two *Frenchmen* kept the Wind also, and would not advance. The *Hart* was a-sterm, so that she could not come to them. For all this the *Tyger* hoisted her Topails, and gave the Enemy Chase. And after she had followed them two Hours to Seaward, they tacked about again towards Shore, thinking to pay her off as they went by, and to get the Wind of the *French* Admiral. She tacked about with them, and kept still the Wind, believing that her Vice-Admiral and the Pinnace would have followed her, as they were ordered: But after that the *Portuguese* were past by them, and every one had shot at her, and the Vice Admiral, the *English* Ships as well as the *French* ran to Seaward, and left her in the Lurch. She pushed still along, and kept the Wind of them to succour the *French* Admiral, who was under all of their Lees. Being come up with him, every one gave him a Broad-side. After which they tacked about again, and durst not board him, because they saw the *Tyger* in the Weather of them; otherwise, without Doubt, they would have taken, or sunk him: For the three smallest went so fast, that it was not possible for a Ship to board them; and carried such Ordnance, that if they had had the Weather, they would have gauled three of the best Ships in the confederate Fleet. As for their Admiral and Vice-Admiral, they were both notably appointed.

1556.  
*Towrison.*

*The Tyger  
is red,*

*Not by the  
French,*

*And English,*

*French Ad-  
miral's Dan-*

*The Tyger  
left alone.*

WHEN the *Frenchman* was clear of them, he lay as near the Wind as he could; and seeing the *Tyger* follow them still towards the Shore, ran to Sea after the rest, and left her all alone. The *Portuguese* perceiving this, turned about with her, and she with them, to keep the Wind; running still within Base-shot of them: But they shot not at her, because she had the Weather of them, and saw that they could do her no Hurt. Thus they followed one another till Night, and then she lost them. As for all the rest of the Ships, they crowded all the Sails they could, and ran to Sea, praying for the *Tyger*, as they confessed; which was all the Help they designed her.

*The Enemy  
sheer off.*

## S E C T. II.

*Bad Plight of both French and English Ships. The Pinnace burned. Mr. Towrison belov'd in Guinea.*

1556.

Towrson

nea. His Trade being hurt by the French, he separates from them. Takes in much Gold. Snubs a French Captain. King Abaan, and his great City. Form of Audience. Ceremony in drinking. Mowre Town. New Portuguese Fleet arrive. Chace the English, who return home. Are attacked by a Frenchman, and maul him.

THE twenty-eighth, she met with the Vice-Admiral, the Pinnace, and two of the Frenchmen; the third, which was the *Roon Ship* of fourscore Tuns, was fled clear off. Mr. *Towrson* went in the Skiff, to know why they left him in such a Manner. *Kira's* Excuse was, that his Ship would neither rear nor steer; and as for the Pinnace, *Davis* said she would do nothing, and that he could carry her no farther; for her Rudder was broken so, that the *Hart* was forced to tow her. Then he went to the French Admiral, whom he found to be a Man of Courage, but one half of his Men were sick and dead. The smaller Frenchman said, he was in the same Condition, and that his Ship would bear no Sail; so that he was not able to do any thing. After this, the French durst not anchor, for fear of the Portuguese.

The Pinnace burnt.

THE twenty-ninth, the Master of the Pinnace came to tell him, that they were not able to keep her any longer, her Rudder, with all the Iron Work, being broken, both aloft and below. It was therefore agreed to break her up, and put the Men into the *Hart*. Having taken out of her four Bases, one Anchor, and certain Fire-Wood, they set her on Fire, and afterwards ran along the Coast.

THE thirtieth, they ran into Shore, and spoke with certain Negros, who told them, that some French Ships had been there; but there was no dealing with them, they were so unreasonable. Next Day, Mr. *Towrson* went to Shore, but did not traffic.

THE first of February, seeing they could not bring the Negros to any Reason, they weighed, and came to another Place standing on an Hill.

Towrson elevated.

THE third Day, he went to a Town four Leagues from them, and shooting off two Pieces, the Captain came: Being known to *Thomas Rippem*, he was sent to Shore. As soon as he landed, he was remembered by the Captain, and divers of the Negros, who asked for Mr. *Towrson*; and being told, that he was in the Boat, the Chief immediately caused two Boats to put to Sea, and seeing Mr. *Towrson* at a Distance, called out to him, and seemed to be the gladdest Man alive: So did all the Company who knew him. He made him a Present, as the Manner of the Country is, and caused the Frenchmen to give another, promising to treat with him the next Day. That Night, because it was late, he would not

a talk of any Price, but left a Pledge, and took another of Mr. *Towrson*.

THE fourth, going on Shore, he found, that the Ships of France, which had been there, had done much Hurt to the Markets, yet took five Ounces and a Half of Gold.

THE fifth, he took eight Ounces, and one eighth Part of Gold: But observing, that the Negros perceived the Difference betwixt the English and the French Cloth, which was better and broader, he told Captain *Blundel*, that he would go to Leeward, because he found he could do no good where his Cloth was sold, at which *Blundel* was concerned.

THE sixth, there came an Almada and Negros aboard, requesting him to go to their Town, where they said, there was much Gold, and many Merchants. He went, and found their old Captain gone, and another in his Place; but the Merchants, not being come down, they did nothing that Night but give Pledges.

THE seventh, *George* the Negro came to him, having followed them at least thirty Leagues in a small Boat. When he came, the Negros and the English soon concluded about the Price; and Mr. *Towrson* took, this Day, five Pound, one Ounce, and three Quarters of Gold. This Negro, who had been left at *Shamma* at the Time of the Fight, said, that he saw the Action from Shore; that when our Ships went away, the Portuguese came into their River, and told them, the English had slain two of their Men with a Cannon; (This was shot from the *Tiger*;) and that they required Harbour there, but the Captain of *Shamma* would not suffer them.

NEXT Day, they took nineteen Pound, three Ounces, and a Half. The ninth, two Pound, six Ounces, and a Half. The tenth, three Pound.

THE eleventh, came *Jerom Bawdet*, Vice-Admiral of the French, and his Pinnace, saying, that where they left them, there was no good to be done, and therefore he would go to the Eastward: But they told him he should not, and commanded him to go to his Company, which he was appointed to be with. This he refused to do, till three or four Shot were made at the Pinnace; and when the Ship saw that, they both tacked about, and ran to Sea. The English took, this Day, one Pound five Ounces.

THE twelfth, there came one of the French Pinnaces laden with Cloth, and would have made Sale, but Mr. *Towrson* would not suffer him; and sending him aboard the Ship, caused him to ride there all Day. They took five Pound, six Ounces, and a Half of Gold; and next Day four Ounces more of some Negros.

THE sixteenth, they came to another Town; and next Day, Mr. *Towrson* going ashore, under-

Or Almadia.

stood,

1556. flood, that three of the *Portuguese* Ships were at a that Purpose, over the Roads, which they are 1556.  
 Townson. the Castle, and the other two at *Shamma*. The obliged to pass; for there is no getting otherwise Townson.  
 Captain of this Place was gone to the principal to the Town, by reason of the Thickets and Bushes which are about it. It is also walled round with long Cords, bound together with Sedge and Bark of Trees.

Gold taken THE eighteenth, some of the King's Serv- b  
 an. ants came to them, and they took one Pound, two Ounces and one eighth Part of Gold. Next Day, five Pound, one Ounce. The twentieth, one Pound, four Ounces; and, the twenty-first, took four Pound and one Ounce. This Day the Negroes enquiring for fine Cloth, Mr. *Townson* opened two Pieces, which they said were not fine enough, but seeing there was no other, they bought of them. At Night he provided a Gift or Present, and sent one Merchant and a Mariner with it to the King, to acquaint him, c  
 that the Ships wanting Victuals, could not stay long; and indeed most of the Beer had leaked out of the Casks.

THE twenty-second they took three Ounces and a half.

King Aba- THE twenty-third, their Men came from an.  
 the King *Abaan*, who had received them very friendly, but had little Gold: However he promised if they would stay, to send through his Country for some; and desired them, at their Return home, to speak to their King to send Men and Materials into his Country to build a Castle, with Taylors to make them Cloaths: Af- d  
 fecting them, that if they brought good Wares, they would find a Vent, but that, for the present, the *French* had glutted them with Cloth.

Large City THIS Town stands\* about four Leagues with- in Land, and appeared to them as big as *London*; but the Buildings are no better than in other Places. There is Abundance of that Country Wheat in the Neighbourhood. On one Side of the Town there was, as they computed, one Thousand Ricks of Wheat, and another Sort of Corn much used in *Spam*, called *Mill* [or *Millet*.] They keep strict Watch there every Night, and have Cords, with Bells at them, stretched a-cross the Ways which lead into Town; so that if any one touch the Cords, the Bells ring, and then the Watchmen run to see who they are: If they be Enemies, and pass the Cords, f  
 they take them by letting fall Nets, hung for

THEIR Men arrived at the Town, about five Form of Au-  
 in the Morning (for there they travel always in dience.  
 the Night, by reason of the Heat.) About nine the King sent for them; for no Man goes to him without being called. They would have carried their Present with them; but the Negroes told them they must be three Times in his Presence, before they offered their Gift. When they went, he talked with, and received them, very friendly, and kept them about half an Hour. He sent for them twice afterwards, and the last Time they brought him their Present; which he received thankfully, and then caused a Pot of Palm-Wine to be brought, and made them drink. Throughout the Country, before they drunk, they use certain Ceremonies.

FIRST, they make a Hole in the Ground, Ceremony in  
 and put some of the Liquor into it; then they Drunken-  
 cast the Earth upon it, which they dug out be- fore: This done, they set the Pot thereon, and with a little Cup made of a Goord, take out some of the Drink, and lay it on the Ground in three Places. In divers Parts they have certain Bunches of Palm-Bark set in the Earth before them, and there they put in some Drink, doing great Reverence every where to those Trees.

THESE Ceremonies being over, the King And h. f. r.  
 took a Cup of Gold, into which Wine being the King-  
 poured, he drank, the People at the same Time saying, *Abaan! Abaan!* with certain other Words; just as they do in *Flanders* on *Twelfth-Night*. When the King had drank, they gave Liquor to each: After which he dismissed them. In quitting the King's Presence, it is the Custom for every one to bow three Times towards him, at the same Time waving both Hands together. The King hath commonly sitting by him eight or ten ancient Men, with grey Beards.

THIS Day they took one Pound and ten Trade here.  
 Ounces of Gold. The twenty-fourth, three Pound and seven Ounces, The twenty-fifth, three Ounces, three quarters. The twenty-sixth, two Pound, ten Ounces. The twenty-seventh, two Pound, five Ounces. The twenty-eighth, four Pound; and then perceiving there was no more Gold to be had, they weighed and went forth.

\* 'Tis hard to discover what Place this was. Perhaps it was *Great Commendo*, or *Guaffo*, which stands on a Hill, near the River that runs by the Town of the *Mina*, and is still the Residence of a King; in which Case the Port they put in at, might have been *Little Commendo*. But the City-royal is very far from being as large as *London* was, in 1556, not having above 400 Houses. As to the Contrivance for apprizing the Watchmen of the Approach of an Enemy, and taking them Prisoners, it must be allowed to be a notable Invention; we mean of our Countrymen. Sure an Enemy might easily destroy these Net-Traps to catch Soldiers, these Packthread Fortifications.

1556.

Townson  
Mowre  
Town.

THE first of *March* they came to a Town <sup>a</sup> with the Shore, on purpose to lose him, being 4556. called *Mowre*, but found neither Boats nor People there. Being ready to depart, there came two Almades from another Town, which exchanged two Ounces and a half of Gold; and told them, that the Negros who dwelled at *Mowre*, were removed to *Lagoua* <sup>a</sup>.

Castle del  
Mina.

THE second, they came thwart of the Castle *del Mina*, about two Leagues from Shore, and there saw the five *Portuguese* Ships at Anchor. The same Day, by Night, they fetched *Sbamma*. <sup>b</sup>

A new Por-  
tuguese  
Fleet.

THE third, they descried a tall Ship, of about 200 Tuns, in the Weather of them, less than two Leagues distant, and presently two more a-stern of her, one a Ship of 500 Tuns, or more; the other a Pinnace: And these were a new Fleet, just arrived from *Portugal*. Hereupon they weighed, and made shift to get out to Sea. But the Wind coming to the South South-West, the *Hart* went room with the *Tyger*, and fell three Leagues to the Leeward: The *Portuguese* gave her Chase from nine in the Morning till five at Night, but did no good against them. At last, perceiving their Admiral to be far a-stern of his Company, because his Maintop-mast was spent, the *Tyger* determined to face them again; and indeed being sure to weather them, as the Wind stood, it was their best Course: But the *Hart* was so far to Leeward, that they could not do it, without losing her Company. Hereupon they took in some of their Sails, and went room with her; which when she perceived, she luffed to, and was able to lie as near as she did before. At Night, when they came up with her, the Master would not speak to them; and when his Crew were asked why he went so room, their Answer was, that they were able to carry no more Sail, for fear of bearing their Foretop-mast over-board. But this was a simple Excuse.

Give them  
Chase.

THE fourth, being put from their Watering-place, they began to boil their Meat in salt Water, and to retrench their Allowance of Drink, to make it hold out the longer; and so resolved to sail homewards. <sup>c</sup>

THE twelfth of *March* they were thwart of *Cape das Palmas*. <sup>d</sup>

THE sixteenth, they fell with the Land, <sup>e</sup> which they judged to be *Cape Mensurado*, about which Place there is very much high Land.

THE eighteenth, Mr. *Townson* lost Sight of the *Hart*, and judged the wilful Master ran in

Return home-  
wards.Cape das  
Palmas,And Men-  
surado.

THE fourth, being put from their Watering-place, they began to boil their Meat in salt Water, and to retrench their Allowance of Drink, to make it hold out the longer; and so resolved to sail homewards.

THE twelfth of *March* they were thwart of *Cape das Palmas*.

THE sixteenth, they fell with the Land, <sup>f</sup> which they judged to be *Cape Mensurado*, about which Place there is very much high Land.

THE eighteenth, Mr. *Townson* lost Sight of the *Hart*, and judged the wilful Master ran in

with the Shore, on purpose to lose him, being 4556. offended that he had told him of his Folly. <sup>Townson.</sup>

THE twenty-seventh, they came in Sight of two small Islands (according to their Opinion) that lie six Leagues off the Head-land of *Sierra Leona*. <sup>Sierra Leona.</sup> although, by their Reckoning, they were thirty or forty Leagues at the least from them. For which Reason all who sail this Way ought to regard the Currents, that set North North-West, or else they may be much deceived. <sup>Caution about the Current.</sup>

THE fourteenth of *April*, they met with two great Ships of *Portugal*, which, although in the Weather, yet came not room with them; whereby they judged they were bound for *Kalekut*.

THE eighteenth, they were in the Height of *Cape Verde*, and, the twenty-fourth, passed the Tropic of *Cancer*. The first of *May*, *Henry Wilson*, their Steward, died; and, next Day, *John Underwood*. The fifth, they were in the Height of *St. Michael*.

THE twenty-third, they spied a Ship in the Weather of them, which proved to be a *Frenchman* of ninety Tuns, who came up very boldly; and judging the *Tyger* to be weak, (as indeed she was) because they perceived she had been upon a long Voyage, drew nearer, and thought to have laid her aboard. Some of his Men appearing in Armour, commanded them to strike. They answered them with Cross-bars, Chain-shot, and Arrows, so thick, that it made the upper Work of their Ship fly about their Ears, and spoiled the Captain, with all his Men; in short, they tore his Ship miserably with their great Ordinance: This cooling his Courage, he began to fall a-stern, and to croud on his Sails, to get away as fast as he could. They, to shew their Love farther, gave him four or five good Balls more for his Farewel; and thus they were rid of the *Monsieurs*, who did them no Harm at all. There was aboard the *Tyger*, a *French* Trumpeter, who being sick in Bed, yet (on this Occasion) took his Trumpet, and sounded till he could sound no more, and so died.

THE twenty-eighth, they conferred together, and agreed to go into the *Severn*, and so to *Bristol*: but the same Night they had Sight of the *Lizard*, which they were forced to bear with, not being able to double the Land's End, because of the Wind; and next Day, about nine in the Morning, they arrived safely at *Plymouth*. <sup>This arrived at Plymouth.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or *Laguy*, nine Leagues East of *Mowree*, as *Mowree* is four and a half East of the Castle *del Mina*.



1557.  
Towrson.

## C H A P. VI.

1557.  
Towrson.

*The Third and last Voyage of Mr. Towrson to the Coast of Guinea, and the Castle del Mina, 1557.*

## S E C T. I.

*They meet and seize two Hambourg Ships, with Goods belonging to the French. Take out the Goods, and dismiss the Hulks. The Canaries. West-India Fleet insult the English. The Spaniards snubbed. Rio del Oro. Capes Blanco and Verd. French trade there.*

The Fleet  
set out.

THE thirtieth of January, the Year above-said, they departed out of the Sound of Plymouth, with a Fleet of three Ships. The *Minion*, Admiral; the *Christopher*, Vice-Admiral; and the *Tyger*: Besides which was a Pinnace, called the *Unicorn*<sup>a</sup>; being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence to the Coast of Guinea.

At the time  
ships.

NEXT Day they met with two Hulks of *Dantzick*; one called the *Rose*, a Ship of 400 Tons, *Nicholas Masse*, Master; the other the *Unicorn*, 150 Tons, *Melchior White*, Master; both laden at *Bordeaux*, for the most Part with Wines. When our Ships came up, they ordered them to send their Boats on board, and examined every one apart, if they had Goods belonging to the French<sup>b</sup> in their Ships. They said they had none. But, by the Contrarieties of their Accounts, and the Suspiciousness of their Charter-Parties, the contrary appeared. One of them being ordered to fetch his Bills of Lading, denied he had any: but some of the English going on board with him, caused him to go to the Place where he had hid them; and the Difference between those Bills and his Talk, confirmed their Suspicion. Hereupon they examined strictly the Purser and Master of the *Unicorn*, who confessed they had thirty-two Tons and a Hoghead of [Wine belonging to] a Frenchman. The Master of the great Ship being interrogated, also confessed he had an hundred and twenty-eight Tons of the same Frenchman's. More than this, they would not acknowledge, but said that the rest of the Cargo was laden by *Peter Lesugues*, of *Hambourg*, to be delivered to one *Henry Summer*, of *Camphire*; notwithstanding all their Letters were directed to *Hambourg*, and written in Dutch without, and in French within.

Consult what  
to do.

AFTER this they consulted what was best to be done. *William Gritton* and *Eduard Selman*

were of Opinion, to carry them either into *Spain*, or *Ireland*, and sell the Goods, or else return to *England* with them. But Mr. *Towrson* having Regard to the Charge given by their Principals, both in Words and Writing, not in any Case to prolong the Time, for fear of losing the Voyage; considering also that the Time of the Year was very far spent, and that the Money they should make of the Wines would not be much, compared with the Benefit proposed from the Voyage, he endeavoured to dissuade them, by observing. First, that if they went into *Ireland*, the Wind being Easterly, they might be locked in there, and to lose their Voyage. Secondly, that he was against going to *Spain*, in regard their Ships sailed so ill, that his kept them Company only with her Fore-sails (so that in every two Days sailing they would hinder him more than one); that the Wind being Easterly, he should not be able to seize the Coast with them; and chiefly on account of the Loss of Time that would accrue. And as for carrying them back to *England*, he held it quite inconvenient, although the Wind had been fair, as it was not, considering how anxious their Employers were to dispatch them out of the Way, lest they should be detained on account of the Wars.

SOME of the Company, not satisfied with these Reasons, went to know the Master's Opinion, who told them plainly, that to carry the Ships into any Place, would be prejudicial to the Interest of the Proprietors; and that if they delayed passing the Cape but one Month longer, only a few Men would go the Voyage. Upon this they paused, and it was determined at last, that every Man should take out of the Hulks so much as he could well bestow for Necessaries; and that next Morning they should conclude what was farther to be done. So the *Minion* took out fourteen Tons and a half of Wine, and put one Ton into the Pinnace: Likewise one Hoghead of *Aquavita*, six Cakes of *Resin*, a small Halfer for Ties, and certain Chestnuts.

THE *Christopher* took ten Tons of Wine, *Plunder* and one Hoghead; a Quantity of *Aquavita*, *ibem*. Shall-Lines, Chestnuts, six double Bases, with their Chambers. Her Men broke up the Hulk's Chests, and took out their Compasses, Running-

<sup>a</sup> This Voyage is in *Hakluyt's* Collection, Vol. 2. part 2. p. 44. and contains near eight Pages. In this second Edition it is assigned to the Year 1577. But this is corrected by the Edition of 1589, which dates it in 1557.

<sup>b</sup> It is to be understood, that at this Time there was War betwixt *England* and *France*. *Hakluyt*.  
VOL. I. N° VIII. Z Glasses,

1557. *Towrson* Glasses, and Sounding-Lead, and Candles. They also cast some of their Beef over-board, and spoiled them so much, that in Pity Mr. *Towrson* gave them a Compass, a Running-Glass, a Lead, and a Line, some Bread and Candles, and what Apparel of theirs he could find in their Ship. He returned them also some of the Money which *William Crompton* took for the Ransom of a poor *Frenchman*, who had been their Pilot down the River of *Bordeaux*; and by reason of the foul Weather, they were not able to set him ashore again. The *Tiger* also took out of the smaller Hulk, six or seven Tuns of Wine, one Hog-head of Aquavita, and certain Rosin; and two Bales out of the great Hulk.

THE first Day of *February*, in the Morning, they all came together again, except *William Crompton*, who sent them word, that he was contented to agree to whatever they should resolve upon.

*EDWARD SELMAN* was of the Opinion, that it was best to put Men into the Ships, and carry them to *England*. But neither Mr. *Towrson* nor the Master would agree to this, it being thought imprudent to unman their Ships going outward, considering how dangerous the Time was. So that at length it was agreed to let them depart; and give the *Dantzickers* the Wine which was left, for the Freight of those Things, which the *English* had taken from them. So having received a Note under their Hands, acknowledging how much Goods they had belonging to the *French*, they dismissed them.

THE tenth, being, by their Reckoning, twenty-five Leagues short of the *Grand Canarie*, the Pinnace broke her Rudder, and was towed at the Stern of the *Minion*, which yet kept Company with the rest of the Ships. About eleven o'Clock they had Sight of that Island.

*TENERIF.* THE eleventh, when they came to the Island, they found it was *Tenerif*, and then indeed saw the *Grand Canarie*, which lieth twelve Leagues to the Eastward; whither they shaped their Course, because the Road of *Tenerif* was foul Ground, and nothing was to be had there for helping the Pinnace.

*Grand Canary.* THE twelfth, they came in the Road of the Town of *Canarie*, which lies one League from the same: And after they had saluted the Town and Castle with several Pieces of Ordnance, the Governor and Captains of the Island, sent to desire the Captains of the Ships to come ashore, and received them very friendly, offering their Jennets to ride to Town; whither they went with two *English* Merchants, who resided there, and remained in their House that Day. Next Day they went aboard to deliver their Merchandize, and get their Pinnace mended.

THE fourteenth, came into the Road, the *Spanish Fleet*, bound to the Emperor's *Indies*, which consisted of nineteen Sail; whereof six were Ships of four and five hundred Tons, the rest of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and one hundred. When they were come to Anchor, they, with their Guns, saluted the *English*, who returned the Compliment. Afterwards the Admiral, (who was a Knight) sent his Pinnace, desiring to see Mr. *Towrson*, whom he received very friendly, and feasted; discoursing about the State of *England* and *Flanders*. When Mr. *Towrson* was in the Boat, ready to return, one of the Admiral's Gentlemen spoke to *Francisco*, the Portuguese, his Interpreter, to require him to furl his Flag, for that he was the General of the Emperor's Fleet. Being come aboard, *Francisco* acquainted him therewith, and because he refused to furl it, some Soldiers in the *Spanish* Ships, shot their Harquebusses at the *Minion*, and over her Flag.

AT the same Time, some Gentlemen coming aboard to see the Ship, Mr. *Towrson* told them, that if they did not command their Men to forbear, he would shoot the best Ordnance he had thorough their Sides. Perceiving the Captain was offended, they departed, and caused their Soldiers to shoot no more. Afterwards they came again, and told him they had punished their Men. That done, he shewed them his Ship, and made them the best Cheer he could, which they received very kindly; and next Day sent for him to dine with them, with Word, that their General was very sorry that any Man should require him to furl his Flag, and that it was without his Consent. Requesting Mr. *Towrson* not to impute any Incivility to him; and promising that no Man of his should misbehave himself.

THE seventeenth, leaving *Grand Canarie*, next Morning they reached the Coast of *Barbary*; and running along the Shore, had Sight of *Rio del Oro*, which lies almost under the Tropic.

THE twenty-first, they found themselves to be in twenty Degrees and a half, which is the Height of *Cape Blank*, and, the twenty-fifth, had Sight of the Land in the Bay, to the Northward of *Cape Verde*.

THE twenty-sixth, Mr. *Towrson* went with *Francisco* and *Francis Castelin* in the Pinnace, on board the *Tiger*, which was nearest Shore; and, with her and the other Ships, ran West by South, and West South-West, till about four o'Clock, at which Time they were very near the *Cape Verde*. Then they ran in South-West; and, beyond the Cape about four Leagues, found a fair Island, with two or three others, which were very high Rocks, and so full of Pigeons, and divers Sorts of both Sea and Land Fowls, that

The Emperor *Charles V.* then King of *Spain*.

the

1557. the whole Island was covered with their Dung, <sup>a</sup> and so white, as if it had been of Chalk. Within those Islands, was a very fair Bay; and near the Rocks, eighteen Fathom Water, and fair Ground. Understanding that the French had a great Trade there, and being desirous to pry into it, they cast Anchor in the Bay: After which, they caused the Pinnace to run beyond another Cape, to see if there were any Place to trade in there.

Townson  
French  
Trade there.

It being near Night, Mr. Townson took the Cock-boat, and Tiger's Skiff, and went to the Island, where they got certain Fowls like Canards [Ducks;] after which, having a Mind to try what could be done there, he went to talk to the Captain of the *Christopher* about it, but found him not willing to continue there; and the Master said positively, he would not, for that he was not bound thither.

They go in  
Sail

THE twenty-seventh, the Captain <sup>a</sup>, and Edward Selman from the *Tiger*, and John Makenzie from the *Christopher*, came to Mr. Townson, and agreed to go with the Pinnace along the Shore, because no Negros came to them where they rode, and the Pinnace brought them Word, that there was a very fair Island beyond the Point. Thither they went, and found also a goodly Bay. On the Coast they saw Negros, who waved to them. Whereupon, casting Anchor with the Pinnace, they went ashore in their Cock, and were shewed where their Trade was. They had Elephants Teeth, Musk, and Hides; and offered to fetch down their Captain, if the *English* would send a Man with them, proposing to leave a Pledge for him. Being asked, how long since any Ship had been there? Some of them said, it was above eight Months, others, six, and others, but four. They said, the Owners were *Frenchmen*. But the *Christopher* being unwilling to stay, they departed, and went aboard the *Tiger*.

## S E C T. II.

They sail with the Coast of Guinea. River Sestos. News of French Ships. Rio de Potos. Hanta. Meet five Portuguese Ships. Are attacked, and fight. Laguna. Go in Quest of the French. Come up with them. They run. The Mullet taken. Proves a rich Prize. Egrand. Trade there. Perenine. Mowre. Don John's Town. Refuses to trade. Insulted at Mowre. They burn the Town.

Cause of  
War.

THE tenth of March, they fell with the Coast of Guinea, five Leagues West of Cape de Monte, near a River, called Rio das Palmas.

THE eleventh, they went ashore, and found a Man, who speaking some *Portuguese*, told them, that three *French* Ships had passed by, one two Months, and the other one Month before. Here Mr. Townson received nineteen Elephants Teeth, and two Ounces and half a quarter of Gold.

1557  
Townson

THE twelfth, they sailed for the River de Sestos; and, the thirteenth, at Night, fell with Sestos the same.

THE fourteenth, thole in the *Minion*, sent their Boats for Water, and rummaged the Ship, delivering such Wares to the *Christopher* and *Tiger*, as they had need of.

THE fifteenth, they met, and agreed to send the *Tiger* to another River to take in her Water, and see if she could get any Grains [of *Paradi*, so they called *Guinea* Pepper] After this, they went into the River with Goods, where they found a Negro, who was born in *Lisbon*, and had been left there by a Ship of *Portugal*, which was burned last Year at this River, fighting with three *Frenchmen*. He told them farther, that two Months before, there were three *French* Ships at this Place, two more, within six Weeks, and one, fifteen Days past; and that they all were gone towards the *Mina*. This Day they took but few Grains.

THE nineteenth, considering that the *French* were gone before them, and that by Reason of the unwholsome Air of the Place, fourteen of the *Minion's* Men were sick, they determined to depart, and hasten to the *Mina*.

THE twenty-first, they came to the River de Potos, where some of the Boats went in for Water. And Mr. Townson, in the Cock, took twelve small Elephants Teeth.

Rio de Po-  
tos

THE twenty-third, after they had taken as many Teeth as they could get, about nine of the Clock they set Sail.

THE thirty-first, they came to Hanta, and sold some Manillios [or Bracelets].

Hanta.

THE first of April, having descried five Sail of *Portuguese*, they went off to Sea, to get the Wind of them; which they should have done, had it kept its ordinary Course at South-West, and West South-West. But this Day it blew at East, and East South-East, so that the *Portuguese* had the Wind of them, and came all except one, (which sailed not so well as the rest) within Shot. Then it falling calm, the Wind changed to South-West: However, it being near Night, and the *Christopher*, by Means of her Boat, four Leagues to Leeward, the *Minion* tacked, and ran into the Weather of the Admiral, and three more.

Meet five  
Portuguese  
Ships.

WHEN they were near they spake to him, but he would not answer. Then they tacked about,

<sup>a</sup> It is hard to find who the Captains were, for their Names and Titles are never mentioned together

1557. and lay in the Weather of him; who tacking <sup>a</sup> also, shot at them. They returning the Compliment, shot him four or five Times through. The *Minion* received several Shot through her Sails; but no Man was hurt. The *Tiger* and Pinnace, because it was Night, kept out their Sails, and would not meddle with him. For the same Reason, the *Minion* would not lay him aboard: But after fighting more than two Hours, gave over shooting, and kept still the Weather of the Enemy. Then the *Tiger* and Pinnace tacking about, came up, and afterward all three stood to Sea, and shot off a Piece to give Warning to the *Christopher*.

THIS Night, about twelve, there being very little Wind, and the Master of the *Tiger* asleep, by the ill Work of his Men, the Ship fell aboard the *Minion*, and with her Shear-hooks, cut the others Main-sail. Her Boat, being betwixt the two, was broken and sunk, with certain Merchandize in her. The Ship's Wales were also broken, with her Outleger: Yet in the End, they got clear of her, without any more Hurt, although she was in great Danger of being broken down to the Water.

Pursue the  
Fugitive

THE second, they drew near the *Christopher*, and Mr. *Townson* going on board, was informed, that after the *Portuguese* had left his Ship, they all went room with him; and meeting about twelve at Night, exchanged Bullets with them. They shot him thorough the Sails in divers Places, but did no other great Hurt. Hereupon, they all agreed to seek the Enemy, and keep a-weather their Places of Traffic. Accordingly, the third, they ran all Day South-Westwards in Quest of them; but getting no Sight of them, hauled into Shore again.

1. 2. 3.

THE fourth, when they came in Sight of Land, they found, that the Current had set them thirty Leagues to the Eastward of their reckoning, which they wondered at; for the first Land they made was *Lagua* <sup>a</sup>. Then Mr. *Townson* went with his own and the *Christopher*'s Boat, on Shore, and by Means of their Negro, learned, that there were four *French* Ships upon the Coast: One at *Periunen*, six Leagues to the West. Another at *Weamba* <sup>b</sup>, four Leagues to the East: A third at *Porecow* <sup>c</sup>, four Leagues Eastward of *Weamba*: And the fourth at *Egrand* <sup>d</sup>, which is four Leagues to the East of *Porecow*. Upon this Intelligence, they agreed to go and drive the *French* from their Traffic: And within an Hour had Sight of one of them under Sail, hauling off from *Weamba*, to whom they gave Chace. It was agreed, that in the Night, for

Go in Quest  
of the  
French.

1557. Fear of over-shooting them, the *Minion* should first come to Anchor; and about three Hours after, the *Tiger* and *Christopher*, to bear along all Night.

1557.  
Townson.

THE fifth, they found three of the *French* Ships at Anchor; *La foye de Honfleur*, a Ship of two hundred and twenty Tons, the *Ventereuse*, or small Row-barge of *Honfleur*, of one hundred Tons; (both the Property of *Shawdet* of *Honfleur*;) and the *Mulet de Batuille*, one hundred and twenty Tons, which belonged to Merchants of *Roan*.

It had been determined, that the *Minion* should lay the Admiral aboard; the *Christopher*, the Vice-Admiral; and the *Tiger*, the smallest: But when they drew near, the *Monsieurs* weighed, and the *Christopher* being the headmost and weathermost Man, went room with the Admiral. The Row-barge went so fast, that they could not fetch her. The first that they came to was the *Mulet*; whom they laid aboard, entered and took. She was the richest Ship, except the Admiral, which had taken about eighty Pound of Gold; the Row-barge but twenty-two. Thus they learned of the Prisoners. They had been upon the Coast of *Mina* two Months and odd Days. Although the Row-barge had been there earlier with another Ship of *Diepe*, and a Caravel, which had beaten all the Coast; and were departed one Month before the *English* arrived. These three had taken about seven hundred Pound of Gold.

The Mullet  
taken.

HAVING left Men to keep the Prize, they gave Chace to the other two Ships, till three o'Clock next Day in the Afternoon: But as they could not fetch them, and brought themselves to the Leeward of their Place, they gave over the Pursuit, and stood in again to Shore.

THE seventh, the Prize-Gold being weighed before the Captains, Merchants, and Masters of the Ships, amounted to fifty Pound five Ounces.

THE twelfth, they came to the farther Place of the *Mina*, called *Egrand*. Here they took the Merchants Goods out of the Prize, and would have sold her, with the Victuals, to the *Frenchmen*. But being leaky, they declined it; and desired to be admitted on board the *English* Ships; which was granted. It was also agreed, to take out the Victuals, and sink the Ship.

THE fifteenth, at Night, they made an End of discharging the Prize, and divided all the *Frenchmen* among the Ships, except four who were sick, and not able to help themselves: Which four, both the *Christopher* and the *Tiger* refused to take, leaving them in their Ship alone in the Night; so that about Midnight, Mr. *Townson* was forced to fetch them into his Ship.

<sup>a</sup> Or *Laguy*; afterwards called *Lagua*; and *Lagwa* by *Lok*.  
Fort. <sup>c</sup> This seems to be the Little *Barakkow*, or *Berow*.  
*glis*, *Dutch*, and *Dancs*, have each a Fort.

<sup>b</sup> Or *Wamba*, where the *English* have a  
<sup>d</sup> This seems to be *Akkara*, where the *Eng-*

1557.  
Towrison  
The Sepa-  
rate.

Time at  
Ig and.

Perennine.

Mowre.

Don John's  
Town.

THE fifteenth of April, the Company being moved for the Voyage to *Benin*, most of them refused it. Whereupon it was agreed to spend as much Time on the Coast as they could, in order to make their Voyage: Accordingly, the *Minion* was to stay at *Egrand*, the *Tiger* to go to *Pericow*, which is four Leagues off, and the *Christopher* to *Weamba*, ten Leagues to the Weatherward of this Place; and in case either of the latter should have Sight of more Sails than they thought good to meddle with, she was to join the other, and both repair to the *Minion*. This Ship remained at *Egrand* till the last Day of April; in which Time many of the Men fell sick, and six of them died. Here they could have no Traffic with the Negros, but three or four Days in the Week; for the rest of the Time they would not come near them. The third of May, the Pinnace not being sent with Cloth from the other Ships, as was promised, they sold French Cloth; and gave but three Yards to every Suff.

THE fifth, the Negros went away, promising to return within four Days: Wherefore they determined to stay so long, although divers of their Men were sick. The eighth, all their Cloth being sold, and the Company called together, to know whether they would stay to sell the Cloth taken in the Prize? They answered in the Negative; because some of the Men were dead, and twenty more sick. Wherefore it was resolved to repair to the other Ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the twenty-seventh of April, (although they had the Pinnace with them, only to carry News from one to another) and then go all together to try what was to be done at the Town of Don John.

THE tenth, in the Morning, they set Sail; and the eleventh, the Captain of the *Christopher* came and told them, that there was but little Business at the Places where they had been.

THE twelfth, Mr. Towrison went with *William Crompton* in the small Pinnace, to the *Tiger* and *Christopher* at *Perennine*, and next Day dispatched the *Tiger* to *Egrand*, because they found nothing to do at *Perennine*, worth the tarrying for.

THE fourteenth, the great Pinnace being come to them, they sent her back with Cloth to *Weamba*, where she had been before, and taken ten Pound of Gold. The fifteenth, the *Minion* came to them; and next Day going ashore with the Boats, they took but one Ounce of Gold.

THE nineteenth, they came to Anchor before *Mowre*, and staid there two Days; but took not an Ounce of Gold.

THE twenty-first, they came to Don John's Town, and next went to Shore with their Boats; but the Negros would not come at them. Then

Mr. Towrison, and the Captain of the *Christopher*, taking a Skiff with eight Men, went and talked to the Negros; who said, they would send a Man to the great Town to give Don John Notice of their coming.

THE twenty-third, going on Shore again, the Negros told them, that Don John's Merchants would come down that Day. So they staid there till Night; but nobody would come near them. On the contrary, divers of the Natives made them Signs to depart.

THE twenty fourth, the Captain of the *Christopher* going in his Boat to *Mowre*, certain Negros came to know the Price of his Wares; but an Almada, which came (as he judged) from the Castle, obliged them to retire. After this, landing with some of his Men, the Negros threw Stones, and would not suffer them to go to their Town. Hereupon, they took certain of the Almadies, and putting to Sea, departed.

THE same Morning, Mr. Towrison went ashore at Don John's Town, with a white Flag, but none of the Negros coming to him, it was judged, the Portuguese were there. After this, the Boat arrived well manned, and he sent one up to the Town, with a white Flag in his Hand. But as soon as he got thither, all the Negros went away, nor would so much as speak to him. Then he dispatched another into the Woods after them, but they would not come to. When his Men saw that, they took twelve Goats, and fourteen Hens, which they found in the Town, without doing any farther Hurt. Being returned aboard, he found the Pinnace come from *Cormatin*, where she had taken two Pound five Ounces of Gold. And after, having much to do with the forward Mariners, the *Minion* went towards that Place, and the *Christopher* to *Mowre*; the Master of which, next Day, sending his Boat to the Shore for Balast, the Negros would have forced the Company on board again. These resisting, flew, and hurt several; and having put them to Flight, burned their Town, and broke all their Boats.

### SECT. III.

*Kormatin. Provisions growing scarce, they dismiss the French. Hanta. Their Trade obstructed. They burn Shamma. Return homewards. Are driven to San Tome, or St. Thomas. That Island described. Cape Verde. Isle of Salt, or Sal. The Tiger leaky; is set adrift. Azores. The Christopher in weak Condition, separates. The Minion's Distress in a Storm. She gets home safe.*

THE twenty-sixth, the Pinnace came to the *Minion* from *Cormatin*, having taken two Pound eleven Ounces of Gold. And John Shiff

<sup>a</sup> Or *Cormatin*, where there is a Dutch Fort

1557. told Mr. *Townson*, that the Negros were very desirous for a Ship to return to their Town. Whereupon, next Day, he went thither. And the twenty-eighth, the *Christopher* came to him from *Mowee*, and trafficked there two Days.

THE second of *June*, the *Tiger* joined them from *Igrand*, and the Pinnace from *Wcamba*; having taken between them, about fifty Pound of Gold at those Places.

THE fourth, they departed from *Cormatin*, to ply up to *Shamma*, not being able to stay any longer on the Coast, for Want of Provision, and especially Drink.

THE seventh, they descried five of the King of *Portugal's* Ships, which came to anchor at the Castle. And next Day, *George* and *Binny*<sup>a</sup> came to them, and brought about two Pound of Gold.

THE tenth, in the Morning, Mr. *Townson* went with the Captain of the *Christopher* in the small Pinnace, well manned, to view the *Portuguese* Vessels, which consisted of one Ship, of about three hundred Tons, and four Caravels. On their Return, they found their own seven Leagues off at Sea. Next Morning, they were up with the *Tiger*, towards *Shamma*, which they might have reached, but that having brought themselves in the Weather of the *Portuguese* Ships, they cast Anchor, to wait for the *Minion* and Pinnace, which staid behind. At Night, they both came up. But not being able to fetch so far to the Weatherward, anchored about a League short of the Castle; and Mr. *Townson* in the *Christopher* went room with her.

THE twelfth, the *Tiger* joined the *Christopher*, and both being in great Need of Victuals, would have gone with the *Portuguese* Ships to have fetched them forth. But the Matter and Company of the *Minion*, would not consent to go, for Fear of hanging, when they got home. And indeed, the other two Ships, fearing to be accused by some of their own Company, at length desisted. After this, by Reason the Pinnace was in Want of Victuals, which none but the *Minion* could supply them with, they took out her Men; and putting twelve *Frenchmen* in her, gave them Victuals to carry them to *Shamma*.

THE nineteenth, the *Tiger* and *Minion*, arrived at *Shamma*, leaving the *Christopher* two Leagues behind, by Reason of the Wind; which had been so scant, that in fifteen Days they had plied to Windward but twelve Leagues, which before they had done in one Day and Night. Next Day, Mr. *Townson* took the Pinnace, and went to *Shamma*, to speak with the Captain; who told him, that there was no Gold there to be had, nor so much as a Hen to be bought, on Ac-

a count of the Agreement he had made with the *Portuguese*. 1557. *Townson*.

THE twenty-first, he put such Things as they had, into the small Pinnace, and sent her to *Hanta* with two Merchants, to try if she could do any Thing there. That Night they could do nothing; but were promised Gold the next Day. Yet being sent accordingly, neither the Captain nor the Negros, durst traffic with them, but only deluded them with fair Words. This Day, they put away the Pinnace<sup>b</sup>, with twenty-five *Frenchmen* in her, and gave them such Victuals as they could spare; obliging fifteen of them to pay six Crowns a Man, Ransom.

THE twenty-third, those in the Pinnace returning from *Hanta*, told them, that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffic to any Purpose.

THE twenty-fourth, Mr. *Townson* manning his Boat and Pinnace well, went to *Shamma*; and because its Captain was become subject to the *Portuguese*, they burned the Town: And among the trifling Spoil, the Men found the Chest of a *Portuguese*, in which were some of his Cloaths, and his Weights, with a Letter from the Castle, from whence they concluded, that he had been there a long Time.

THE twenty-fifth, about three in the Afternoon, they stood out to Sea, for their Return to *England*. The thirtieth, they fell with the Shore again, eighteen Leagues (as they computed) to the Windward of *Shamma*. But when they came to make the Land, they found themselves eighteen Leagues to the Leeward of the Place; which was owing to the Current, that sets violently to the Eastward. When they perceived themselves so deceived, they tacked about again, and lay as near the Wind as they could, to reach the Line.

THE seventh of *July*, they had Sight of the Isle of *St. Thome*, and thought to have sought the Road, to anchor there: But next Morning, the Wind coming about, they kept their Course. The ninth, the Wind varying, they tacked about again, and fell with the same Island. But in looking for the Road, were becalmed, and driven by the Current near the Shore; yet could have no Ground to anchor. So that the *Minion* was forced to hoist out her Pinnace, and the other Ships their Skiffs, to tow from the Island, which did little good. But in the End, the Wind put them three Leagues off it.

THE tenth, the *Christopher* and the *Tiger* tacking about, those in the *Minion* judged they were going in Quest of Ships in the Road; and were not willing to go after them, for Fear of

<sup>a</sup> Two of the Negros who had been in *England*. *Minion*

<sup>b</sup> This seems to have been the large Pinnace of the running

1557. running in with the Land again, and putting a  
 themselves in the same Danger they were in the  
 Night before. But they shot off a Piece, and put  
 out two Lights, which were answered with Lights  
 again. Whereupon they kept their Course, thinking  
 the others had followed them: But not seeing  
 them in the Morning, they perceived they  
 had dropped them by Design, and resolved to go  
 after them no longer. However on the eleventh,  
 they altered their Minds; and tacking about  
 again for the Island, to seek the Ships, about  
 four in the Afternoon met with them.

THE thirteenth, they fell again with the Island  
 of *St. Thome*; and the same Night they found  
 themselves directly under the Line.

The Island  
 described.

THIS Island is very high; and being on the  
 West Side of it, there appears a very high Pike,  
 which is very small, and straight, like the Steeple  
 of a Church, lying directly under the Line; and  
 about a Mile West from the same South End of the  
 Island, there lieth a small Island.

THE third of *August*, departing from the  
 Island of *St. Thome*, they met the Wind at South-  
 West.

Cape Verde.

THE twelfth, they were in the Height of  
*Cape Verde*.

The Isle of  
 Sal

THE twenty-second, they fell with one of  
 the Isles of *Cape Verde*, called [*Salor*] *Salt*. And  
 being informed by a *Scotchman*, they took among  
 the *French*, that fresh Victuals were to be had  
 there, they came to Anchor.

THE twenty-third, in the Morning, the Skiff  
 being sent ashore, found no Houses, or any Men  
 but four, who kept at a Distance. As for Cattle  
 they saw none, except Goats, which were very  
 numerous; but so wild, that they could not  
 catch above three or four. To make Amends,  
 they had good Store of Fish: And on a small  
 Isle near the same, they met with Plenty of Sea  
 Birds.

AT Night, the *Christopher* broke her Cable, e  
 and lost an Anchor; so that being able to stay no  
 longer, they all set Sail. On the same Island  
 they lost the *Scot*, they could not tell how; un-  
 less the People of the Island found him sleeping,  
 and so carried him away. At Night, Mr. *Towr-*  
*son* went himself to seek him, but could hear no-  
 thing of him.

The Tiger  
 leaky.

THE twenty-fourth, the Master of the *Tiger*  
 came, to acquaint those on board the *Minion*,  
 that his Men were so weak, and the Ship so leaky,  
 that he was not able to keep her longer above  
 Water; and therefore requested them to go back  
 again to the Island, in order to take out the  
 Goods, and give her up. They intreated him to  
 persevere a while, and put a *French* Carpenter in-  
 to her, to see if he could find the Leak. This  
 Day they took a View of all their Men, and

found there were not above thirty found, in the  
 three Ships.

THE twenty-fifth, they had Sight of the Isle  
 of *St. Nicholas*, and the Day following, of *St.*  
*Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, and *St. Anthony*. Which four,  
 bear, in Respect of each other, North-West by  
 West, South-East by East.

THE twenty-sixth, they came again with the  
 Island of *St. Anthony*, and could not double the  
 Cape. This Day, *Philip Jones*, Master of the  
*Christopher*, came aboard the *Minion*, and told  
 them, that those of the *Tiger* were not able to  
 keep her, she was so leaky, and the Master so very  
 weak. Farther, that he had agreed with the Master  
 and Company, that in case they could double  
 the Island next Day, they should run to the Lec-  
 ward of it, and there unload her. But if they  
 could not double it, then to put in betwixt that  
 and *St. Vincent*, with the same View.

THE third of *September*, Mr. *Towrson* went  
 aboard the *Tiger*, with the Master and Merchants,  
 and found the Ship very leaky, and only six la-  
 bouring Men in her, whereof one was the Ma-  
 ster Gunner. Whereupon, they agreed to take in  
 the Men, and what of the Goods they could save,  
 and set the Ship adrift. Next Day they went  
 about it; and having taken out the Artillery,  
 Goods, Victuals, and Gold, on the eighth, they  
 gave her up in the Latitude of twenty-five De-  
 grees.

THE twenty-seventh, they had Sight of two  
 of the Isles of the *Azores*, *St. Mary*, and *St. Mi-*  
*chael*. And the fourth of *October*, found themselves  
 in forty-one Degrees and a half from the Line.

THE sixth, the *Christopher* came to desire  
 those of the *Minion*, to put in with the Cape  
 [*Fuizierre*] her Men being so weak, that they were  
 not able to keep the Sea. As they were weak  
 also, they agreed to go for *Vigo*, a Place frequen-  
 ted by the *Englishmen*.

THE tenth, the *Christopher* went towards the  
 Cape. But the *Minion*, having a brisk Wind for  
*England*, and fearing the Danger of Enemies,  
 who ordinarily ply thereabout, held on her Course.  
 Besides, they did not know how Matters stood  
 between *England* and *Spain*: And although they  
 were at Peace, yet there was little Friendship to  
 be expected at their Hands. Considering the Voy-  
 age they had made, there was Reason also to ap-  
 prehend, that the King of *Portugal*, knowing  
 where they had been, might contrive some Way  
 with the Council of *Spain* to trouble them. They  
 farther reflected, that in case they put into any  
 Harbour, they should not be able to come out  
 again, till they had gotten more Men from *Eng-*  
*land*; which would be attended with great Charge,  
 as well as Loss of Time, besides many other In-  
 conveniencies. All these Things considered, they  
 agreed

1561. agreed to shoot off two Pieces of Ordnance, to a warn the *Christopher*, and then held on their Course for *England*. She hearing their Guns, followed them, and they carried a Light for her; but they could not see her all next Day, the Morning of which proved misty: Whence they concluded, either that she had gone for *Spain*; or else, that having crouded more Sails then they in the Night, was shot a-head of them.

Minion's  
bad Pilot.

WHEN the *Christopher* left them, they were within one hundred and twenty Leagues of *England*, and forty-five Leagues North-West by West from Cape *Finister*. At the same Time they had not, in their Ship, above six Mariners, and as many Merchants, in Health; which was but a slender Company to seek a foreign Harbour with such a Vessel.

Distress in a  
Storm.

THE sixteenth, about six at Night, a great Storm arose at West South-West, and their Men being weak, and not able to handle the Sails, they lost their Main-sail, Fore-sail, and Sprit-sail: So that they were forced to lie at Hull till the eighteenth; when, finding themselves far shot into the Sleeve, they fastened an old Fore-sail (they had trimmed up) to the Yard, and bore with their own Coast: But that Fore-sail continued not above two Hours, before it was blown from the Yard with a *Freat*, and thus they were forced to lie at Hull again till next Morning, and then put an old Bonnet to their Fore-yard, which brought them to the *Ile of White*, where they arrived the twentieth of *October*, Afternoon.

Gets home  
safe.

THE Commodities and Wares, that are most desired in *Guinea*, betwixt *Sierra Leona*, and the farthest Place of the *Mina*.

1561  
Lok.

Goods for  
Guinea.

MANILS of Brass, and some of Lead.  
BASONS of divers Sorts, but the most of *Latten*.  
POTS of coarse Tin, of a Quart or more.  
SOME Wedges of Iron, Margarets, and certain other slight Beads.

SOME blue Coral. Some Horse-tails.

LINEN principally.

BASONS of *Flanders*.

SOME red Cloth, of low Price, and some Kersey.

KETTLES of *Dutch-land* [*Holland*] with brazen Handles.

SOME great Brass Basons, graved; such as, in *Flanders*, they set upon their Cup-Boards.

SOME great Basons of Pewter, and Ewers, graven.

SOME Lavers, such as be for Water.

GREAT Knives of a low Price.

SLIGHT *Flanders* Caskets.

CHESTS of *Raan*, of a low Price; or any other Chests.

GREAT Pins.

COARSE *French* Coverings.

PACKING-sheets good Store.

SWORDS, Daggers, Frieze-Mantles, and Gowns, Cloaks, Hats, red Caps, *Spanish* Blankets, Hair-Heads, Hammers, short Pieces of Iron, slight Bells, Gloves of a low Price, Leather Bags, and what other Trifles you will.

## C H A P. VII.

### Voyages to Guinea in 1561 and 1562, 1564 and 1566.

#### SECT. I.

A Voyage to Guinea in 1561, undertaken by Mr. John Lok, but afterwards declined by him; with his Reasons for the same.

Preparation  
1561

THE first of these five Voyages, intended by the Merchant Adventurers for *Guinea*, was not performed. It was undertaken by Sir William Gerard, Knight, Mess. William Winter, Benjamin Gonson, Antony Hickman, and Edward Castelin. Only one Ship, the *Minion*, was to have gone; which seems to have been sent to assist and bring home the *Primrose*, which was then abroad. The Command of her was given to Mr. John Lok, (the same, it is presumed, who made the Voyage of 1554, already inserted) by the a-

bove-mentioned Adventurers, who delivered him certain Articles or Instructions, for that Purpose, the eight of *September*, 1561. But Mr. Lok afterwards declining to go the Voyage, wrote a Letter from *Bristol*, dated the eleventh of *December* following, to the Company of Merchant Adventurers for *Guinea*, shewing Reasons for the same.

BOTH the Articles and Letter are inserted in Hakluyt's Collection<sup>b</sup>. In the Articles, Mr. Lok's first Instruction is, as he passes along the Coast of *Guinea*, to come to the Knowledge of the Rivers, Havens, and Harbours; and to make a Plat (or Chart) inserting those Places, which he shall think most material, according to their true Elevations (or Latitudes.) Their next Instruction is, to learn what Commodities belong to the Places he touched at, and what would be proper to carry thither.

Instructions  
to observe  
the Latitude.

<sup>a</sup> That is, the Channel, called by the *French*, *la Manche*.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 2 Part 2. p. 52, 53.

Their



1561. Their third Instruction is, to look out, on the Coast of *Mina*, in the King of *Habaan's*<sup>a</sup> Country, for a fit Place for building a Fort, with Regard to which, they point out seven Things to be considered by him. 1. That the Ground, pitched upon, may lie near the Sea, so as Ships or Boats may lade and unlade. 2. What Mould or Earth the Ground is of. 3. What Timber or Wood may be had, and how it may be carried. 4. What Provision may be had in the Country, and what Sort of *English* Victuals will keep best in those Parts. 5. The Place must be such, as is naturally strong, or may be made so at small Expence, and afterwards kept by a few Men. 6. How Water may be procured, in case there be none in, or near to, the Ground belonging to the Fort. 7. What Help is to be had from the People of the Country, either for the Building, or Defence of it.

*about sailing  
1561,*

*And found-  
ing the King*

AFTER this, he is directed to sound the King of *Habaan* at a Distance, to see how he should resist the Building of a Fort. Yet, in such a Manner, that the King should not suspect his Design. Also to search, both the Coasts and inland Parts of the Country, so far as he should be able; and to learn what became of the Merchants who were left at *Benin*<sup>b</sup>. They leave to himself what relates to setting down the most remarkable Occurrences; and desire him, as Occasion may offer, to aid and assist their Factors with his Advice, and otherwise.

*Look down  
the Passage*

SOME Time after this, as it should seem from Mr. Lok's Letter, they sent down Mr. *Pet* and *Buttol Monny* to *Bristol*, to go the Voyage, and put the *Minion* in Order; concluding, that if, in twenty Days, she could be repaired of the Damages, sustained by the last Storm, she should set out, or even in the Month of *January*, in case the Wind served. Mr. Lok takes this Occasion to give the Company to understand, that he was determined not to go the Voyage at that Time, for the following Reasons. First, For that the Ship was in so bad a Condition, that all Mr. *Pet's* Art would not be able to make her so staunch, that the Men might lie dry in any of the Cabins: For though, before the last Damage, she had been bound and caulked at *Harwich*, both within and without, as much as could be; yet, upon any Stress of Weather, she opened, and was as bad as ever. He farther says, that it is his Opinion, that the Ship, whose *Water-Works* and *Footings* are spent and rotten, cannot but leak. His next Reason is, the unseasonable Time of the Year for setting out. For the Inconveniencies attending which, he brings the second Voyage<sup>c</sup> to

*His Reasons  
for it.*

a *Guinea* as an Instance; and the last<sup>d</sup>, and other Voyages, to prove the Danger of returning at an unseasonable Time, to the impairing the Strength of many, which has brought great Calamities on the rest, and Scandal on the Voyage.

1562.  
Rutter

For these Reasons, he says, he could not, in Conscience, go the Voyage. He adds, that as the Ship was alone, and had so little Help of Boat or Pinnace, either in her Trade or Watering, wherein, of Necessity, much Time must be spent; therefore, he could not possibly answer their Expectation this Time in going, because he should want both *Vessel* and Men for the Service. And as for himself, he should not care, after being at great Charges and Trouble, to lose both Pot and Water, as the Proverb is, only for not succeeding according to their Wishes. With Regard to the *Primrose*, he says, in case she was in *Guinea*, her Trading would be finished before he could get thither, and consequently must be forced to return for Want of Provision; and that, though he should carry her a Supply, yet the meeting with her would be very uncertain: And that, in case he should meet her, the Men would not stay any longer there, as there was no Reason they should. However, he tells them his Opinion, that she was in *Ireland*; [for] the *Flower de Luce*<sup>e</sup> was at *Milford*.

MR. Lok farther acquaints the Proprietors, that he understood, by a Ship arrived from *Lisbon*, that there were four great Ships, in Readiness, only to intercept him, one of them accounted 700 Tons, and other Pinnaces. Yet, he protests, it was neither for Fear of them, (though he should be sure to meet them alone, and without Aid) nor of the stormy Seas, that he had determined not to proceed, but purely for the Reasons above alledged. Declaring, that if they would try him at a seasonable Time of the Year, he would readily undertake the Voyage, although the Ship was not half so big as the *Minion*; or if he had Substance enough of his own, would venture it all himself. He concludes, by desiring them, if they intend to proceed, to send one to him, promising to deliver the Articles he received, and communicate certain Remarks he had made relating thereto, with his best Advice.

## SECT. II.

A Voyage to Guinea in 1562. Written by William Rutter.

THERE are two Accounts of this Voyage, one in *English Metre*, written by *Robert Baker*, one of the Factors in the *Minion*; the other in

<sup>a</sup> In *Townson's* Voyage called King *Ebaane*, and *Abaan*.

<sup>c</sup> This is the Voyage he performed himself, inserted before. See p. 144.

<sup>e</sup> This Ship seems to have made the Voyage with the *Primrose*

<sup>b</sup> This was by *Windham*, in 1553. See p. 143.

<sup>d</sup> This probably is *Townson's* last

1562.  
Rutter

Prose, contained in a Letter from *William Rutter*,<sup>a</sup> dated the sixth of *August*, 1563, to *Antony Hickman*, whose Servant or Factor he was. The first is inserted in the first Edition of *Hackluyt's Collection*, but omitted in the second, in Place of which, that of *Rutter* is put<sup>b</sup>. As *Baker's* Piece is not so properly an Account of the Voyage, as a poetical Description of the Winds and Seas, and two or three of the most remarkable Accidents, or Adventures, which seemed most proper for exercising his Vein. For this Reason, we shall give the Voyage from *Rutter's* Relation, only adding one or two Particulars from the other. The Calamities, which attended the Men in this Voyage, fully justify *Mr. Lok's* Reasons for declining that the Year before, and it is probable, the Undertakers themselves laid it aside: But whether induced by his Reasons, or compelled by the Disappointment, we are not able to determine.

Undertakers  
and Ships.

THE Undertakers of this Voyage were, Sir *William Gerrard*, Sir *William Chester*, Mess. *Thomas Lodge*, *Antony Hickman*, and *Edward Castelm*. Their Names are found in the Titles of both *Rutter's* and *Baker's* Account. The Ships were, the *Minion* and *Primrose*, which are mentioned in that of *Baker's* as well as *Rutter's* Letter, which is dated from on board the *Primrose*; but neither takes notice of the Commanders.

Arrive at  
Rio Sestos.

THE Ships left *Dartmouth* the twenty-fifth of *February*, 1562. On the twentieth of *March*, they arrived at *Cavo Verde*; where they made no Stay, but sailed along the Coast to their first appointed Port, *Rio de Sestos*, which they reached the third of *April*, in the Morning. Here they found a *Frenchman*, who, as soon as she perceived them, set sail, and made to the Sea; mean while, they came to an Anchor in the Road. And after she had discovered, by their Flag, that they were *Englishmen*, she bare with the Shore, and hailed their Ship, with her Ordnance. At this Time *Rutter*, and the other Merchants of both Ships, were in the River trafficking; and having understood, by the *Negros*, that she had been there three Days before them, they resolved, in case she sent her Pinnace to trade, not to suffer it, till they had settled Matters with their Captain and Merchants. In the Afternoon, the Pinnace coming into the River, they spoke to the Men not to proceed, till they had talked with their Captain; desiring, that he might come in the Evening aboard the Admiral: Which was done.

Meet a  
French Ship.1562.  
Rutter.

At the Time appointed, *M. Burton* and *John Munt* went aboard the *Minion*, where the *Frenchmen* were, and there concluded, that they should lie-by eight Days, and let the *English* traffic by themselves; wherewith they were not well pleased.

HEREUPON, next Morning, the *French* Ship left them, sailing along the Coast Eastward, towards *Rio de Potis*. Wherefore, the Merchants of both Ships, in Consideration, that no Vessels were upon the Coast, concluded to send the *Primrose* before, that their Traffic might not be obstructed by the *French*. They went and overtook them trading to the West of *Potis*; where, passing them, they arrived the twelfth of *April*. They trafficked there till the fifteenth, and then departed for the River of *Sant Andre*, where they came the seventeenth. Here, by Agreement, they were to wait for the *Minion*. And the same Day she found them.

AT *Cavo das Palmas* she met a great Ship and Caravel of the King of *Portugal's*, bound to *Mina*, which gave her Chase, and shot briskly at her, as she did at them; but received no Hurt. Hereupon they hastened towards *Cavo de Tres Puntas*, with Design, if they could, to put them [the Ship and Caravel] from the Castle. At the Cape, they lay a-hull one Night, and two Days; and judging they had gone past, the *Minion* went near the Shore, and sent her Merchants to *Anta*. Next Morning, very early, (being the twenty-first of the Month) they again had Sight of the Ship, and the Caravel a good Way to Sea-board. They presently set sail, and bare with the foremost of them, hoping to have gotten between the Castle and them; but came short of their Design, which was no small Grief to them. When the Enemy was under the Protection of the Castle, they shot smartly at the *English*, and they at them; but to little Purpose.

IN the Afternoon, they set sail, and came to the Town of *Don Juan*, called *Equi*, where, the twenty-second, in the Morning, they went ashore to traffic, but the *Negros* would do nothing till they heard from *Don Luis*; for at that Time *Don Juan* was dead. The twenty-third, *Antonio*, (the Son of *Don Luis*) and *Pacheco*, arrived with Intent to traffic with them: At the same Time, two Gallies came rowing from the Castle, to interrupt them. The twenty-fourth, the *English* set sail, and chased the Gallies to the Castle again. The *Negros* pleased thereat, required them

Equi, or Don  
Juan's  
Town.

<sup>a</sup> P. 130. <sup>b</sup> Vol. 2. Part 2. p. 54. where no Notice is taken of *Baker's* Account; farther than at the End of the Title to *Rutter's* Relation, it is mentioned, that the Voyage was written also in Verse by *Robert Baker*. It is much, that *Mr. Hakluyt* should wholly suppress these Relations in the second Edition of his Collection, and not give, at least, an Abstract of them, as we have done: Since it would be a Pity, such remarkable Adventures of our Countrymen, should be buried in Oblivion.

<sup>c</sup> From hence it appears, that

1562. to go to *Mowra*, some three Leagues behind, a  
*Rutter*. promising to come thither; for that they stood in  
 Fear of the *Portuguese*. There they waited for  
 the Merchants out of the Country, who were  
 come with their Gold; but Don *Luis's* Son, and  
*Pacheco*, were aboard the *Minion*.

English at-  
 tacked.

Fight near  
 Kormantin.

The *Minion*  
 burnt.

Rio de Ba-  
 vos.

Mortality  
 and Sickness.

The twenty-fifth, in the Morning, came the  
 two Gallies from the Castle again. The Weather  
 being very calm, they shot at, and hit the *Prim-  
 rose* three Times. And shortly after, the Wind  
 blowing from the Shore, she descried the Ship and  
 Caravel coming towards her. Then she set Sail,  
 and barcas near unto them as she could: But it  
 being dark before she came up with them, she  
 lost them in the Night. The twenty-seventh, the  
*English* plied to the Shore, and at Night agreed  
 to go to *Cormantin*: But next Morning, they  
 found themselves near the great Ship, and the  
 two Gallies, having no Wind at all, and the  
 Caravel close to the Shore. Presently, the two  
 Gallies came rowing to the Stern of the *Minion*,  
 and fought with her most Part of the Forenoon.  
 During the Fight, a Barrel of Powder happening  
 to take Fire in the Steward's Room, hurt the  
 Master-Gunner, the Steward, and most of the  
 Gunners. Which the Gallies perceiving, they  
 began to be more fierce upon her; and with a  
 Shot cut her Fore-mast in two, that, without  
 present Remedy, she was not able to bear Sail.  
 Immediately upon this, the great Ship sent her  
 Boat to the Gallies, which suddenly departed.  
 As soon as they were gone, those of the *Primrose*  
 went aboard the *Minion*, to consult what was best  
 to be done. They found her Company grievously  
 dejected: Wherefore perceiving, that the Negro-  
 s neither would nor durst traffic so long as  
 the Gallies were upon the Coast, it was agreed,  
 forthwith, to depart for *Rio de Sestos*.

THE fourteenth of *May*, in the Morning,  
 they fell again with the Land; and sending their  
 Boats to see what Place it was, found it to be *Rio  
 de Barbos*, to the East of *Sant Andre*, and there  
 stayed, to take in Water, till the twenty-first.  
 The Day before, the *Primrose* lost five of her  
 Men, by the black Pinnace oversetting. The  
 twenty-second, the Ships departed for *Rio de Sestos*,  
 where they put in the second of *June*: And the  
 fourth, leaving that River to return home, ar-  
 rived, the sixth of *August*, within Sight of the  
*Ster* [or *Start*] in the West Part of *England*, the  
 Men being very sick and weak. Besides twenty-  
 one, who died, many were sorely hurt. In short,  
 there were not above twenty Men that were found  
 able to labour. Mr. *Burton*, who had been  
 sick for six Weeks, was then so weak, that his  
 Life was despaired of. There were brought home,  
 this Voyage, 166 Elephants Teeth, weighing 1758  
 Pound; and two Butts of Grains [or *Guinea* Pepper.]

## S E C T. III.

A Supplement to the foregoing Voyage, extracted from  
 Robert Baker's Account thereof, in Verse.

THIS Account, in Verse, was written by *P. Baker*,  
 Mr. *Baker*, in Prison in *France*, after his  
 Return from his second Voyage, at the Importu-  
 nity of Mr *George Gage*, Son of Sir *Edward*  
*Gage*, his Fellow-Traveller and Prisoner. Of this  
 Voyage, he relates nothing but a Conflict, which  
 happened with the Negroes at a certain River,  
 whose Name is not mentioned. Nor does *Rutter's*  
 Relation give any Light into the Matter. But  
 from the Circumstance of the Ship's setting for-  
 ward on their Return to *England*, immedi-  
 ately after this Adventure, it must have happened  
 at the River *Sestos*; which was the last Place they  
 touched at, and where they stayed but three Days,  
 correspondent to this Narrative.

THE Passage is this: One Day, the Ship being  
 at Anchor, on the Coast of *Guinea*, he ordered  
 out the small Pinnace, with nine Men, well  
 armed, to go on Shore to traffic. At length, en-  
 tering a River, he saw a great Number of Ne-  
 gros, whose Captain came to him, sitting in a  
 Trough, a Boat made of a Log, (as he expresses it)  
 such as we feed Hogs in. Stopping at some  
 Distance, he put Water to his Cheek, not caring  
 to trust himself nearer, unless *Baker* did the like.  
 The *English* having answered his Sign, and shewed  
 him some tempting Merchandize, the wild Man  
 ventured forward; and being come aboard, made  
 Signs, that some of those Things should be given  
 him, and he would stand their Friend. He was  
 gratified, and many Things given to others.  
 Mr. *Baker* having trafficked with his People, at  
 Night carried the Captain to the Ship, where he  
 made much of, and cloathed him: In Return he,  
 by Signs, promised to freight them in a Day or  
 two. While they conversed in this Manner,  
*Baker* observed, that he took great Notice of the  
 Boat, which was tied at the Ship's Stern, loaded  
 with Goods: But never suspecting he had any ill  
 Design in his Head, took no Care about it.

NEXT Morning, they carried him ashore, and  
 bartered again. At their Return on Board, the  
 Boat was fastened to the Stern, and the Merchan-  
 dizes left in her, as usual: But in the Night, the  
 sly Captain, coming with two or three of his  
 Troughs, was perceived, by the Watch, to be  
 very busy about the Boat. The Alarm being  
 given, the Negroes fled; but when the Boat  
 was hauled up, they found all the Goods carried  
 off. The *English*, vexed to be so tricked, went  
 next Morning up the River again to the Town,  
 in order to recover their Goods: But all their  
 Signs were to no Purpole, the Negroes would not  
 understand

1562.

Baker

Attack the  
Pinnace.

understand them; or, at least, acknowledge the Theft. On the contrary, as if they had been wronged by the Charge, and were resolved to revenge the Affront, to some Purpose they followed them down the River with above 100 Boats, while as many more appeared before, ready to intercept them. In each Boat were two Men, armed with Targets and Darts; most of which had long Strings to draw them back again, after they were thrown.

THE *English* being pressed, discharged their Harquebusses upon them, and while the *Negros* were in the Water, (into which they leaped to avoid the Shot) rowed with all their Might to get to Sea. But the *Natives* getting nimbly into their Boats again, pursued and overtook them. Then drawing near, poured in their Darts, taking exact Aim every Time they threw. Those in the Pinnace kept them off with their Pikes; and many of them being killed by the Arrows, and Hail-shot from the Harquebusses, they retreated: But their Arrows being spent, the *Negros* came on again. Their Captain, who was very tall and large, under Cover of his Target, advanced in his Boat, with a poisoned Arrow in his Hand, to the Pinnace-side, in order to board her. As he pressed forward, the Master's Mate thrust a Pike at him, which passed through both his Target and Throat at once, and dispatched him: But while the Mate strove to disengage his Pike, which stuck fast in the Shield, he was wounded with a Dart. Yet nothing dismayed, he drew it out of his Flesh, and with it kills the *Negro* who threw it.

THE *Enemy* continues the Fight closer than ever, and do great Mischief with their Darts, which made very wide and grievous Wounds. The Gunner received two desperate ones, the Blood gushing out in Streams: And the brave Master's Mate, who all along had stood his Post firmly, being struck through the Ribs, was mortally wounded. He plucked out the Dart, but with it his Guts came forth, and such a Quantity of Blood, that he sunk down and expired. The *Negros* perceiving this, shouted for Joy, and pressed to enter in his Place; imagining, that since so many of them were wounded, the rest would yield: But four of those in the Pinnace still kept them off with their Pikes, while the other four, at the Oars, made the best of their Way from Land.

At length they got out to Sea, and by this Time the *Negros*, having spent all their Darts, retired. This was happy for them, for six of the eight were desperately wounded, so that two of the Rowers were forced to give over; which made their Passage to the Ship very slow, When

a they got thither, they were all so faint, that now they were cool, none of them was able to stand. Their Wounds being dressed, they refreshed themselves; but Mr. Baker, having more Occasion for Rest than Food, went to Bed; and in the Morning, when he awoke, found the Ship under Sail for England.

1563.

Baker.

## S E C T. IV.

b The second Voyage to Guinea, and the River Seston, by Mr. Baker, in 1563.

THIS Relation, like the former, consists of no more than a poetical Description of two Adventures that happened in the Voyage; one of which proved extremely calamitous to those concerned in it, among whom was the Author. The Undertakers were, Sir William Gerard, Sir William Chester, Sir Thomas Lodge, and Mess. Benjamin Goston<sup>a</sup>, William Winter, Lionel Ducket, Antony Hickman, and Edward Castelin. The Ships were two, the *John Baptist*, Laurence Rondel, Master; and the *Merlin*, Robert Revel, Master. The Factors were, Robert Baker, (the Author) Justinian Goodwine, James Gleidel, and George Gage; who set out on their Voyage in November, the Year above-mentioned. These Circumstances we learn from the Title, or Preamble, to the Poem.

MR. Baker, after the unlucky Disaster that befel him in *Guinea* the Year before, had made a Sort of Vow never to go near that Country any more: But being returned to *England*, and recovered of his Hurts, he soon forgot the Sorrows that were past; and being invited to undertake the Voyage the next Year, in Quality of a Factor, consented. After they had been at Sea two Days and a Night, the Man from the Main-top descried a Sail or two. They presently make up to the tallest of them, which they judged to be the best; and Mr. Baker, as Captains use to do, hailed her, to know whence she was; she answered, from *France*. Whereupon the *English* waved them; and she, nothing dismayed, waved them again. Mr. Baker immediately ordered Men with Arms to the Main and Fore-tops. Also Powder to be laid on the Poop, to blow up the *Enemy*, if they should enter the Ship that Way. Then, at the Sound of Trumpet, they began the Fight, discharging both Chain and Cross-bar Shot, from their brazen Artillery; while the *French*, from the Main-yard, flourishing their Swords, called out to the *English* to board their Ship.

THE *English*, on their Side, willing to accept of the Invitation, plied them hotly with their Cannon, poured in their Arrows, and peppered

<sup>a</sup> In other Journals called *Goston*.

<sup>b</sup> In these early trading Voyages, the chief Factor seems to act as Captain. them

1563. them with their Harquebusses from the Loop-  
holes; attempting, at the same Time, to burn  
their Sails with Arrows and Pikes carrying Wild-  
fire. Mr. *Baker* having, to encourage his Men,  
made the spiced Wine go briskly round among  
them, proposed boarding the Enemy. Which they  
did with their Lime-pots, breaking their Nettings  
with Stones; while the Men from above entered  
the Enemy's Tops, after killing those who de-  
fended them. Then cutting the Ropes, brought  
down the Yard by the Board. Those who en-  
tered by the Side of the Ship, plaid their Parts so  
well with their Swords, that at length the Re-  
mainder of the *Frenchmen* fled beneath Deck,  
and surrendered themselves. Having thus taken  
the Ship, they sailed to the *Groine*, in *Spain*, and  
there sold the Lading.

The Boat  
with nine  
Men,

AFTER this they proceeded on their Voyage  
for *Guinea*: Where being arrived, Mr. *Baker*,  
one Day about Noon, with eight more, went to  
Shore in a Boat to traffic; intending to dispatch  
his Business, that he might be back again before  
Night: But just when they had got near Land,  
a furious Wind arose, accompanied with Rain  
and Thunder, which forced the Ships from their  
Anchors, and drove them out to Sea. Mean  
Time, those in the Boat, in order to provide for  
their Safety, ran along the Coast, seeking some  
Place to put into; yet meeting with none, were  
forced to lie aboard all Night, by the Shore, ex-  
posed to the Thunder, Rain and Wind, which  
continued without Intermission. Next Day the  
Ships turned back again, thinking the Boat stay-  
ed behind; and the Boat rowed forward along  
the Coast, supposing the Ships were before them,  
still looking out to Sea. But the Mist that  
Morning, occasioned by the Jarring of the Ele-  
ments the Night before, was so great, that they  
could not see each other. Thus they continued  
beating the Sea two or three Days; after which  
those in the Ships concluding the Boat cast away  
in the Storm, made the best of their Way to-  
wards *England*.

Separated in  
a Storm.

Seeked the Ships  
in vain.

MR. *Baker* and his Companions in Distress,  
having been three Days without any Food, at  
length landed; and having exchanged some Wares  
for Roots, and such other Provisions as they had,  
put to Sea again, in Pursuit of the Ships: Which  
they still supposed to be before them. Thus they  
continued twelve Days ranging the Shore: Where  
they saw nothing but thick Woods and Deserts,  
full of wild Beasts, which often appeared, and,  
at Sun-set, came in Herds to the Sea-side, where  
they lay down, or played, upon the Sand; and  
sometimes, to cool themselves, flounced into the  
Water. It would have been diverting at another  
Time, to see how archly the Elephant would fill

his Trunk with Water, and then spout it upon  
the rest. Besides Deer, wild Boars and Ante-  
lopes, Mr. *Baker* saw many strange Kinds of  
Creatures, which he never beheld before.

1563  
Baker

THEY often saw a Man or two on the Shore,  
who, as soon as they perceived the Boat, came  
to it with their *Almades*. Then casting Anchor,  
they offered the Negroes their Wares in Exchange  
for Fish and fresh Water, or any Victuals of  
their own Cooking. These would bring to them  
great Roots and Berries, which grow on the  
Palm-tree, being such Eatables as were most a-  
greeable to themselves. Likewise some of their  
Wine, the Colour of Whey, which is the  
Juice that runs out of a Tree. Sometimes  
they brought them wild Honey in the Combs.  
With these and such other Things as came they  
relieved their Hunger. But nothing could repair  
the Strength they lost by Grief, Fatigue, and  
want of Rest, which reduced them to a very  
weak Condition. They were so oppressed with  
Affliction, to think of the dreadful Circumstan-  
ces they were in, that their Hearts were ready to  
break.

THEY had now been so long seeking the  
Ships in vain, that they were resolved to give  
over the Pursuit; concluding that they were lost,  
or returned home. But what Course to take was  
difficult to determine: As for returning home in  
such a Boat as that, in want of every Thing, they  
saw it was an utter Impossibility, and considering  
they were in a strange Country, inhabited by a  
People, whose Manners and Customs were so  
opposite to theirs, they knew not what to resolve  
on. By this Time they found they had passed  
beyond the *Melegete* (or Grain) Coast, and were  
advanced as far as that of *Mina*. For there Ne-  
groes, speaking *Portuguese*, came aboard them  
with their Scales and Weights, propoling to  
traffic, and asking where their Ships were? They,  
in hopes to be better used, answered, There were  
two at Sea, and that they would be with them  
in a Day or two.

HOWEVER, much dismayed at a Question,  
which only renewed their Grief, they turned off  
from the Natives to consult how they should  
dispose of themselves. They considered, that if  
they continued at Sea in their Boat, exposed to  
the burning Heats by Day, which sensibly con-  
sumed them with sweating; and to the frequent  
*Tornados* (or Hurricanes) accompanied with Light-  
nings, Thunder and Rain, which deprived them  
of Rest all Night, that they could not possibly long  
hold out. They often were three Days without  
eating a Morsel; and having sat continually for  
20 Days together, the Boat affording no Space to  
walk in, they were in Danger of losing the Use

;

<sup>a</sup> It is presumed the Author means unripe Coco Nuts.

<sup>b</sup> The Palm-Tree.

1563. of their Legs, for want of Exercise; and their a  
Baker. Joints were so swollen with the Scurvy, that they  
could scarce stand.

Methods pro-  
posed

1. To try the  
Portuguese

HEREUPON Mr. Baker told them, that as it was not possible for them, in the Condition they were, to keep to their Boat much longer, it was Time to come to some Resolution, and make Choice of one of the three Courses which they had to take. The first was, to repair to the Castle of the Mine, which was not far off, and put themselves into the Hands of the Portuguese, who were Christians, if they durst trust them, or could expect the more Humanity from them, on that Account. However he told them, the worst that could happen to them, was to be hanged out of their Misery. That possibly they might live some Mercy on them for their own Sakes, seeing nine such young Men would be servicable in their Gallies, that although they should be made Slaves for Life, yet they should be sure of having Victuals enough, in order to enable them to tug at the Oar. Whereas there they rowed and starved.

2. To try the  
Negro.

THE next Course was, to throw themselves upon the Courtesy of the Negroes. As to this Expedient, Mr. Baker told them, it was a very discouraging one. For that he could not see what Favour was to be hoped for from a beastly savage People, whose Condition was worse than that of any Slave, that possibly they might be Cannibals, and then they were sure to go to pot at once, without Ceremony; that in case they should not, their Customs were so opposite to the European, that they could not possibly comply with them: That it was not to be imagined, that they who had always fed upon the Flesh of Animals, could live upon Roots and Herbs (as the Negroes did) which was the Food of wild Beasts; that being accustomed to wear Cloaths, they could not for Shame go naked, and expose those Parts of their Bodies to View, which, from their Infancy, had been covered; that in case they could get the better of Modesty in this Point, yet, for want of that Defence against the Sun-beams, which they had always been used to, their Bodies would be grievously tormented, as well as emaciated, and their Spirits exhausted by the scorching Heats.

3. To stay in  
the Boat.

THE last Course they had to take, was to stay in the Boat, and die miserably there. But as they seemed determined to run any Risk at Land, rather than continue pent up in such a narrow Compass, subject to all the Inclemencies of the Weather, Day and Night, as well as liable to be famished for want of Victuals; Mr. Baker,

in Conclusion, gave it as his Opinion, with regard to the other two Methods, that more Trust and Confidence was to be put in the Portuguese, who were baptized, than in the Negroes, who lived in a brutish Manner.

Mr. Baker having ended his Discourse, they all determined to throw themselves at the Mercy of the Portuguese, and hoisting Sail, immediately set forward for the Castle, which was not above twenty Leagues distant. They went on without stopping all Day, and till late in the Night, when they perceived a Light on Shore. The Boatwain concluding from thence, that it was a Place of Trade, proposed to cast Anchor, and try in the Morning, if they could get some Food in Exchange for their Wares. This was agreed upon, and next Morning going towards Shore, they perceived a Watch-house upon a Rock, in the Place from whence the Light proceeded the Night before, with a large black Cross of Wood standing near it. At this they began to be in Doubt what Place that was; and, looking forward, beheld a Castle, which perplexed them still more: But their Doubt was quickly solved, by the Appearance of a Portuguese or two, one of whom, holding a white Flag in his Hand, waved them to come ashore.

ALTHOUGH they went in Quest of the Portuguese, yet, on Sight of them, their Hearts began to fail them, and they tacked about to make off. This being observed from the Castle, immediately a Gun was fired at them by a Negro, the Shot falling within a Yard of the Boat. If they had been provided with a stout Ship or two, they would not have valued their Bullets. But being unable to make any Resistance, they complied with Necessity, and rowed as fast as they could to Land, to yield themselves, and know their Doom. This they thought would please those of the Castle; but, to their great Surprise, the nearer they drew to Shore, the more the Portuguese shot at them. The Bullets fell thick about the Boat, yet still they advanced, till at last they got so near the Castle Wall, as to be out of Danger from the Cannon.

THEY now resolved to land, in order to try the Courtesy of the Portuguese: But presently there came Showers of Stones from the Castle Wall; and a while after they saw the Negroes marching down with their Bows and Targets. The Assault was so furious, that having as much to fear if they stayed any longer, from the heavy Stones that fell into the Boat, and with their Weight threatened to break through the Bottom of it, as from the Showers of Arrows which

1563.  
Baker.

\* This Fort had been built since 1554, for there was none erected when Mr. Lok was there in that same Year; see before, p. 146. † Nor do we meet with any Signs of it in 1557, when Mr. Towrson was on that Coast.

1563.  
Baker.

hissed about their Ears, and wounded some of a them; they, like desperate Men, who did not value what became of their Lives, put off from Shore, to return to Sea, setting four of their Company to row.

Revenge the  
Unkindness,

YET being unwilling to depart from the Coasts, without repaying the Inhabitants some Part of their Civility, they began to handle their Bows and Fire-arms. Which they first employed against the Negros, of whom several presently dropped; and then against the *Portuguese*, who stood on the Walls of the Fort, in long white Shirts (or Gowns) many of which were soon dyed red, by means of the *English* Arrows. They thus maintained their Ground a long Time, and fought at their Leisure; never regarding the Enemy's Menaces, since they saw there were no Gallies in the Place to send out to take them. When they had sufficiently revenged their want of Hospitality, they rowed off, and although they knew they were to pass through another Storm of Bullets from the Castle, yet they pushed on, and like Men commonly who fear no Danger, escaped without receiving any Damage.

And put to  
Sea again

By the Time they had reached the Sea, they perceived three Negros, who came rowing after them, to know what Country they were of, speaking very good *Portuguese*. They told them they were *Englishmen*, and had brought Wares to traffic with them, if they had not used them so ill. The Negros were farther inquisitive, to know where their Ship was. They answered, they had two at Sea, very well appointed, which would soon take their Way along the Coast, to trade for Gold, and only waited for their Return. The Negros then pretending a Concern for what had happened, intreated them to stay there for that Day, promising to bring them whatever they stood in need of. But the *English* putting no Confidence in their Words, only asked them what Place that was; and being answered that it was the *Portuguese* Castle, at the Western Point of Cape *Tres Puntas*, without exchanging more Words, hoist Sail and put to Sea, to seek out a friendlier Place.

They try) the  
Negro

HAVING thus sufficiently experienced *Portuguese* Kindness, they were resolved to have Recourse to them no more, but try the Negros. Wherefore sailing back again about thirty Leagues, they cast Anchor, and the Natives coming immediately to the Boat, the *English* gave every one some Present or other, whereby they won their Hearts. The News of the Arrival of such generous

\* This seems to be no very grateful Reflection on the Negros, for their Good nature. Mr. Baker seems to imagine, that they ought to have waited on him, and his Company, as their Servants; fetched them Provisions, dressed their Victuals for them, and done every Office to save them the Trouble. On the other Hand, the Negros thought, and very justly, that they had sufficiently done their Duty, by bringing them safe to Shore, and supplying them till they were refreshed, and able to provide for themselves, that from thence forward all Expectations of Services were to cease, and they ought to be content with having the Liberty of getting Necessaries, in the same Manner as they did themselves

Strangers, brought the King's Son on board. As soon as he came, Mr. Baker began movingly to explain the Case to him, making great Lamentation, and giving him to understand, by Signs, that they were quite undone, had lost their Ships, and were almost famished for want of Food: At the same Time offering him all the Goods they had in the Boat, provided he would take them under his Protection, and relieve them in such great Distress.

THE Negro Chief, moved by the Tears, which fell plentifully from the Eyes of all, received the Present, and bid them be comforted. He forthwith went ashore, to know his Father's Pleasure, and presently returning, invited them to land. This was a joyful Hearing to them, and they looked on their Benefactor as a Blessing reserved for them by Providence. He had no sooner spoken the Word, than they fall to the Oar in haste, to get to Shore, where 500 Negros waited to receive them. But coming near the Coast, the Sea ran so high, that the Boat over-set. The Negros immediately plunged into the Water, to save them, and brought them all safe to Shore. They also preserved the Boat, and whatever was in her, some swimming after the Oars, others diving for Goods that were sunk. After which they hauled it to Land, and brought every individual Thing that belonged to the *English*; not daring to detain the least Trifle, for fear of the King's Son. Who, according to Mr. Baker's Account, was a Person of Courage, and endowed with all natural Perfections.

THE next kind Office they did, was to bring them Victuals, such as they used themselves, of which they eat heartily, being, as may be presumed, very hungry; the Negros staring at them all the while, with as much Astonishment, as the common People do here at strange outlandish Creatures. For all this Appearance of Humanity, the *English* were under no small Apprehensions, considering they were quite in the Power of the Negros; every one of whom went armed with his Dart. They lay upon the Ground with them all that Night, but never once closed their Eyes, through Fear that they should be killed in their Sleep. However they received no Hurt from them; and for two Days fared very well.

BUT the Negros finding the Ships did not come in that Time, as they expected they would have done, to fetch their Countrymen away, and distribute a large Quantity of Wares, among them, in Return for their Hospitality; they

1563.  
Baker

soon

1564.  
Carlet.

soon grew weary of their new Guests, and, after lessening their Allowance every Day, at length left them to shift for themselves. In this Distress they were constrained to range about the Woods, in Search of Berries and Roots; which they dug up with their Fingers, for want of other Instruments. Hunger had quite worn off the Delicacy of their Palates. They made no Distinction any longer in Victuals; any thing that was eatable now was a Dainty to them. Necessity likewise soon reconciled them to going naked: For their Cloaths, grown rotten with the Sweat; fell off their Backs by Degrees; that at length each of them had scarce a Rag left to cover him before.

Many sick-  
and d.

THEY were not only forced to seek for their Food, but to provide Wood and Utensils to dress it. They made a Pot of Clay, baked in the Sun, in which they boiled their Roots. The Berries they roasted; and on these Varieties they fed every Evening. At Night they went to Rest on the bare Ground, making a great Fire round them, to keep off wild Beasts. Thus they became, in every Respect, the reverse of what they were before. In short, what with this intire Change of their Way of living, joined to the Heat and Unhealthiness of the Climate, they began to fall sick apace, and, for want of proper Nourishment, died so fast, that, in a short Time, the nine were reduced to three<sup>a</sup>. This, to the Deceased, was a Release from their Misery; but what was an Ease to them, rendered the State of those few who survived, more forlorn and helpless than before. At length, when they had given over all Hopes of Relief, a French Ship arriving on the Coast, took them in, and carried them back to France, which being then in War with England, they were detained Prisoners, and from thence Mr. Baker wrote his versified Narrative.

Three carried  
off to France.

## S E C T. V.

*A Voyage to Guinea in 1564, by Captain David Carlet.*

Ships em-  
ployed.

THE Ships employed in this Voyage, were the *Minion*, one of the Queen's Ships, *David Carlet*, Captain; the *John Baptift*, of London; and the *Merlin*, belonging to Mr. Gonson.

THE chief Adventurers were Sir William Gerard, Sir William Chester, Sir Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, and Edward Castelin. These all met on the eleventh of July, 1564, at Sir William Gerard's, to consult Measures for setting forward the Voyage. At which Meeting they

came to several Resolutions. As, 1st, That *Francis Ashbie* should be sent to *Debtford* to Mr. Gonson, for his Letters to *Peter Pet*, to set about rigging the *Minion* at the Charges of the Queen, after which, he was to repair to *Gillingham*, with Money to defray the Adventurers Charges there. 2d, That each of the five Partners should forthwith call upon their Partners to advance, towards new Rigging and Victualing, 29 *l.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* out of every hundred. 3d, That each of the five Partners should immediately deposit fifty Pounds towards the said Occasions. 4th, In case Mr. Gonson gave his Consent, that the *Merlin* should be brought round from *Bristol* to *Hampton*, that a Letter should be obtained under his Hand, before Order was given for the same.

1564.

Carlet.  
Charter-  
Party

Mr. Hakluyt, who has preserved<sup>b</sup> the before-mentioned Agreement among the Adventurers, did all that was in his Power to procure an Account of the Voyage from some of those concerned in it; but could not obtain his Desire. However, for Want of fuller Information, he hath made Extracts from Mr. (afterwards Sir *John*) *Hawkins's* second Voyage to the *West-Indies*, which affords some small Light into the Success of this to *Guinea*: Which from thence we shall briefly relate.

Account of  
the Voyage.

Sir *John* (then Mr.) *Hawkins*, with the *Jesus* of *Lubeck*, and three other Ships, left *Plymouth* the eighteenth of *October*, 1564; and that same Day, being ten Leagues from the Port, met with the *Minion*, whereof *David Carlet* was Captain, and her Consort, the *John Baptift*. Having saluted each other with their Guns, according to Custom, the *Minion* went in quest of the *Merlin*, which lagged behind; and left the *John Baptift* to keep the *Jesus* Company. But in a Storm, which happened the twenty-first, she was separated. The twenty-fifth, Mr. *Hawkins* put into *Ferrol*, in *Galicia*, whither, on the twenty-sixth, the *Minion* arrived also; whose Crew was much dejected, on account of the Disaster which had happened to the *Merlin*. For, two Days after they met with her, through the Carelessness of the Gunner, the Powder took Fire and blew up the Poop, with three Men in it: Presently after which, she sunk, and all the Men had been lost, but that the Brigantine, having been luckily at the Stern, took them in; many of them being grievously wounded by the Explosion.

M<sup>d</sup> in  
bl<sup>d</sup> us up

THE thirtieth, both Fleets departed in Company. The sixth of *October*, coming in Sight of *Tenerif*, the *Minion*, being three or four Leagues ahead of the *Jesus*, went on to that Island, and so parted Company with Mr. *Hawkins*; who

<sup>a</sup> Although the Names of the other two Survivors are not mentioned here, yet we find Mr. George Gage was one, from the Circumstances of his going the Voyage with Mr. Baker, and being his Fellow-Prisoner at his Return. See before, p. 179.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. 2. part 2. p. 55.



1566. Fenner. shaping his Course by *Cape Verde*, and *Sierra Leona*, afterwards struck off for the *West Indies*, and arrived at the Town of *Burboroota*, on the Coast of *Tierra Firma*. Here he heard News of the ill Success of this *Guinean Voyage*: For the twenty-ninth of *April*, there came into the Road, a *French Ship*, called the *Green Dragon* of *New-baven*, one *Bon Temps*, Captain, who informed him, that he had met with the *Minion* on the Coast of *Guinea*, and that both had been driven b

a off by the *Portuguese* Gallies; that at the *Minion's* first Arrival, Captain *Carlet*, and a Merchant, with a Dozen Mariners, were betrayed by the *Negros* to the *Portuguese*, with whom they remained Prisoners; and that the Ships had lost so many Men, through Want of fresh Water, and other Accidents, that it was a great Doubt whether those left would be able to bring them home <sup>a</sup>.

1566. Fenner.

Carlet, and others, in the *George*) and scalded them with such Cheer as they had.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The Voyage of Captain George Fenner to the Islands of Cape Verde <sup>b</sup>, in 1566, with three Ships and a Pinnace. Written by Walter Wren <sup>c</sup>.*

## S E C T. I.

*The Admiral separated. Porto Santo. Tenerif. May-flower shot at going into Santa Cruz. The Captain sends a Letter to the Governor. The Spaniards give them Leave to trade. Meet with the Admiral at Gomera. Capes Blanco and Verde. The English go ashore. Commodities there. The Negro Pledges escape. The English assaulted. Their Pledges detained, by Way of Reprisal, and all Ransom refused. Several die of their Wounds.*

Fleet sets out.

Their Admiral separated.

Porto Santo.

THREE Ships were employed in this Voyage, the *Castle of Comfort*, *George Fenner*, General, and *William Bats*, Master; the *May-flower*, Captain *Edward Fenner*, Vice-Admiral, and *William Courtise*, Master; and the *George*, a small Bark, *John Heiwood*, Captain, and *John Smith* of *Hampton*, Master; besides a Pinnace. The tenth of *December*, in the Year abovesaid, they left *Plymouth*: The twelfth, they were thwart of *Ushant*; and the fifteenth, in the Morning, had Sight of *Cape Finister*. The same Night, they lost Company of their Admiral: Wherefore they sailed along the Coast of *Portugal*, hoping that he had been before them.

THE eighteenth, they met with a *French Ship*, who bringing no Tidings of their Admiral, they followed their Course to the *Canary Islands*.

THE twenty-fifth, in the Morning, they fell with *Porto Santo*; and within three Hours had Sight of *Madera*, six Leagues distant. The same Day, they hoisted out the Boat, and brought on board them, Mr. *Edward Fenner*, Captain of the *May-flower*, (who was then with the Master *Robert*

*Courtise*, and others, in the *George*) and scalded them with such Cheer as they had.

THE twenty-eighth, they fell with the Island *Tenerif*, twenty-seven Leagues from the former, and cast Anchor on the East Side, in forty Fathom Water, a Base Shot from Shore, within a little Bay, where there were three or four small Houses, about a League distant from a little Town, called *Santa Cruz*. From their Ships they could see the *Grand Canarie*, six or seven Leagues distant.

THE twenty-ninth, the *May-flower*, not being able to get into the Road for the Wind, bore off in with *Santa Cruz*, thinking to cast Anchor in the Road against the Town. But before she came within Reach of any of their Ordnance, they shot at her four Pieces; which causing her to retire, she came at last to Anchor near the *George*, about one, Afternoon. The Captain wrote a Letter, directed to the Head Officer of *Santa Cruz*, to know the Reason of his being shot at.

THE Letter was given to the said *Courtise*, and *Walter Wren*, [the Author] who, with six Men in the Boat, rowed as near Shore as they durst, the Sea running extremely high. The People standing by the Water Side, about thirty in Number, with such Armour as they had, *Wren* called to them in *Spanish*, to let them know, that they had a Letter for *Santa Cruz*, and wanted to have it conveyed thither. One of the *Spaniards* desired them to land, saying, they should be welcome: But doubting the worst, *Wren* answered, that they would stay till they had an Answer of their Letter. Hereupon, one of the *Spaniards* stripping, leapt into the Water, and swam to the Boat. He was received in, and after saluting

<sup>a</sup> Methinks Mr. *Hakluyt* might have told us, whether they did come home or not, (which he here might have known) but he generally leaves his Readers in the Dark as to such Matters. <sup>b</sup> In the Original, (to be found in *Hakluyt's* Collection, Vol. 2. part. 2. p. 57.) It is called, *The Voyage of Mr. George Fenner to Guinea, and the Islands of Cape Verde, &c* <sup>c</sup> He belonged to the *George*.

1566. them, demanded what their Request was? They made Answer, that by Misfortune they had lost the Company of their Admiral; and being bound to this Island to traffic for Wines, and other Things, were minded to stay there till he arrived. The *Spaniard* promised to carry the Letter without Delay; and *Wren* having sewed it up in a Bladder, delivered it him; giving him four Ryals of *Spanish* Money for his Trouble. After he had returned to Shore, and talked to the People, some of them threw up their Hats, and others pulled them off, saluting the *English*, still inviting them to land. But having returned their Courtesy, they rowed back again to the Ship.

Placed Leave  
to cruise.

THE thirtieth, the Governor's Brother of *Santa Cruz*, came aboard the *May-flower* with six or seven *Spaniards*, who concluded with the Captain, that the *English* might land and traffic. They were all well entertained; and at their Departure, the Captain ordered four Pieces of Ordnance to be shot off; and bestowed upon them two Cheeses, with other Things. The *Spaniard* promised the Captain, that he should have sufficient Pledges next Day; which not being performed, they grew suspicious, and went not ashore.

THE first of *January*, the Captain sent *Nicholas Day*, and *John Sumpter* ashore, who were well entertained, with as many of the Company as went after them.

Pike of  
Tenerif.

IN *Tenerif* is a marvellous high Hill, called the *Pike*, which afar off, is more like a Cloud than any thing else: It is round, and somewhat small at Top. It hath not been known, that ever any Man was at the Top: And although it stands in twenty-eight Degrees, where it was as hot in *January* as it is in *England* at *Midsummer*, yet is the Summit seldom without Snow, both Winter and Summer. About two Leagues from the said *Santa Cruz*, is a City called *Anagona*.

THE third, they removed towards the Western Part of the Island, twelve or fourteen Leagues from *Santa Cruz*; and on the fifth cast Anchor in a Bay, over-against the House of one *Petro de Soufes*: Where being informed, that the Admiral had been there seven Days before, and was gone to *Gomera*, they set Sail presently to seek him.

Met with  
the Admiral.

THE sixth, they found the Admiral at Anchor in the Road before the Town of *Gomera*: There also they met with *Edward Cook* in a tall Ship; and a Ship of the Copper Smiths of *London*; which the *Portuguese* had treacherously surprized in the Bay of *Santa Cruz*, on the Coast of *Barbary*, and was all spoiled. The General, and Merchants, bought in the said Town, for their Provision, fourteen Butts of Wine, at the Rate of fifteen Ducats a Butt; which had been offered them in *Santa Cruz*, in *Tenerif*, for eight, nine, and ten Ducats. The ninth, they departed from this

a Road to another Bay, about three Leagues off, and there took in fresh Water. The tenth, they set Sail towards Cape *Blanke*, on the Coast of *Guinea*.

1566.  
Fenner.

THE twelfth, they fell into a Bay to the East of Cape *Pargos*, thirty-five Leagues from the other. But having no Knowledge of that Coast, they went with Cape *Blanke*; and at the Fall of the Land they sounded, and had sixteen Fathom Water two Leagues from Shore. The Land is very low, and white Sand. Upon the Fall of the said Coast, beware how you borrow [or anchor] in twelve or ten Fathom; for within two or three Casts of the Lead, you may be on Ground.

Cape Pargos  
and Blanco.

THE seventeenth, shaping their Course South by East, and South, from Cape *Blanke*, they fell into a Bay, about sixteen Leagues to the East of Cape *Verde*, and six from Shore. The Land being full of Hummocks, with high Trees on them, seemed like a great Number of Ships under Sail: They bore with the Land, till they were within three Leagues of the Shore; and then sounding, found twenty-eight Fathom Water, black Ouze. This Day, they saw many Shoals of Fish, swimming with their Noses even with the Surface of the Water.

PASSING along this Coast, they observed two small round Hills, (yet the highest they saw all Day) seeming to be a League one from the other, which is the Cape; and between them abundance of Trees.

THE nineteenth, they came to Anchor at the Cape, half a Mile from Land, in a Road close by the West Side of [the] two Hills, in ten Fathom Water, where you may ride in five or six; for the Ground is clean, and the Wind always off Shore. As soon as they were all at Anchor, the General and Captains, with the Masters, went aboard the *George*; and having dined, concluded to land. And by the Advice of *William Bats*, both Captain and Merchants, and divers of the Company, went without Armour, though against their Wills. For he said, that although the People were black, and naked, yet they were civil. There went ashore the Admiral's Skiff, and the *May-flower's* Boat; and in them about twenty Persons, as the General, his Brother *Thomas Valentine*, *John Worine*, and *Francis Leigh*, Merchants, *John Haward*, *Francis Bats*, *Nicholas Day*, *John Tomson*, and others. At their Landing, there were one hundred Negros, or upwards, without their Bows and Arrows, walking to and fro; as could be perceived from the Ships. The Captains and Merchants talked with them; and, according to the Custom of the Country, they demanded Pledges of each other. The Negros were content to deliver three of their Men for five *English* Men, who were *John Haward*, *William Bats*, *Nicholas Day*, *John Tomson*, and *John Curtise*. These were delivered them. They then began to talk of Business. The *English* gave them

Cape Verde.

Go off to  
unarmed

Exchange  
Pledges.

1566. to understand, that they had brought Woollen<sup>a</sup> Cloth, Linen Cloth, Iron, Cheese, and other Things. The Negros, in their Turn, let them know, that they had Civet, Musk, Gold, and Grains. Which pleased the Captain and Merchants very well; who at the Negros Request, forthwith sent aboard one of the Boats for Part of their Merchandize to shew them. Mean Time, the five Pledges walked on the Shore with the Negros; and the General with the rest, staid in the other Boat by the Sea Side, having the three Negros with them.

*The Negroes Placed as they please.* THE Boat being returned, brought Iron, and other Merchandize, with Bread, Wine and Cheese, which they gave the Negros. Then two of the Pledges feigning themselves sick, desired to go ashore, promising to send two others in their Stead. Captain *Haward* perceiving his Men had let the Negros come ashore, asked what they meant; and doubting the worst, began to draw toward the Boat. Two or three of the Negros followed him; and when he came to the Boat, would have stopped him. He made Signs, that he would fetch them more Drink and Bread. Notwithstanding which, one of them caught him by the Breeches to pull him back; but he sprung from him, and leaped into the Boat. As soon as he was in, one of the Negros on Shore began to blow a Pipe; whereupon the third Negro Pledge, who was sitting on the Boat's Side, and Mr. *Wormes*'s Sword by him, suddenly drew it out of the Scabbard, and leaping into the Sea, swam ashore.

*The English distressed.* PRESENTLY after this, the Negros laid Hands on the *English* that were on Shore, and violently tore the Cloaths off the Backs of *Day*, *Bats*, and *Tomson*, leaving them naked: They also shot so thick into the Boats, that they could scarce set Hand to Oar to row from the Shore. Many of them were hurt with their poisoned Arrows. The Poison is incurable, if the Arrow enter the Skin, and draw Blood, unless it be presently sucked out, or the wounded Part be forthwith cut away; for otherwise he dieth in four Days. Within three Hours after they be hurt, or pricked, where-soever it be, it strikes up to the Heart, taketh away the Appetite, and causeth violent Vomiting; the Party loathing both Meat and Drink.

*The Pledges detained.* THE Negros, after they had used the Pledges so roughly, led them away to a Town, about a Mile from the Water Side. Next Day the Skiff

was sent ashore with eight Persons, one of whom<sup>a</sup> was the foresaid *John Tomson*, and the Interpreter, a *Frenchman*, (for one of the Negros spake good *French*.) They carried with them two Harquebusses, two Targets, and a Mantel. The Cause of sending them was, to learn what Ransom they demanded for *Bats* and *Day*, whom they detained. The Negros being made acquainted with what they came about, forty or fifty of them went and fetched them from among the Trees. Being come within a Stone's Cast of the Sea Side, *William Bats* broke from them, (for they were not bound) and ran as fast as he could into the Sea towards the Boat. But happening to fall just as he entered the Water, (either by being out of Breath, or his Foot slipping in the Sand, which was soft) the Negros came up to him before he could recover himself, and seizing, hauled him so, that the rest thought they would have pulled him in Pieces. Having torn the Cloaths off his Back again, some of them hurried him, and his Brother in Affliction, away to their Town. The rest shot at those who came to ransom them, with their poisoned Arrows, and hurt one *Andrewes* in the Small of the Leg, whose Life the Surgeons had much ado to save.

THE General, (notwithstanding all this) sent *All Ransom* once more to them, offering any Thing they desired<sup>b</sup> for the Ransom of the *Englishmen*, but they would not deliver them; returning this Answer: That three Weeks before their Arrival, an *English* Ship came into that Road, and carried off three Negros; so that till such Time as they were brought again, they would not restore their Men, even though they should give their three Ships to release them<sup>b</sup>.

THE twenty-first, a *French* Ship, of eighty Tons, arrived in the Road, to traffic at the Cape: The *English* told them of the detaining of their two Men; and perceiving they were in great Favour with the Negros, intreated them to negotiate their Ransom; the Admiral promising to pay him one hundred Pound, in case he procured their Release, and brought them off. And having thus committed the Matter to his Care, departed.

OF the Men who were hurt by the Negros<sup>f</sup> Arrows, four died; and one, to save his Life, had his Arm cut off. *Andrewes* continued lame, not able to help himself: Only two recovered of their Wounds.

<sup>a</sup> It is not said how he got out of the Clutches of the Negros. <sup>b</sup> Can any body blame the Negros for what they did? Are they not to be praised for their Love to one another? Had those *Barbarians* (so we must call the *Englishmen* they complained of) half as much Affection for their Countrymen, they would never have carried off these three Negros. The like Consequence of such another Injury has been related before, p. 160 <sup>b</sup>. In these two Instances, there was great Provocation given the Negros: But we shall presently see them worse used by their good Neighbours and Fellow-*Christians*, the *Portuguese*, without any Provocation at all.

1566.

Fenner.

## S E C T. II.

Bona Vista. *Its Inhabitants, and Product.* Mayo. Sant Jago. *Are invited to land.* Portuguese *Diffimulation and Treachery.* Their Gallies sent to surprise the English. Attack them, and are beaten off. Island Fuego, and its burning Mountain. Brava. The Azores. Cuervo. Fayal. Tercera. Three Portuguese Ships attack the Admiral. Are joined by five more. She fights them all several Days. They are repulsed, and sheer off. Return homewards. Meet a Portuguese, and other Vessels, who are afraid to engage them.

Bona Vista. **T**HE twenty-sixth, they left Cape Verde, and the twenty-eighth, fell with Bona Vista, eighty-six Leagues distant. The North Side of this Island is full of white sandy Hills and Dales, and somewhat High-land. In the flying Fish. Way, they saw many flying Fishes, of the Bigness of Herrings, whereof two flew into their Boat, which was towed at their Stern. The same Day, they came to Anchor, about a League within the Westernmost Point; and found in the Sounding fair Sand in ten Fathom Water. But you may approach the Shore, till you are in five or six Fathom; for the Ground is clean.

As soon as they were at Anchor, the General sent his Pinnace to Land, and found five or six small Houses; but the People were fled to the Mountains. Next Day, he sent again, and met with two Portuguese, who willingly went aboard with his Men. He made them welcome, although they were but poor; and having given each a Pair of Shoes, ordered them to be set on Shore again.

THE thirtieth, they came to a Bay in a small Island, about a League distant, lying in sixteen Degrees, and took Plenty of divers Sorts of Fish. If you mean to anchor in the Bay, you may borrow in four or five Fathom of the Southernmost Point of the Island, which you may see when you ride in the Road: But beware of the Middle of the Bay; for there lieth a Ledge of Rocks, on which the Sea breaks at low Water, yet it is three Fathom deep over them.

The Inhabitants.

THE last of January, the General, with certain of his Men, went ashore to the Houses, where he found twelve Portuguese. In all the Island, there were not above thirty Persons, who were banished Men, some for more Years, some for less; and amongst them, there was one simple Man, who was their Captain. They live upon Goats Flesh, Cocks, Hens, and fresh Water: Other Victuals they have none, excepting Fish, which they esteem not; neither have they any Boats to catch them. They report, that this Island was given by the King of Portugal to one of his Gentlemen, who hath let it forth to Rent

a at one hundred Ducats a Year; which Rent is raised out of Goat Skins only: For if they may be credited, forty thousand of those Skins have been sent from hence to Portugal in one Year. Fenner. Goats numerous.

THESE People made the English very welcome, and entertained them to the best of their Power. They gave them the Flesh of as many He-goats as they would have; taking much Pains to catch, and bring them from the Mountains on their Asses.

THEY have here great Plenty of the Oil of Tortoises. It rains in this Island, but in three Months of the Year, from the Middle of July to the Middle of October, and is always very hot. Cattle have been brought hither, but died, by Reason of the Heat and Drought.

THE third of February, they departed, and the same Day fell with the Island of Mayo, which is fourteen Leagues from the former. Midway, between both, there is a Danger [or Rock] which is always to be seen. Mayo.

THEY anchored on the North-West Side of the Isle in a fair Bay, where was eight Fathoms Water, and fair Sand; but the fourth departed, and came to St. Jago, about five Leagues distant, East and by South. Being arrived within the Westernmost Point, they saw a fair Road, and a small Town by the Water Side, with a Fort, or Platform by it. There they proposed to come to Anchor, and the Merchants to sell some Goods: But before they came within Shot, two Cannon were let fly at them; whereupon they turned off, and sailing along the Shore two or three Leagues, cast Anchor in a small Bay, in fourteen Fathom, and good Ground. On the Shore, there were two or three little Houses. Within an Hour after, they observed divers Horsemen and Footmen on the Land, right against them, riding, and running to and fro. St. Jago.

NEXT Day, a great Company of both Sorts appearing on the Shore, the General sent to know, if they were willing to traffic with them. They sent Word, that they would be glad to speak to him; promising, that if he came to trade as a Merchant, he should be welcome, and be supplied with whatever he should in Reason demand. With this Answer, the General, and the whole Company being very well pleased, he forthwith ordered his Boats to be made ready: But for Fear of Treachery, caused them to be armed; putting a double Base in the Head of his Pinnace, and two single Bases in the Head of the Skiff. The Boats of the May-flower, and the George, were put in the same Posture of Defence. Invested on Shore.

IN this Manner the General went in his Skiff towards the Shore, where were threescore Horsemen or more, and two hundred Footmen, all armed, ready to receive them. But being alarmed at their Number, he sent one with a Flag of Truce, Proceed cautiously.

1566. Truce, to know their Pleasure: They sent back a  
*Feather.* Word, with many fair Promises and Oaths, that  
 their Intentions were sincere, and that they meant,  
 like Gentlemen and Merchants, to traffic with  
 him: Adding, that their Captain was coming to  
 speak with him; and therefore desired, that the  
 General would forthwith land.

*Portuguese  
 Dissimula-  
 tion,*

ON the Return of the Messenger with this An-  
 swer, the General caused his Pinnace to row for-  
 wards; and as he drew near the Shore, the *Portu-  
 guese* came in a great Company, in the most  
 soothing Manner, stretching out their Arms, and  
 bowing themselves with their Bonnets off, earnest-  
 ly desiring the General and Merchants to land,  
 which yet he would not consent to, without suf-  
 ficient Pledges. At length, they agreed to send  
 two such as he should approve of, promising at  
 the same Time, to let him have fresh Water,  
 Victuals, Money, or Negros, for Wares, if they  
 were such as they liked; desiring, that a Bill of  
 Parcel might be sent them, with the Names and  
 Quantities of the several Commodities. The Ge-  
 neral promised it should be done; and being gone  
 a little from the Shore, caused his Bales, Carriers,  
 and Harquebusses, to be shot off. The Ships, in  
 like Manner, discharged five or six Pieces of great  
 Ordnance. Most of the *Portuguese* departed, ex-  
 pecting such as were to watch and receive the  
 Note, which was sent about four in the After-  
 noon. But now we shall see, that all the Friend-  
 ship of these *Christian Barbarians*, (who never  
 scruple false Oaths in order to deceive) was all  
 counterfeit, and their Delights villainous.

*And Treas-  
 chery.*

THERE was, about three Leagues to West-  
 wards, behind a Point, a Town close by the Sea  
 Side: Where, with all Speed, they made ready four  
 Caravels, and two Bugantines, which were like  
 Gallies, furnishing them both with as many  
 Men and Ordnance, as they could carry; and as  
 soon as it was Night, came rowing close under  
 the Shore towards the Ships: So that the Land  
 being high, and the Weather somewhat hazy,  
 the *English* could not see them till they were right  
 against the *May-flower*.

*Then Gal-  
 lies sur-  
 prize*

BY this Time, it was about one or two in the  
 Morning; and the *May-flower*, riding nearer  
 them than the other two by a Balc-shot, they  
 made a sure Account either to have taken or burnt  
 her. Mean Time, those on the Watch, (little  
 suspecting any such Treachery, after so many fair  
 Words) made such a Noise, singing and playing,  
 that, there being but a small Gale of Wind, they  
 might be heard from the Shore. They were so  
 taken up with their Mirth, that they did not ob-  
 serve the Motions of their pretended Friends; nei-  
 ther had they any one Piece of Ordnance primed,  
 or any one Thing in Readiness.

THEY came within Gun-shot of the *English* 1566.  
 before they were perceived; when one of the *Fenner*  
 Men happening to see a Light, looked out, and  
 spied the four Ships: He suddenly cried out, *And attack  
 the English*  
 Gallies! Gallies! at which Cry they were all  
 amazed. At the same Time, the *Portuguese* shot  
 off all their great Ordnance, their Harquebusses,  
 and Carriers; and lighting their Cartridges of  
 Wild-fire, came on with great Shouts, (answered  
 by those on the Shore) still approaching nearer  
 and nearer to the *May-flower*, which getting  
 ready one Gun, shot at and put them a little to  
 a Stand. Presently the Enemy charged again,  
 and gave them another Broadside. During which  
 the *English* had gotten three Pieces ready, and  
 let fly at them a second Time. For all this, the  
*Portuguese* advanced, and at length approached  
 so near, as to be within Arrow-shot. Where-  
 upon they having a Gale of Wind from Shore,  
 hoisted their Foresail, and cutting their Cable at  
 the Hauls, went towards the Admiral; yet the *Yet are  
 Portuguese* continued following and shooting at *beaten off.*  
 them, and sometime at the Admiral. But the  
 Admiral sent them one Shot, which made them  
 retire, and at length to warp away. Although  
 the *Portuguese* came on them by Surprise, and  
 poured in all their Bullets at once, neither Man  
 nor Boy was hurt. But what Damage was done  
 the Enemy, the *English* could not tell.

PERCEIVING the Villany of these Men, they *Island  
 Fuego.*  
 thought it best to stay there no longer: But im-  
 mediately set Sail towards *Fuego*, twelve Leagues  
 from thence; and came to Anchor on the ele-  
 venth, against a white Chapel, within a League  
 of the most Western End of the Island, and half  
 a League of a little Town. In this Island is a  
 marvellous high Hill, which burnt continually;  
 and the Inhabitants reported, that about three  
 Years before, the whole Country had like to be  
 burned with the Abundance of Fire that issued out.

ABOUT a League to the West of the Chapel,  
 is a goodly Spring of fresh Water, with which  
 they were supplied. They have no Wheat here;  
 but there grows a Seed they call *Mill*, [or *Millet*]  
 which makes good Bread; and Pease, like those  
 of *Guinea*. They have also Plenty of other Beasts  
 and Goats. Their Merchandize is Cotton, which  
 groweth here. The Inhabitants are *Portuguese*,  
 who are forbidden to traffic either with *English* or  
*French*, for Victuals, or any other Thing, except  
 they be compelled to it.

THERE lies off this Island, another, called *Brava*.  
*Ilha Brava*, which is not passing two Leagues  
 over. It hath good Store of Goats, and many  
 Trees; but not above three or four Persons dwel-  
 ling in it.

THE twenty-fifth of February, shaping their

\* The *Island* takes the Name of *Fuego*, or *Fire*, from this Hill.

Course

1566. Course towards the Islands of *Azores*, on the twenty-third of *March*, they had Sight of *Flores*, and of *Cuerpo*, about two Leagues to the North of it, where they came to Anchor the twenty-seventh, over-against a Village, of about twelve simple Houses. But in the Night, being disturbed by a Gale of Wind, which caused them to drag their Anchor, they hoisted Sail, and went to *Flores*, where they saw surprising Streams of Water descending from the high Cliffs, occasioned by the great and sudden Fall of Rain.

*Cuerpo*. THE twenty-ninth, they came again to *Cuerpo*, and cast Anchor, but a Storm (which continued seven or eight Hours together) obliged them to slip a Cable and Anchor, thinking to have recovered them again, when the Wind was allayed. But the *Portuguese*, honest People! had either taken or spoiled them. Both together were worth above forty Pound.

THE eighteenth of *April*, they took in Water at *Flores*: Here their Cable being fretted with a Rock, broke, and with it they lost another Anchor. Then they set Sail to *Faial*; about which lie three other Islands, called *Pico*, *Saint George*, and *Graciosa*, which they had Sight of on the twenty-eighth

*Faial*. THE twenty-ninth, they cast Anchor on the South-West Side of *Faial*, in a fair Bay, with twenty-two Fathom Water, against a little Town, where they had both fresh Water and Victuals. In this Island there groweth green Woad; which, according to the Inhabitants, is far better than the Woad either of *St. Michael*, or *Tercera*.

*Three Portuguese Ships*. THE eighth of *May*, they came to *Tercera*, where they met with a *Portuguese* Ship; and being destitute of a Cable and Anchor, the General caused them to keep her Company, to see if she could conveniently spare them any. Next Morning, they perceived bearing with them, a great Ship, and two Caravels, all well appointed; which, as they judged, were of the King of *Portugal*'s Armada: Whereupon the *English* prepared themselves for their Defence. The Ship was one of the King's Gallies, of about four hundred Tons Burden, with three hundred Men; being well appointed with Brass Cannon, some of them so big, that their Shot was as great as a Man's Head.

*Attack the Admiral*. As soon as they were within Shot of the Admiral, they brandished their Swords, and shot at her; and while the Men prepared for their Defence, the great Ship discharged a whole Broadside at her, and the four greatest Guns that lay in her Stern. Whereby some of the Crew were hurt; the rest requesting them the best they could with their Shot. After this, two other Caravels, and Pinnaces full of Men, came from Shore, and delivered them aboard the great Ship; with which, and the Caravel, the Admiral fought three Times

the first Day. When it grew dark, they left off shooting; yet still kept up with her all Night: During which Interval, the Sailors were employed to mend the Ropes, and strengthen their Bulwarks; resolving rather to die than be taken by such Wretches.

THE tenth, in the Morning, there were come to aid the *Portuguese*, four great Armadas or Caravels more, (which made seven Sail in all;) three of them were, at the least, one hundred Tons apiece, well appointed, and full of Men. They all bore down upon the Admiral; and one of the great Caravels came to lay her aboard, having prepared their false Nettings, and every Thing else for that Purpose, the Gallies advancing on her Larboard, and the Caravel on her Starboard. The Captain and Master, perceiving their Design, ordered the Gunners to charge the Ordnance with Cross-bars, Chain, and Hail-shot. As soon as the Ship and Caravel were right in her Sides, they poured in their Shot as fast as they could, thinking to have laid her presently aboard: Whereupon she gave them such a Welcome with both her Sides at once, that they were glad to fall off a-stern, and pause upon it the Space of two or three Hours, the Wind being very small. Then came up the other five, and having all shot at her, fell a-stern likewise, and went to consult with the rest.

IN the Interim, the small Bark, *George*, coming up, conferred a good while with the Admiral, then perceiving the *Portuguese* Vessels advance, dropped a-stern of her, intending to come up again: But falling to Leeward, it was so long before she could fill her Sails again, for Want of Wind, that both the Ship and Caravels were come up to the Admiral. However, the Bark falling in among them, played her Part very well; and though five of the Caravels followed her, she defended herself against them all, while the great Ship, and other Caravels, attacked the Admiral, and fought her all that Day with their Ordnance.

THIS Night, the *May-flower* coming up, (which she could not do before, for Want of Wind) the Captain told them what Damage had been done him; and desired, if they could spare half a Dozen fresh Men, to hoist out their Boat, and send them to him: But they said they could not, and so bare away again. Next Morning, when the Enemy saw the *English* Ships still departed, they came up to the Admiral once more; and began a furious Fight with much Hallowing and Noise, making account either to board or sink her. The *English* Sailors, (although their Number was but small) that the Enemy should not think they were afraid, whooped and hallowed as fast as they; and waved to them to come and board them, if they durst. That they would not venture to do, seeing them so courageous;

1566  
Banner.

Joined by  
five Ships  
more.

Are beaten  
off.

Rescue the  
fight.

Are repelled  
and shoot off.

**1579.** ragious; and having fought the Admiral four Times that Day, at Night forfook her with Shame, as they came to her at first with Pride. They had made some Holes in the Ship, between Wind and Water, with their Shot, which were stopped with all Speed: And then the Men took some Rest after their long Danger and Fatigue. Next Morning, the *May-flower* came, and brought six Men in her Boat to the Admiral, which sent her some wounded Men in their Room.

*Return home-  
wards*

**THE**n they directed their Course for their own Country. The second of *June*, they were thwart the *Lizard*. Next Day, they had Sight of a *Portuguese* Ship, which bore with the Admiral; and at her coming up (the Weather being then calm) the Captain, caused her to send her Boat aboard him; being come, he demanded, what Goods they carried, and whither they were bound? Having answered, that their Lading was Sugar and Cotton, the Captain and Merchants shewed them five Negros, and asked, whether they would buy them? They seemed very desirous, and agreed to give for them forty Chests of Sugar, which were small, not containing above twenty-six Loaves each. The *Portuguese* had delivered five of the Chests, and were come a se-

*Met a Por-  
tuguese,*

cond Time with more, when a great Ship and a small appeared; which the Captain of the Admiral supposing to be Men of War, or Rovers, he desired the *Portuguese* to carry their Sugar back again, that he might put his Ship in a Posture of Defence. Hereupon, the *Portuguese* earnestly intreated him not to forsake them, promising (if he would guard them) to give him ten Chests over and above what he had bargained for. The Captain agreed, and the *Portuguese* Ship being no good Sailer, he lowered the Admiral's Topsails to stay for her. At last, the foresaid Ship bore with them, but seeing, that they did not fear them, gave them over. Next Morning, two other Vessels came bearing with them, but presently sheered off for the same Reason.

**1579.**  
*Stephens.*  
*And other  
Ships.*

**THE** fifth of *June*, they had Sight of the *Stret*, and about Noon, were thwart of the Bay of *Lime*, where they had thirty-five Fathom Water.

**THE** sixth, they passed by the *Needles*, and so came to anchor under the *Isle of Wight*, at a Place called *Mead-hole*. From whence they failed to *Southampton*, where they made an End of their Voyage.

*Arr. at  
Southamp-  
ton*

## C H A P. IX.

*The Voyage of Thomas Stephens in the Portuguese Fleet to Goa, in 1579.*

*Previous Remarks relating to the Author and his Account.*

**WE** are now beginning to draw towards *India*; the following Voyage being the first that we know of performed thither by any *Englishman*: And though he was only a Passenger in the Ship of another Nation, yet the Account he gives of the Navigation was, doubtless, one of the Motives which induced his Countrymen, in a few Years after, to visit the *Indies* in their own Bottoms. But indeed the chief and more immediate Causes seem to have been the rich Carracks taken in the cruising Voyages made against the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* about this Time, which both gave the *English* an Insight into the *East-Indian* Trade, and inflamed their Desires to share in it. This is one Reason why we shall give those Voyages a Place here.

*Account of  
the Author.*

**THE** Account of this Voyage is contained in a Letter, written from *Goa* the tenth of *November*, 1579, by the said *Stephens*, to his Father, *Thomas Stephens*, in *London*. In this Letter, which is inserted in *Hakluyt's* Collection<sup>a</sup>, several very good Re-

marks are to be found relating to the Navigation to the *East-Indies* in those Days, yet no Mention is made of the Profession of the said *Stephens*, or on what Occasion he went to *India*. But by the Letters of *Newbery* and *Fitch*<sup>b</sup>, (an Account of which will be given in their proper Places) written from *Goa* in 1584, it appears, that he was a Jesuit, or Priest, belonging to *St. Paul's College* there. Whence it may be concluded, that the Design of his Voyage was to propagate the *Ramish* Religion in the *Indies*. And the Collector, in a Marginal Note to one of those Letters, intimates, that he had been bred at *New College, Oxford*. He was very serviceable to the said *Newbery* and *Fitch*, who acknowledged, that they owed their Liberty and Goods, if not their Lives, to him, and another *Padre*. This is mentioned also by *Pyrard de la Val*, who was Prisoner, with the Remainder of the *Englishmen*, at *Goa* in 1608, at which Time *Stephens* was Rector of *Morgan College*, in the Island of *Salset*<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. 2. part 2. p. 99.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 2. part 1. p. 248

<sup>c</sup> See

<sup>c</sup> See *Purchas's Pilgrims*, Vol. 2. p. 1670.

1579.  
Stephens

## THE VOYAGE.

*The Fleet sets out from Lisbon. Arrive on the Coast of Guinea Pass the Line. Methods of Sailing. Signs at Sea. Sharks. Flying Fish. Cape of Good Hope. Courses to India. Outward Passage. Are driven by Currents. Signs of Land. They arrive at Goa.*

MR. STEPHENS begins his Letter by observing, that he left *Italy*, and arrived at *Lisbon* the End of *March*, eight Days before the Departure of the Fleet, consisting of five Ships; which would have failed long before, if some Matters of Moment had not delayed them. Inasmuch that there were others appointed to go to their Places; that (as he expresses it) the King's Provision and theirs also might not be in vain in the Ships. Besides Sailors and Soldiers, there was a great Number of Children, who bore the Sea better than the Men, as, he observes also, many Women do.

Saw out from  
Lisbon.

THE fourth of *April*, [1579] the Ships departed for *Goa*, under the Sound of Trumpets, and Discharge of Ordnance, for they go in a warlike Manner. The tenth, they came in Sight of *Porto Santo*, near the *Madeira*, where an *English* Ship attacked theirs, being alone; but, after the Exchange of a few Shot, sheered off. He was sorry to see her so ill managed, being a very fine and large Vessel. She went roving about, so that they saw her again at the *Canarie* Isles; where, arriving the thirteenth, they had Leisure to admire the high Mountain [or Pike] *Teneriff*: For they wandered between that and *Great Canarie* four Days, by Reason of contrary Winds. They had such bad Weather till the fourteenth of *May*, that they despaired of passing the Cape of *Good Hope* that Year.

Coast of Guinea.

HOWEVER, sailing between the Coast of *Africa* and *Cape Verde* Islands, without seeing Land, they arrived at length on the Coast of *Guinea*; in which Parts the *Portuguese* suffer so much by Heats and Calms, that they think themselves happy when they have passed it: For sometimes the Ships do not advance a Step for several Days together, or move so slowly, that it is as good to stand still. Along the greater Part of this Coast, the Sky is thick and cloudy, and troubled with Thunder and Lightning; and with Rain so unwholesome, that if the Water stand a-while, or fall on Meat, it produces Worms. They often saw, thereabouts, a Thing swimming upon the Water like a Cock's Comb, but the Colour much fairer; which the *Portuguese* call, a Ship of *Guinea*. It is borne up by a Thing, in Colour and Bigness, like the Swimmer of a Fish, that shoots out Sticks underneath, which saves it from turn-

ing over. This Thing is so poisonous, that it is very dangerous to touch it.

ON this Coast they spent no less than thirty Days, between the fifth Degree of Latitude, and the Equator, which they passed on the thirtieth. In their Way thence to the Cape, they found such frequent Calms, that the most experienced Sailors wondered at it. This happened in Places, subject to continual Storms, and was very troublesome to large Ships, which require brisk Gales, and sail smoothly with Winds, that grievously toss lesser Vessels. From the Line, Ships cannot go the shortest Way to the Cape, but always draw as near the South as they can, to get into the Latitude thereof, which is 35°. 30'. and then steering Eastward, compass the Point. But the Wind served the Fleet so well, that in thirty-three Degrees, they sailed directly for the Cape.

IT being difficult to sail from East to West, or from West to East, because there is no fixed Point in the Sky, whereby Ships may direct their Course, Mr. Stephens observes, that, to supply this Defect, the Navigators note down every Sign that appears in the Air or Sea, and partly by their own Experience, in computing what Way a Ship will make with any Wind, and partly by the Books and Journals of others, they guess in what Longitude they are: For of the Latitude, they are always sure. But the best Method of all, in his Opinion, is to mark the Variation of the Needle, which at *St. Michael*, one of the *Azores*, in the Latitude of *Lisbon*, points due North; and thence varies to the East so much, that betwixt that Island and the Cape, it differs three or four Points. At *Cape das Agulhas*, a little beyond that of *Good Hope*, it returns again to the North; and Eastwards of that Place it varies again to the West, as it did before, proportionally.

As to the Signs, Mr. Stephens observes, that the nearer they approached the Coast of *Africa*, the more strange Kinds of Fowl appeared. At thirty Leagues Distance from it, and 200 Miles, as they computed it, from any Island, above 3000 of various Kinds followed their Ship; some of them so large, that their Wings, when extended, according to the Sailors Report, stretched above seven Spans. They could not want good Subsistence, being all very fat. The *Portuguese* name each Kind from some Property: As, *Rush-Tails*, because their Tails are long and small, like a Rush; others, *Forked-Tails*, from their being broad and forked. Some are called *Velvet-Sleeves*, because they have Wings of the Colour [or Appearance] of Velvet, and bend them as a Man bends his Elbow. This Bird is always welcome, for he appears nearest the Cape. In all calm Places near the Line, they observed Fishes, called *Tuberones* [or Sharks] near  
fix

1579.  
Stephens.Pass the  
LineMethods of  
sailing.

Signs at Sea.



1579. fix Foot long, which followed their Ship to catch a such Things as fell over-board. Nothing comes amiss to them: For they devour even Men; and if they find any Meat hanging by a Rope in the Sea, they take it for their own. These are waited on continually by six or seven small Fish, with Gards, blue and green round their Bodies, which go two or three before him, and some on every Side. There are others, which follow them, and seem to live upon such Superfluities as grow about their Bodies: They are said also to enter into their Bellies, in order to purge them in case of need. The Sailors used to eat them, before they saw them devour Men; however they catch as many as they can, with great Hooks, and kill them in Revenge. They saw none of these Tuberons out of the torrid Zone.

1579. - THERE is another Fish, near as big as a Herring, which hath Wings, and flies. They keep in great Numbers together, and have two Enemies, one in the Sea, called *Albacora*, as big as a Salmon, which pursues them with great Swiftnefs. The poor Fish, not able to swim fast, by the Motion of his Tail (for he hath no Fins) lifts himself above the Water, by shutting his Wing: But flying not very high, the *Albacora* either catches him by a great Leap, or follows, waiting till the Fish being tired, returns into the Water, and so is easily taken. His other Enemy is the Sea-Crow, who sometimes seizes him before he falleth.

Cape of Good Hope

AT length, July the twenty-ninth, they came to the *Cape*, so famous, and feared by all Men, but found no Tempest, only a high Sea. Here the Pilot was a little overseen: For instead of passing the *Cape*, without coming in Sight of Land, by Help of the ordinary Signs, and sounding for Bottom, which is the usual and safe Way; he, thinking to have had Wind at Will, shot so nigh the Shore, that the Gale turning South, and the Waves being exceeding great, the Ship was rolled within six Miles of *Cape das Agulias*, in less than fourteen Fathom Water, and there stood as utterly cast away: For underneath were huge Rocks, so sharp and cutting, that no Anchor could hold the Ship; the Shoar so evil, that nothing could take Land; and the Land itself so full of Tigers and savage People, who kill all Strangers, that they had no Hope left. However, after they had lost Anchors, and were hoisting up the Sails to get into some safer Part of the Coast, there luckily sprung a Gale from Land, which drove them out to Sea. The Day following, coming to a Place, where Ships are always used to catch Fish, they took so many as served their Crew that Day, and Part of the next. One of them pulled up a huge Piece of Coral, which grows like Stalks upon the Rocks, at the Bottom of the Sea, and waxes hard and red.

VOL. I.

Nº IX.

AFTER passing the *Cape of Good Hope*, there are two Ways to *India*; one within the Isle of *St. Laurence*: Which is most coveted, because they refresh themselves at *Mozambik*, for a Fort-night or a Month, not without great Need; and thence in a Month more Land at *Goa*. The other is without that Island, and is taken when they set out so late, or come so late to the *Cape*, that they have not Time to go to *Mozambik*: When this proves to be the Case, they proceed but heavily, because they make no Port in all the Way. By this long Continuance at Sea, and want of Food and Water, the Men fall into sundry Diseases: Their Gums swell, and must be cut away; their Legs bloat, and all the Body becometh so sore and numbed, that they cannot stir either Hand or Foot; and so die, through Weakness, as others do of Fluxes and Agues.

THIS last Course it was their Chance to make, yet, though more than one hundred and fifty were sick, there died not past twenty-seven. Mr. *Stephens* had his Health all the Way. This Passage is full of hidden Rocks and Quick-sands, so that sometimes they durst not sail by Night. But, by good Luck, they saw nothing, nor ever found Bottom till they came to the Coast of *India*. After they had passed the Line in three Degrees North, they saw Crabs swimming on the Water, that were as red as though they had been boiled. About the eleventh Degree, for the Space of many Days, more than 10,000 Fishes accompanied their Ship; whereof they caught so many as served them for fifteen Days. The Supply was very welcome. For at this Time they had scarce any Provision left, the Voyage, which is performed commonly in five Months, the inner Way, having continued near seven.

THESE Fishes were not a Sign of Land, but rather of deep Sea. At length they took a Couple of Birds, a Kind of Hawks, whereat they rejoiced, thinking they had been of *India*; but they proved to be of *Arabia*, being then near *Zocotora*, an Isle in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*: There great Winds from the North-East, or North North-East, springing up, they, with Reluctance, bore towards the East; and thus went ten Days, without seeing Sign of Land. By this Time they were made sensible of their Error, for they had directed their Course before always North-East, coveting to multiply Degrees of Latitude. Into this Danger they were drawn, partly by the Variation of the Needle; but most of all by the Currents, which at that Time ran North-West. However, this Wind at length increasing, restored 'em to their right Course. These Currents deceive most of the Governors [or Masters] and some, trusting to ordinary Experience, seek not, either by the Compass, or any other Method, to know when they swerve

1579. Stephens.

Course to India.

Course to India.

Driven by Currents.

C c

THE

1585. THE first Sign of Land, were certain Fowls, which they knew to be of *India*; the next, Boughs of Palms and Sedges; the third, Snakes swimming on the Water, and a Substance which they call by the Name of a Piece of Money, broad and round as a Groat, naturally stamped like some Coin. These two last Signs prove so certain, that the next Day, if the Wind serve, they see Land; as they did to their great Joy, when all their Water (for you must know they make no Beer in those Parts) and Victuals began to fail.

Arrive at  
Goa.

THEY got to *Goa* the twenty-fourth of *October*, and were received with great Charity. The

1585. People are tawny, but not disfigured in their Lips and Noses, like the *Moors* and *Kafirs*. Almost all, that are not People of Substance, go naked, with only an Apron before them, a Span long, and as much in Breadth, with a Lace, two Fingers broad, tied about them with a String. Mr. *Stephens* deferred speaking of the Fruits and Trees, having seen none like those of *Europe*, but the Vine, which there comes to nothing: So that all the Wines are brought from *Portugal*, that of the Palm-tree, or *Cocoa*; which, together with Water, are the Drinks used in the Country

## C H A P. X.

Containing some Naval Expeditions, and Cruizing Voyages, against the Spaniards and Portuguese.

Introduction.

FOR Want of a continued Series of trading Voyages to *Guinea*, we shall here insert an Account of two or three remarkable Achievements of the *English* against the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*: Who, being greatly alarmed to find our Merchants extended their Commerce, and traded to those Parts of the World, which they pretended a Right of engrossing to themselves, began to treat their Ships very severely, wherever they had the Superiority; and when they wanted Force, endeavoured to surprise them by Treachery, never scrupling to violate the most solemn Oaths and Engagements to compass their Designs: Of which the foregoing Voyages afford some Examples. The *English* Merchant-Ships, for this Reason, were obliged to set out armed, and in Company: By which Means, they not only prevented the Outrages of those faithless Enemies, but often revenged the Injuries they did others of their Countrymen. At length, the Resentment of the Nation being inflamed by their repeated Treacheries and Depredations, they began to send out Fleets on purpose to annoy their Coasts, and disturb their Navigation. Of these Proceedings we propose, in this Chapter, to give our Readers two or three Instances, which may shew the noble Spirit that prevailed among us in those Times.

### S E C T. I.

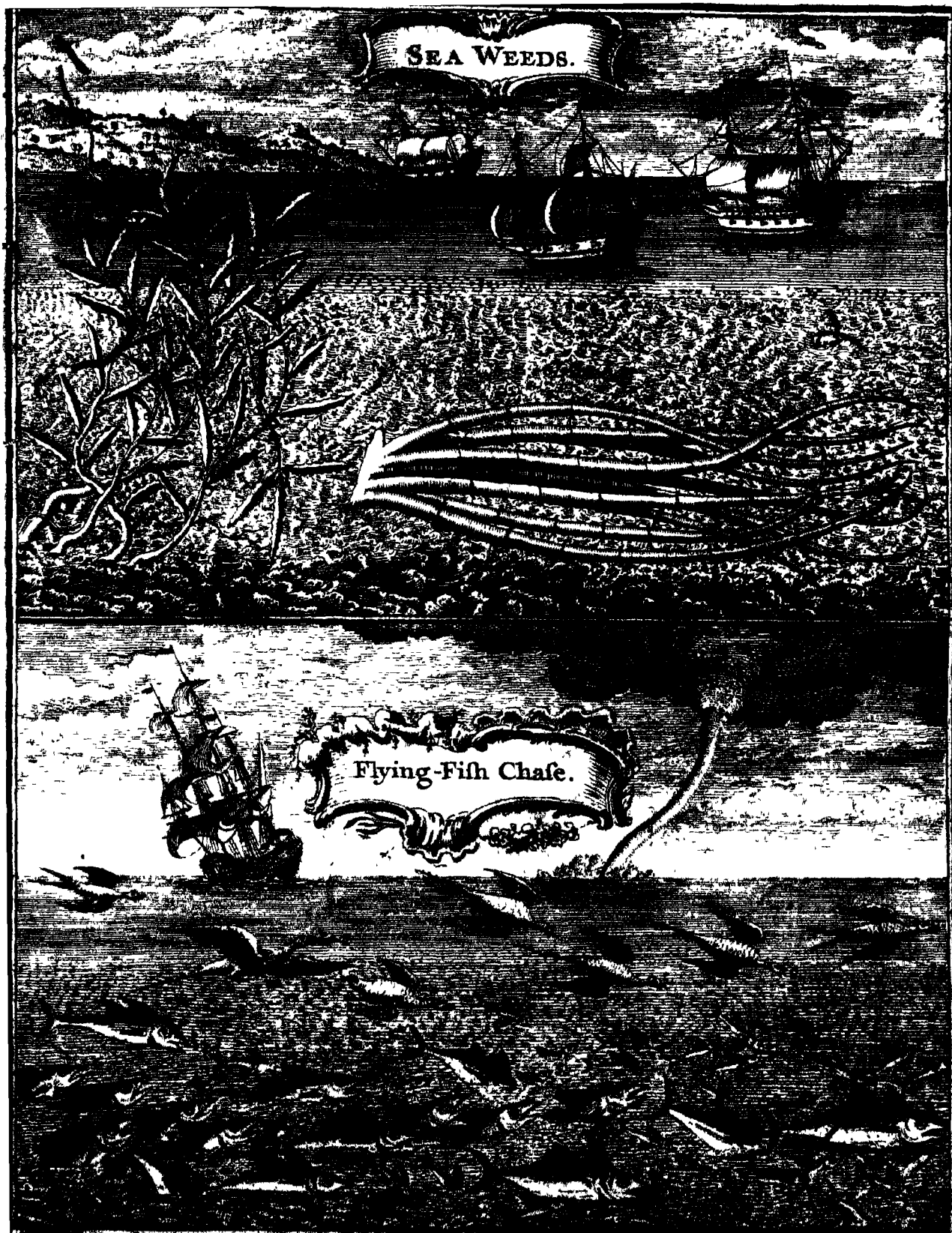
The gallant Behaviour and Escape of the *Primrose* of London, from *Bilbao* in *Biscay*: Carrying off the *Corrigidor* of the Province, and ninety-seven Spaniards, in 1585.

Spanish  
Treuchery.

THE *Primrose*, a Ship of 150 Tons, having cast Anchor, without the Bay of *Bilbao*,

on *Wednesday* the twenty-fifth of *May*; two Days after her Arrival, there came a *Spanish* Pinnace on board, with the *Corrigidor*, and six others, seeming to be Merchants of the Country. They brought Cherries with them, and spoke very friendly to Mr. *Foster*, the Master; who very courteously welcomed them, and made them the best Cheer he could, with Beer, Beef, and Bisket. During the Entertainment, four of the seven going back again to *Bilbao* in the Pinnace, the other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the Time: Yet the Master, suspicious of some bad Design, told his Mind to some of the Ship's Crew; however, he took no Notice of it to his Guests, nor seemed, in the least, to have any Distrust of them. Presently after, they perceived a Ship's Boat advancing towards them, wherein were seventy Persons, Merchants, and the like; and a little behind, the Pinnace, with twenty-four more. As soon as they came to the Side of the *Primrose*, the *Corrigidor*, with three or four of his Men, went on board; but Mr. *Foster*, seeing such a Multitude, desired, that no more might enter his Ship, which was agreed to: Yet the *Spaniards*, not regarding the Article, immediately followed their Leader, with their Rapiers, and other Weapons; bringing a Drum also, to sound their Triumph over the *English*.

THEY immediately took Possession of every Thing in a tumultuous Manner: Some planted themselves under the Deck, some entered the Cabins, and others looked about for their Prey. Then the *Corrigidor*, having an Officer with him, who bore a white Rod in his Hand, spoke thus to the Master of the Ship; *Yield yourself, for you are the King's Prisoner*. Hereupon the Master said to his Men,



The FLYING-FISH and its Enemies of the Air and Water.

*A Frigate or Fork-Tail*



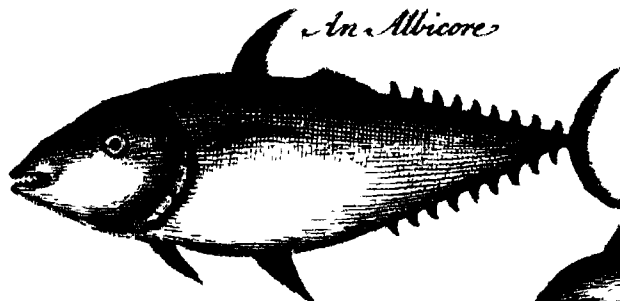
*A Striped Tail*



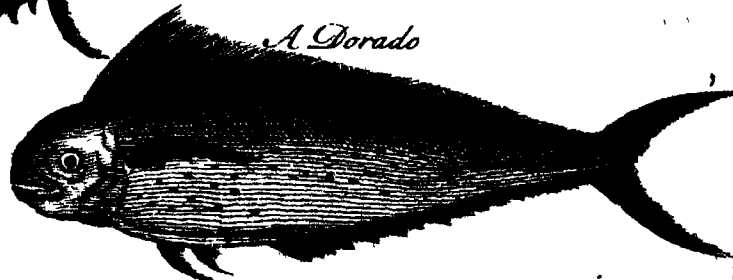
*Flying Fishes*



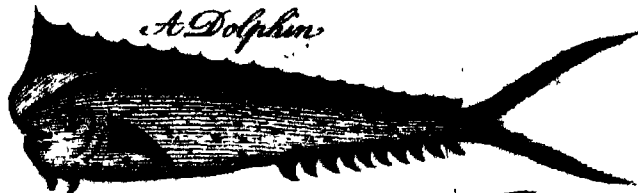
*An Albicore*



*A Dorado*



*A Dolphin*



*Alcatraz*



*A Bonito to the South of the Line*



585. Men, *We are betrayed.* Forthwith, some of the *Spaniards* set Daggers to his Breast, making a Shew, as if they would kill him; which put him into a terrible Consternation, as well as the Ship's Crew, who concluded, they should all be instantly slain. Their Intent, however, was not to murder, but bring them to Shore. However, some of them roused by the Danger they saw the Master was in; and reflecting, that they could lose for nothing but present Death, if once they landed among the *Spaniards*, they resolved to rescue themselves out of their Hands, or die in the Attempt.

By an Report  
first given.

THIS Resolution was no sooner taken, but they immediately laid hold of their Javelins, Dunces, Boar-Spears, and Fire-Arms, which they had set in Readiness before; encouraging one another to exert their Valour. They had five *Canivets* ready charged, which was all their small Shot. Of a sudden, those that were under the Hatches, let fly at the *Spaniards*, who were over their Heads, which so amazed them, that they could hardly tell which Way to run, imagining, the *English* were much better provided with Powder and Shot than was the Case. Others dealt about them so courageously with their cutting Weapons, that they disabled two or three *Spaniards* at every Stroke. Hereupon, some of them desired the Master to command his Men to hold their Hands: But he answered, that such was the Resolution of the *English*, in their own Defence, that they would slay them, and him too, if he should propose the Thing to them.

The *Spaniards* fly.

BY this Time, their Blood ran in Streams about the Ship: Some of them were shot in between the Legs, the Bullets issuing forth at their Breast; others had their Heads cloven with Swords; others were thrust through the Body with Pikes, and many of the rest grievously wounded, so that they began to run out faster than they came in. Such was their Hurry and Confusion, in endeavouring to escape, that they rather tumbled, or threw themselves over-board, with their Weapons in their Hands, than went off; some falling into the Sea, and others getting into their Boats, making all the Haste they could towards the City. And this is to be noted, that although a great Number of them came thither, only a small Company of them returned; neither is it known, how many were slain or drowned. Of the *English*, no more than one was slain, (whose Name was *John Tristram*) and six hurt. After all, it was dismal to behold, how the *Spaniards* lay swimming in the Sea, and were not able to save their Lives. Four of them, laying Hold of the Ship, were, for Pity, taken up again by Mr. *Foster*, and his Men, not knowing who they were: And having had

some Wounds, were dressed by the Surgeon of the Ship. One of them happened to be the *Corrigidor* himself, who is Governor of an hundred Towns and Cities in *Spain*, his Income, by his Office, being better then six hundred Pounds yearly. All the *Spaniards* had their Bosoms stuffed with Paper to defend them from the Shot. This Skirmish happened in the Evening, about six o'Clock, after they had unladen above twenty Ton of Goods; which were delivered by *John Burrel*, and *John Brodbank*, two belonging to the Ship, who, being on Shore, were apprehended, and detained.

THUS twenty-eight *Englishmen*, by their valour, triumphed over ninety-seven *Spaniards*: After which, concluding it would be imprudent to continue any longer on that Coast, they set sail, and arrived safely in *England*, near *London*, with the rest of the Goods, on *Wednesday* the eighth of *June*, the same Year. In the Way home, the *Spaniards*, who were in their Custody, offered five hundred Crowns to be set on Shore in any Place: But finding the Master would by no Means consent, they were satisfied to remain Prisoners, and craved Mercy at their Hands. Being asked, by Mr. *Foster*, why they came in that Manner to betray and destroy them? The *Corrigidor* answered, that it was not done of their own Accord, but by express Command of the King himself: And calling for his Stockings, which were wet, he took out the Commission, dated at *Barcelona* the twenty-ninth of *May*, 1585, by which he was authorized to act as he had done, the Purport of it is as follows:

THE King having acquainted the *Licentiat de Escobar*, *Corrigidor* of his Lordship of *Biscay*, that he had ordered a great Fleet to be fitted out in the Port of *Lisbon*, and River of *Sevil*: and that Transports, Armour, Provisions, and Ammunition, were wanted for the Soldiers, who were to be embarked for that Service. He then requires him, the said *Escobar*, immediately, upon the Receipt of this Commission, to seize all the Shipping that were then, or at any Time afterwards, to be found on the Coast, and in the Ports within his Jurisdiction, belonging to *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Easterland*, *Germany*, *England*, and other Provinces in Rebellion against him; excepting those of *France*, which being little and weak, were unfit for the Purpose. He is ordered to make this Seizure with all the Secrecy and Dissimulation that he was Master of; and to have the Merchandizes, Arms, Munition, Tackle, Sails, and Victuals, all safely lodged, and Care taken, that none of the Ships or Men escape; also, to send him Notice by an Express of his Proceedings; with an Account of the Number of the Ships

\* A Translation from the *Spanish* Original is inserted at the End of the Narrative in *Hakluyt*

1586 taken, which of his *Rebels* they belong to, their a  
 Whiddon. Burden, Goods, Ordnance, and all other Fur-  
 niture; to the End, Choice might be made of  
 those which were most fit for the intended Ex-  
 pedition.

In the above-mentioned Atchievement, the  
 great Courage of the Master in refusing, though  
 in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, to bid his Men  
 give over, and loving Hearts of the Servants to  
 save their Master, is worthy Praise and Imita-  
 tion. For his Part, by going so far to save the  
 Owners Goods, he was obliged to forsake the *Span-  
 ish* Trade: For should he, or any of the Men,  
 have ventured on those Coasts again, and been  
 known, they would have tasted the sharp Tor-  
 ments of the *Holy House* [or *Inquisition*.] It is  
 well known to the *Spaniards* themselves, that  
 the *English* did not deserve such Treatment at  
 their Hands, they having always behaved towards  
 them with Love and Friendship, and their Ships  
 been favourable to those of *Spain*, and ready to  
 serve their King. As for his stiling the *English*  
 Rebels against him, it is to be considered only as  
 an Instance of the Excess of *Spanish* Pride and  
 Folly.

## SECT. II.

*A Cruizing Voyage to the Azores, with two Pin-  
 naces, by Captain Whiddon, in 1586.*  
*Written by John Evelham, Gent.*

THE tenth of June, 1586, they departed  
 from Plymouth<sup>a</sup> with two Pinnaces; the  
*Serpent* of thirty-five Tons, and the *Mary Spark*  
 of Plymouth, fifty Tons, both belonging to Sir  
 Walter Raleigh, Knight. They first directed their  
 Course towards *Spain*, and from thence to the  
 Isles of the *Azores*. In their Way, they took a  
 small Bark, (laden with Sumacke, and other  
 Commodities) wherein was the Governor of St.  
 Take the Go- Michael's Island, a Portuguese, having other Por-  
 vernors of St. tuguense and *Spaniards* aboard.

FROM thence they sailed to the Island of *Graci-  
 osa*, lying West of *Tercera*, where they descried  
 a Sail; and bearing with her, found her to be a  
*Spaniard*. The *English* at first, not much re-  
 garding whom they took, so they did but enrich  
 themselves, to which End they set out; and be-  
 ing unwilling it should be known what Nation  
 they were of, displayed a white Silk Ensign in  
 their Main-top. This the *Spaniards* perceiving,  
 they took them for the King of *Spain's Armadas*,  
 laying in wait for *English* Men of War: But when  
 they came within Shot of her, they let fall their  
 white Flag, and displayed the Cross of St. George;

which as soon as the *Spaniards* saw, they made off 1586.  
 as fast as they could. But all their Haste was in *Whiddon*.  
 vain; for the *English* Ships, being better Sailors,  
 gained Ground of them fast. The *Spaniards* And the  
 finding they could not escape, threw their Ord- *Spaniards*  
 nance and small Shot, with many Letters, and *Magellan*  
 the Draft of the Streights of *Magelan*, into the  
 Sea, and presently after were taken. There was,  
 on board her, *Pedro Sarmiento*, a *Spaniard*, Go-  
 vernor of the Streights of *Magelan*, whom they  
 brought into *England*, and presented to the  
 Queen.

AFTER they had lain off and on the Islands Takes three  
 for some Time, they descried another Sail, and Ships more,  
 bearing after her, their Admiral sprung her Main-  
 mast: Yet, in the Night, the Vice-Admiral took  
 her, being laden with Fish from Cape *Blank*.  
 This Ship they let go again, for Want of Men  
 to bring her home. Next Day, they discovered  
 two Sail more, the one a Ship, and the other a  
 Caravel, to whom they gave Chase. The Vessels  
 made all the Speed they could to a Fort on the  
 Isle of *Graciosa*, under which they came to An-  
 chor. As they had the Wind, the *English* Ships  
 could not come at them: But having a small  
 Boat, which they called, a *Light-horseman*, they  
 put in nine Men, one a Musketeer, (who was  
 the Author) four with Calivers, and four to row.  
 Thus they advanced against the Wind; which,  
 when those in the Ship saw, they made haste to  
 carry what they could of their Merchandize on  
 Land, whither also the Men retired. As soon as  
 the *English* came within Musket-Shot, they be-  
 gan to discharge both great and small Shot. Our  
 Men returned the Compliment, and in the End  
 boarded one Ship, wherein was no Man left: So  
 they cut her Cables, hoisted her Sails, and sent  
 her away with two Men.

THE other seven then advancing nearer the *With a Boar*  
 Shore, boarded the Caravel, which rid so near and the  
 the Land, that the People threw Stones at them. *Men.*  
 Yet, in Spite of all Opposition, they took her,  
 with one Negro on board; and cutting her Ca-  
 bles in the Hawse, hoisted her Sails: But being  
 becalmed under the Land, they were constrained  
 to tow her out with their Boats; the People from  
 the Fort, and on the Shore, to the Number of  
 about one hundred and fifty, still shooting at  
 them with Muskets and Calivers. The *English*  
 answered them with the few Arms they had;  
 and the Author had the Luck to kill the Gunner  
 of the Fort with a Cross-bar Shot, with which he  
 charged his Musket, as he was levelling one of  
 his Cannon: And thus they parted from them,  
 without any Loss or Hurt on their Side. Having  
 now, in their Possession, five Ships, they discharg-

<sup>a</sup> This is taken from Hakluyt's Collection, Vol. 2. part 2. p. 120.

## S E C T. III.

*A Voyage to Cadiz, and the Azores, in 1587, by Sir Francis Drake: Wherein a hundred Ships were destroyed; and a large Carac, from the East-Indies, with other Vessels<sup>b</sup>, taken.*

1586. ed that laden with the Fish, without hurting her. a  
From one of the others, they took her Main-  
mast to replace the Admiral's; and then putting  
into her all the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, except-  
ing *Pedro Sarmiento*, with three other of the prin-  
cipal Men, and two Negroes, they dismissed her  
in Sight of Land, with Bread and Water suffi-  
cient for ten Days.

Meet the Spanish Gal-  
leons.  
AFTER this, they shaped their Course for  
*England*; and being off the Islands, in the Lati-  
tude of forty-one Degrees, one of the Men b  
descried a Sail from the Top, then ten Sail, and  
at last fifteen. Hereupon it was concluded to  
send home their Prizes, leaving, in both the Pin-  
naces, not above sixty Men. This done, they  
made up to the Fleet they had descried, and found  
it to consist of twenty-four Sail of Ships: Whereof  
two were Caracs, one of twelve hundred, the  
other of a thousand Tons; ten Galleons, and the  
rest small Ships and Caravels, all laden with Treas-  
ure, Spices and Sugars. For all this great Superi-  
ority, they attacked the Fleet with their two  
Pinnaces; and fought them continually for twenty-  
two Hours: But the two Caracs kept still be-  
twixt them and the other Ships. So that being  
unable, for that Time, to come at them; and

Fight and  
quit them,

For Want of  
Powder.  
of falling in Want of Powder, they were forced, on  
that Account, to quit them greatly against their  
Wills, having otherwise been absolutely deter-  
mined to take some of them before they departed.  
In this desperate Attempt, they lost none of their  
Men. Grieved at this Disappointment, they con-  
tinued their Voyage for *England*, and arrived at  
*Plymouth* within six Hours after their Prizes,  
which were sent away forty Hours before them:  
They were received with a kind of triumphant  
Joy by all the Inhabitants of the Town and  
Country thereabout: Several Pieces of Cannon  
were shot off to welcome them; which courtes-  
y they returned with the Powder they had left.  
From thence they brought their Prizes to *Southamp-*  
*ton*; where Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was their  
Owner, rewarded them with their Shares. They  
were laden with Sugars, Elephants Teeth, Wax,  
Hides, Rice, Brazil, and Cuser. The Truth of  
what has been above related, was ready to be at-  
tested not only by the Writer, *John Evelyn*,  
but also by Captain *Whiddon*<sup>a</sup>, *Thomas Rainford*,  
*Benjamin Wood*, *William Cooper*, Master, *William*  
*Corush*, Master, *Thomas Drake*, Corporal, *John*  
*Ladd*, Gunner, *William Warefield*, Gunner, f  
*Richard Moon*, *John Drew*, *Richard Cooper* of  
*Marwich*, *William Beares* of *Ratcliff*, *John Row*  
of *Salisbury*; and many others.

Lading of  
the Prizes.

THE Queen being informed, that mighty The Fleet  
naval Preparations were carrying on in sets out.  
*Spain*, for the Invasion of *England*, by Advice of  
her Council, thought it expedient to prevent the  
same: Whereupon she caused a Fleet of thirty  
Sail to be rigged and furnished, with all Things  
necessary, under the Command of *Sir Francis*  
*Drake*, (of whose Ability and Zeal, for her Ser-  
vice, she had often had sufficient Proof.) Among  
these Ships, were four Men of War, the *Bona-*  
*venture*, wherein *Sir Francis* went as General; c  
the *Lion*, under the Conduct of Mr. *William Bo-*  
*rough*, Controller of the Navy; the *Dreadnought*,  
*Thomas Venner*, Captain; and the *Rainbow*,  
*Henry Bellingham*, Captain. To these were added,  
two of her Pinnaces, as Tenders, besides certain  
tall Ships belonging to *London*; of whose good Ser-  
vice, the General made particular Mention in his  
private Letters to her Majesty.

THIS Fleet setting Sail in April from the Sound Arrives at  
of *Plymouth*, towards the Coast of *Spain*, the Cadiz.  
sixteenth net, in the Latitude of forty Degrees,  
with two Ships of *Middleborough*, which came  
from *Cadiz*. By these they understood, that  
there was great Store of warlike Provision at *Ca-*  
*diz*, and thereabout, ready to depart for *Lisbon*.  
Upon this Information the General hastened thi-  
ther with all Speed possible, and on the nineteenth  
entered the Harbour of *Cadiz* with his Fleet,  
which were immediately attacked, over-against the  
Town, by six Galleys; but they quickly gave it  
over, and retired under the Fortrefs. There were,  
in the Road, sixty Ships, and divers other small  
Vessels under the Castle. About twenty French  
Ships fled to Port *Real*, and some Spanish Vessels,  
that might pass the Shoals. At their first Entry,  
they sunk, with their Cannon, a Ship of *Ra-*  
*guza*, of a thousand Tons, furnished with forty  
Pieces of Brass, and very richly laden. There  
came two Galleys more from Port *St. Mary's*, and  
two from Port *Real*, which shot smartly at the  
English; but soon sheered off, well beaten for their  
Pains, without doing them any Harm.

BEFORE Night, they had taken thirty of the Ships de-  
stroyed and  
said Ships, and became Masters of the Road, in taken.

<sup>a</sup> We have, upon the Presumption of this Circumstance, attributed the Voyage to Mr. *Whiddon* in the Title: We also call it a cruising Voyage, to distinguish it from those undertaken solely or principally on Account of Trade.

<sup>b</sup> This Narrative, or brief Relation, as it is called, is in *Hakluyt's Collection*, Vol. 2, part 2. p. 121. and seems to have been taken from a Letter, written by one, who was in the Expedition, to his Friend. It is not unlike Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Manner.

1587.

Drake

Spight of the Galleys, which were glad to retire under the Fort. Among the Ships, there was one new Vessel, of an extraordinary Huge-ness, being above twelve hundred Tons Burthen: It belonged to the Marquess of *Santa Cruz*, who was, at that Time, High Admiral of *Spain*. Five others were great Ships of *Biscay*; of which they fired four as they were taking in the King's Provision of Victuals for his Fleet at *Lisbon*. The fifth was a Ship about a thousand Tons, laden with Iron Spikes, Nails, Iron Hoops, Horse-shoes, and other like Necessaries for the *West-Indies*. They also took a Ship of two hundred and fifty Tons, laden with Wines for the King's Use; which they carried out to Sea, and having removed the Wines, set her on Fire; three Fly-boats, of three hundred Tons a-piece, laden with Biscuit, whereof one was half unladen by them in the Harbour, and there fired; the other two they carried to Sea. They fired likewise ten other Ships, which were laden with Wine, Raisins, Figs, Oils, Wheat, and the like. In short, the whole Number of Ships and Barks then burnt, sunk, and brought away, amounted to thirty at the least, being about ten thousand Tons of Shipping. There were, in Sight of them, about forty Ships, besides those that fled from the Port.

Damage done.

THEY found but little Ease during their Stay there, by Reason they shot without Intermision, from the Galleys, the Fortresses, and the Shore; planting new Ordnance continually at Places convenient for annoying them: Besides the Inconvenience they suffered from their Ships; which, when they could defend them no longer, they set on Fire, and sent them among the *English* Fleet: So that when the Flood came, they were not a little puzzled how to shelter themselves from the terrible Fire of the Enemy. However, the Sight gave them Pleasure, because they were thereby eased of a great Labour; which lay upon them Day and Night, of unloading the Victuals and other Provisions out of their Ships into ours. Thus, by the invincible Courage, and Industry of the General, this surprising and happy Enterprize was achieved in one Day and two Nights; to the great Astonishment of the King of *Spain*, and Heart-breaking of the Marquess of *Santa Cruz*, his High Admiral, who never enjoyed one pleasant Day after: But within few Months, (as may justly be supposed) died of extreme Grief and Sorrow.

The Galleys quitted.

HAVING performed this notable Service, and victualled themselves with Bread and Wine for several Months, at the Enemy's Cost, they left the Road of *Cadix* on Friday Morning, the twenty-first of the same Month, with so very inconsiderable a Loss, that it is not worth mentioning. When they were gone, ten of the Galleys that were in the Road, came out after them, as it

were, to brave them, and make some Pastime with their Ordnance. At the same Time, the Wind happening to fall, they tacked about again, and stood in with the Shore, coming to Anchor within a League of the Town; where the said Galleys, for all their former Bragging, at length suffered them to ride quietly.

1587

Drake

IN this Engagement, they had Experience of Galley Fight: Wherein the Author assures his Friend, (to whom this Account was written) that only these four Men of War would master twenty Galleys, provided they were alone, and not busied to guard others. No Galleys could ever have more Advantage from the Disposition of the Harbour to fight with Ships: For our Fleet rode in a narrow Gut, the Place yielding no more Room; and were obliged to maintain the same, till they had unloaded and fired the Ships, which could not conveniently be done, but at Flood; at which Time, they might drive clear of them.

THE General having dispatched Captain *Croft* <sup>Spent at Cape</sup> into *England* with his Letters, giving an Account <sup>Sacre.</sup> of this first Enterprize, the Fleet shaped its Course towards *Cape Sacre*; and in their Way thither, took, at several Times, near an hundred Ships, Barks, and Caravels, laden with Hoops, Galley Oars, Pipe-Staves, and other Materials, for furnishing the King's Fleet, intended against *England*: All which they burned; having dealt favourably with the Men, and sent them on Shore. They also spoiled and consumed all the Fisher-boats and Nets thereabouts, to their great Detrement, and doubtless, Ruin of their rich Tunny Fishery for that Year. At length, arriving at *Cape Sacre*, they went on Land: When the better to enjoy the Benefit of the Place, and ride securely in Port, they attacked the Castle, and three other strong Holds; which they took, some by Storm, and some by Surrender.

THENCE they came before the Haven of *Lisbon*, anchoring near *Cascais*, where the Marquess <sup>Cha't'ing at</sup> of *Santa Cruz* was with his Galleys; yet did not stir an Inch to oppose them, although they chaced his Ships ashore, and carried away his Barks and Caravels before his Face: But suffered them both to stay there, and depart quietly, without firing a Gun. The General, to try his Mettle, sent him Word, that he was come there to exchange a few Balls with him: But the Marquess refused his Challenge; and returned for Answer, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

SIR *FRANCIS*, finding no more good was to be done in the *Tajo*, thought it not proper to spend longer Time upon this Coast; and therefore, with Consent of the chief of his Officers, shaped his Course toward the Isles of the *Azores*. Within twenty or thirty Leagues of *St. Michael*,



1588. it was his good Fortune to meet with a Portuguese Carak, called *Sant Philip*; being the same Ship which had carried the three Princes of Japan, that were in Europe, back to the Indies. Having taken this Prize, without any great Resistance, he put the People belonging to her, into certain Vessels, well furnished with Victuals, and sent them courteously home into their Country. This was the first Carak that ever was taken coming from the East Indies; which the Portuguese held for a bad Omen, because the Ship bare the King's Name <sup>a</sup>.

THE Wealth of this Prize, appearing to the whole Company, sufficient to reward every Man for his Service in this Expedition, they all resolved to return for England: Accordingly, they bending their Course homeward, the whole Fleet arrived at Plymouth the same Summer; bringing with them this rich Booty, to the great Advan-

tage, as well as Glory of themselves, and Admiration of the whole Kingdom.

HERE it may be proper to observe, that the taking of this Carak, wrought two extraordinary Effects in England: First, by convincing People, that Caraks were not such Bugbears, but that they might be overcome as well as other Ships: And this has been farther proved since, in taking the *Madre de Dios*, and firing and sinking others. Secondly, in bringing the Nation more generally acquainted with the prodigious Wealth of the East Indies, and the particular Commodities it produces: By which, both they, and their Neighbours of Holland, who are no Way inferior to the Portuguese, either in Courage or Skill in Navigation, have been encouraged to share with them in the East Indies; where their Strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath been supposed <sup>b</sup>.

1588.  
Welsh.

Mo. 12. 10.  
the East In-  
dia Voyages.

## C H A P. XI.

Two Voyages to Benin beyond Guinea, in 1588, and 1590. Written by James Welsh, chief Master in the Voyage.

## S E C T. I.

The first Voyage in 1588. Rio del Oro. Capes <sup>c</sup> Barbas, Verde, Monte, Rio Sestos, Tabanù. Cape Ties Puntas. Castle del Mina. Monte Redondo. Villa Longa. Rivers Jaya and Benin. Trade there. The Weather. Their Return by the Azores. The Commodities and Inhabitants of Benin.

THESE Voyages <sup>c</sup> were set forth by Messieurs Bird and Newton, Merchants of London, with a Ship called the *Richard* of Arundell, Burthen one hundred Tons, and a Pinnace.

Departure.

UPON the twelfth of October, weighing from Ratchiff, they went to Blackwall; and next Day sailed from thence: But by Reason of contrary Winds, and bad Weather, it was the twenty-fifth before they reached Plymouth; where they were unluckily Weather-bound till the fourteenth of December: When putting to Sea, about Midnight, they were thwart of the Lizard.

Rio del Oro.

THURSDAY, the second of January, they f

had Sight of the Land near Rio del Oro; and there had twenty-two Degrees forty-seven Minutes Latitude.

THE third of January, they had Sight of C. Barbas. Cavo de las Barbas, bearing South-East five Leagues off, the fourth, in the Morning, of the Crofiers; and the seventh, of Cavo Verde: Where Welsh found the Latitude fourteen Degrees and forty-three Minutes, being four Leagues from the Shore.

FRIDAY, the seventeenth, Cavo de Monte, Cape de bare of them North North-East: They founded, and had fifty Fathom black Ouze; and at two o'Clock, it lay North North-West, eight Leagues off. Cavo Mensurado bare off them East by South; and they went North-East with the Coast. Here the Current sets East South-East along the Shore. At Midnight they founded, and had twenty-six Fathom black Ouze.

THE eighteenth, in the Morning, they were thwart a Land, much like Cavo Verde, nine Leagues (as the Author judged) from Cavo Mensurado. It is a Hill Saddle-backed; and there are four or five one after another: Seven Leagues

<sup>a</sup> As if the Capture was more ominous on Account of the King's Name, than the Saint's. <sup>b</sup> This Paragraph was added some Years after by the Author, or somebody else, if not by Hakluyt, (who often throws in his own Remarks, without distinguishing them from his Author's) having been obviously written after the English had began to sail to the East Indies. <sup>c</sup> To be found in Hakluyt's Collection, Vol. 2. part 2. p. 126.

1588

Wuth

more to the Southward, they saw a Row of Sadle-backed Hills, and from *Cavo Mensurado* run many Mountains.

Rio de Sidos.

THE nineteenth, they were thwart *Rio de Sidos*, and next Day *Cavo dos Baixos* was North and by West, they being four Leagues off Shore. Afternoon, there came a Boat with three Negros, from a Place (as they say) called *Tahano*; and towards Evening, they were opposite an Island, with a great many small Islands, or Rocks, to the Southward. The Current came from the South: They sounded, and had thirty-five Fathoms

Taban

THE twenty-first, they saw a flat Hill, bearing North North-East of them, being four Leagues from Shore, and at two o'Clock, Afternoon, spake with a *Frenchman*, riding hard by a Place called *Rature*; near which, was another, called *Crua*. This *Frenchman* carried a Letter from them to Mr. *Newton*, [one of the Adventurers:] And as they lay at Hull, while the Letter was writing, the Current set them to the Southward, a good Pace along the Shore, South South-East.

THE twenty-fifth, they were in the Height of the Bay, that is to the Westward of *Capo de tres Puntas*; the Current setting East North-East. The twenty-eighth, they lay six Glasses a-hull, tarrying for the Pinnacle.

Cape Tres Puntas.

THE last of *January*, at seven in the Morning, they were up with the middle Part of the Cape, three Leagues distant. At eight, the Pinnacle came to Anchor; and they found the Current set to the Eastward. At six at Night, the outermost Land bare East by South, five Leagues, they shaping their Course South-West, and South-West by South.

SATURDAY, the first of *February*, 1588, they were opposite a round Foreland, which the Author took for the Eastermost Part of the Cape. Within the Foreland was a great Bay, and in that an Island.

Castle del Mina.

THE second of *February*, they were up with the Castle of *Mina*; and when the third Glass of their Look-out was spent, spied under their Larboard Quarter, a Boat with certain Negros, and one *Portuguese* in it. The Master would have had him come aboard, but he would not. Upon the high Rocks over the Castle, they perceived two Watch-houses, (so they seemed to them) which appeared very white: They steered East North-East.

Monte Redondo.

THE fourth, in the Morning, they were thwart a great high Hill, (and up in the Land, there were more high ragged Hills) but little short, as they reckoned, of *Monte Redondo*, and twenty Leagues South-Eastward from the *Mina*. At eleven, the Master saw two Hills within Land,

a seven Leagues from the former; and to the Seaward a Bay, at the East End whereof, was another Hill; the Land from the Hills lying very low. Their Course was East North-East, and East by North, twenty-two Leagues; and then, East along the Shore.

1588.

Wuth.

THE sixth, they were short of *Villa Longa*, *Villa Longa* and met with a *Portuguese* Caravel. Next Day, which was fair and temperate, they rode before *Villa Longa*. The eighth, at Noon, they set Sail again; and ten Leagues from thence anchored, staying all that Night in ten Fathom Water.

THE ninth, they proceeded along the Shore, which was bordered with very thick Woods; and in the Afternoon, were thwart a River, to the Eastward of which, a little Way off, was a great high Tree, seemingly without Leaves: At Night they anchored, the Weather being fair and temperate.

THE tenth, they went East, and East by South, fourteen Leagues along the Shore; which was covered with such thick Woods, that, in the Author's Judgment, a Man should have enough to do to pass through them. Towards Night, they anchored in seven Fathom; the Weather fair.

THE eleventh, they sailed East by South, and three Leagues from Shore, had but five Fathom Water. All the Wood upon the Land was as even as if it had been cut with Gardeners Sheers. Running two Leagues, they discovered a high Tuft of Trees upon the Brow of a Land, which shewed like a Porpoise's Head; and when they came at it, found it was but Part of the Land. A League farther, they saw a very low Head-land full of Trees; and a great Way from the Shore, meeting with very shallow Water, they went more to Sea to avoid the Sands; and then they anchored in the Mouth of the River *Jaya*, in five Fathom Water.

River Jaya

THE twelfth, they sent the Pinnacle and the Boat on Land with the Merchants, who returned not till next Morning. The shallowest Part of this River, is towards the West, where there is but four Fathom and a half; and it is very broad. Here the Current setteth Westward; and the Eastermost Land is higher than the Westermost.

THE thirteenth, they set Sail, and lay South South-East along the Shore, where the Trees are wonderfully even. Having ran eighteen Leagues, they had Sight of a great River, and anchored in three Fathom and a half; the Current running Westward. This is the River of *Benin*; and two Leagues from Shore it is very shallow.

River of Benin.

THE fifteenth, they sent the Boat and Pinnacle into the River with the Merchants; and because they rode in shallow Water, went South South-East, till they came into five Fathom. By this

1589. this Time, the Boat returned from the Harbour, a  
 1589. and went aboard the Pinnace. The Land to the  
 West, was high browed, like the Head of a Gurnard; that to the East, lower, and had on it three Tufts of Trees, like Stacks of Corn. Here they rode from the fourteenth of February, till the fourteenth of April, with the Wind at South-West.

THE sixteenth of February, the Boat and Pinnace came to them again out of the River, and told them, that there was but ten Foot Water upon the Bar. All that Night was drowsy, and yet reasonably temperate. On the seventeenth, a close Day, the Wind at South-West still, the Merchants put their Goods aboard the Pinnace. There came a great Current out of the River, and set to the Westward. Next Day, they went with their Goods into the River. The Weather was close and drowsy, with Thunder, Rain, and Lightning.

THE twenty-fourth, the Morning close and temperate; in the Afternoon, the Boat came out of the River from the Merchants. The fourth of March, a close sultry hot Morning, the Current went to the Westward, and much troubled Water came out of the River.

THE sixteenth, the Pinnace came aboard with Anthony Ingram<sup>a</sup> in her, and brought ninety-four Bags of Pepper, and twenty-eight Elephants Teeth; but the Master of her, and all his Company were sick. This was a temperate Day, and the Wind at South-West. The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, were fair temperate Weather, and the Wind at South-West. This Day, the Pinnace went into the River again, and carried the Purser and the Surgeon. The twenty-fifth, 1589, they sent the Boat into the River.

THE thirtieth, the Pinnace came from Benin, and brought one hundred and fifty-nine Crons, or Sacks of Pepper, and Elephants Teeth, with the sorrowful News, that Thomas Hemsted was dead, and their Captain also.

NOTE, THAT in all the Time of their abiding here, in the Mouth of the River Benin, and all the Coast thereabout, it was fair temperate Weather, when the Wind was at South-West; and when at North-East and Northerly, then it rained, with Lightning and Thunder, and was very intemperate.

THE thirteenth of April, in the Morning, they set Sail homewards, with the Wind at South-West, and stood West and by North: But it proved calm all that Night; and the Current ran South-East. The fourteenth, being seven Leagues from shore, the River of Benin was North-East. There was little Wind all Day; and towards Night it was calm.

THE seventeenth, a fair temperate Day, the Wind variable, and they found the Latitude four Degrees twenty Minutes. The twenty-fifth, a Day, altogether like the former, and here they had three Degrees, and twenty-nine Minutes of Latitude.

THE eighth of May, they had Sight of the Cape de Shore, which was Part of Cavo de Monte; but they did not think they had been so far: This was occasioned by the Current. In this Place, Mr. Towrson was in like Manner deceived. The ninth, they had Sight of Cavo de Monte. The seventeenth, a dark drowsy Day; and in the Night, the Author saw the North Star for the first Time. The twenty-sixth, was a temperate Day, with little Wind, and they were in twelve Degrees thirteen Minutes of Latitude. The thirtieth, they met a great Sea out of the North-West.

THE sixth of June, they found it as temperate, as if it had been in England; and yet they were within the Height of the Sun. For it was declined twenty-three Degrees, and twenty-six Minutes to the Northward; and they had fifteen Degrees of Latitude. The eighth, they had the same Sort of Weather; and met with a counter Sea from the South. The fifteenth, a fair temperate Day; the Wind variable. They found the Latitude eighteen Degrees fifty-nine Minutes.

THE twelfth of July, in thirty Degrees of Latitude, they met with great Store of Rock-weed, which did stick together like Clusters of Grapes, and this continued till the seventeenth, when they were in thirty-two Degrees forty-six Minutes, and then saw no more. The twenty-fifth, at six in the Morning, they had Sight of the Isle of Pike; bearing North by East fifteen Leagues off. The twenty-seventh, they spoke with the Post of London, and she told them good News of England. The twenty-ninth, they had Sight of the Island of Cuervo, and next Day saw the Island of Flores. The twenty-seventh of August, in forty-one Degrees of Latitude, they saw nine Sail of Britons; and were followed by three of them till Noon, who then gave over the Chace.

THE thirtieth, they had Sight of Cape Fissierre. The eighth of September, at Night, they arrived in Plymouth Sound, and rode in Caswell Bay all Night. The ninth, they put into Castwater, and there staid till the twenty-eighth of September, by Reason of Sickness and Want of Men. The twenty-ninth, they set Sail from Plymouth; and came to London the second of October, 1589.

THE Commodities that were carried in this Voyage, were Cloth, both Linen and Woollen;

<sup>a</sup> He was chief Factor His Account follows as a Supplement to this.

1589. Iron-work of sundry Sorts; Manillios, or Brace-lets of Copper, Glass Beads, and Coral. *a River of Benin. Goto Town. Great City of 1589.*

*Not in port-  
ed from  
Benin.*

*Money of  
Benin*

THE Commodities that they brought home, were Pepper, and Elephants Teeth, Oil of Palm, Cloth made both of Cotton, and the Bark of Palm Trees, very curiously woven. Their Money is pretty white Shells; for Gold and Silver the *English* saw none. Cotton grows in great Plenty. Their Bread is [made of] a kind of Roots; they call it *Inama*; and when it was well sodden, the Author would leave our Bread for it: It is pleasant to the Taste, and light of Digestion: The Root is as big as a Man's Arm. The *Englishmen*, on Fifth Days, had rather eat the Root with Oil and Vinegar, than good Stock-fish. There are Palm Trees numerous; and the Wine that comes from them, plenty. It is white, and very pleasant; and so cheap, they could buy two Gallons for twenty Shells. They have Store of Soap, which smells like beaten Violets. They make pretty Mats and Baskets, which are very fine; also Ivory Spoons, curiously wrought with Figures of Birds and Beasts. The Lightning and Thunder on this Coast, is prodigious, and such as the Author never heard in any other Country: For it would make the Deck, or Hatches, tremble under their Feet: And before they were well acquainted with it, the Men were much afraid of it; but no Hurt was done thereby.

*Inhabitants  
courteous.*

THE People are very gentle and loving: Both Men and Women go naked till they are married, and then they are covered from the Middle to the Knees. The *English* would buy earthen Pots, the Quantity of two Gallons, full of Honey and Honey-combs, for one hundred Shells. They would also bring great Store of Oranges, and Plantains; which is the Fruit of a Tree, much like a Cucumber, but very pleasant to the Palate.

*Water kept  
in the  
Ship.*

THE Author informs us, that he had the Art to preserve fresh Water; and that when he came to *Plymouth*, the Experiment was made with little Cost, on the same he brought home, (which had served the Ship for six Months) by the principal Persons in that Town, who were much surprised at it; and acknowledged, there was not sweeter Water in any Spring about the Place.

#### Table of Latitudes observed in Sight of

|             |   |   |   |   |         |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---------|
| Rio del Oro | — | — | — | — | 24° 47' |
| Cape Verde  | — | — | — | — | 14 43   |

### SECT. II.

*A brief Account of the same Voyage. Written by Anthony Ingram, chief Factor.*

\* This Account was sent by *Ingram* on the Ship's Arrival at *Plymouth*, in a Letter dated the ninth of September, (which was the Day of its Arrival) to the Merchants, at whose Charge the Voyage was undertaken. He apologizes at the Beginning, for writing so short an Account, on the Score of his ill State of Health, referring farther Particulars till he arrived at *London*

*Benin. The Merchants are kindly received by the King. Trade thither for Pepper and Teeth. The Men fall sick. Great Mortality. Their Distress in the Way homewards.*

BEING <sup>a</sup> arrived in the River of *Benin*, on the fourteenth of February, 1588, and not finding Water enough to carry the Ship over the Bar, they left her without in the Road; and with the Pinnace and Boat, into which they had put the chief of their Merchandize, went up the River to a Place called *Goto*, where they arrived the twentieth; being the nearest Place to the City of *Benin* they could get to by Water. From thence they sent Negros to acquaint the King with their Arrival, and the Cause of their Coming. The twenty-second, they returned with a Nobleman to bring them to the City, and two hundred Negros to carry their Commodities.

HEREUPON, the twenty-third, they delivered their Merchandize to the King's Factor; and the twenty-fifth, came to the great City of *Benin*, where they were very well received. The twenty-sixth, going to Court, in order to have spoken to the King, they were disappointed, by Reason of a solemn Feast then kept amongst them. However, they talked with his *Peadore*, or chief Officer, who transacts with the *Christians* concerning their Trade; and were answered, that they should have what Quantity both of Pepper and Elephants Teeth, they desired.

THE first of March, they were admitted to the King's Presence, who also made the like courteous Answer to their Demand as to Traffic. Next Day, going again to Court, the *Peadore* shewed them a Basket of green Pepper, and another of dry on the Stalks. On their desiring to have it plucked off, and made clean, he told them, that would require Time, yet, that it should be done; that against another Year it should be more in Readiness; and, that the Reason why they found it so unprepared was, because in the King's Time, then reigning, no *Christians* had ever resorted thither to lade Pepper. Next Day, there were sent twelve Baskets, and a little every Day, till the ninth of March: At which Time they had made up sixty-four Serons of Pepper, and twenty-eight Elephants Teeth.

WHILE they were at *Benin*, not being accustomed to that Climate, they all fell sick of the Fever. Whereupon the Captain sent the Author with the Goods, already received, to *Goto*, where the rest of the Men were likewise sick, and so weak, they were not able to convey the Pinnace

1590. and Goods to the Place where the Ship rode : a  
 But, by good Fortune, two Hours after, the Boat  
 happening to arrive from the Ship, to see how all  
 things stood with them, Mr. Ingram put the  
 Goods into it, and carried them down. Yet by  
 that Time he was gotten aboard, many of the  
 Men died, as *Benson*, the Cooper; the Carpen-  
 ter, and three or four more. The Author him-  
 self also was in such a weak State, that he was  
 not able to return to *Benin*; whereupon he sent  
*Samuel Dunne*, and the Surgeon to attend those  
 on Shore, and let them blood, if needful. At  
 their coming to *Benin*, they found the Captain,  
 and *William Bird* (Son to one of the Proprietors)  
 dead, and *Thomas Hempsteede* very weak, who  
 also died two Days after. Which sorrowful Ac-  
 cidents caused them, with such Pepper and Teeth  
 as they then had, speedily to return to the Ship.

The Captain  
and others

At coming away, the *Veadore* told them,  
 that if they could stay any longer, he would use  
 all possible Expedition to bring in more Com-  
 modities. But the Sickness so increased and con-  
 tinued, that by the Time the rest got on board,  
 so many of the Ship's Company were sick and  
 dead, that none of them expected to get home  
 alive, but to leave their Ship and Bones behind.  
 It was with the greatest Difficulty that they could  
 get up their Anchors; but having done it at last,  
 they left the Pinnace, and set Sail homeward.  
 On the thirteenth of *April*, by little and little,  
 the Men began to recover their Health, and ga-  
 ther Strength; and so sailing betwixt the Islands  
 of *Cape Verde*, and the Continent, they came to  
 the Islands of the *Azores* the twenty-fifth of *Ju-  
 ly*, where the Men began to sicken again, and  
 divers died; among whom was *Samuel Dunne*.  
 Those who remained alive were in a very bad  
 Case. But in the midst of their Distress, they  
 happened luckily to meet with a Bark belonging  
 to the Proprietors, called the *Burre*, on this Side  
 the North Cape; which kept them company, and  
 sent six fresh Men aboard, without whose Help  
 they must have suffered great Extremities.

## S E C T. III.

The second Voyage to Benin, in 1590.

Canary Islands. Numerous Counter-Currents. The  
 Pinnace drops the Ship. Spot in the Sun. Cape  
 Palmas. Rivers de los Barbos, and de Bailas.  
 Arda Town. A Caravel taken and burnt. Vil-  
 la Longa. Rivers Lagoa, Jaya, and Benin.  
 Goto Town. Water-Spouts. A Tornado, or  
 Hurricane. Return homewards. Commodities  
 brought home. This Voyage more happy than the  
 former.

THE third of September, 1590, they set  
 Sail from *Ratcliff*, and the eighteenth came  
 to *Plymouth Sound*. The twenty-second, they put

a to Sea again, and at Midnight were off the *Zi-  
 zard*. Then proceeding on their Voyage, till the  
 fourth of *October*, they passed by *Porteventura*,  
 one of the *Canarie* Islands, which appeared very  
 ragged.

1590  
Well  
Carry  
ij

THE sixteenth, in the Latitude of twenty-  
 four Degrees, nine Minutes, they met with a  
 very hollow Sea, the like whereof the Master  
 never saw on this Coast. This Day a monstrous  
 great Fish (he thinks it was a *Goburto*) put up its  
 Head to the Steep-Tubs, where the Cook was  
 shifting the Victuals, and in great Danger of be-  
 ing carried away.

THE twenty-first, in the Latitude of eigh-  
 teen Degrees, they met with a Counter-Sea, out  
 of the North; in which very Place, the last  
 Voyage, they had one from the South, being  
 very calm Weather both Times.

THE twenty-fourth, they had Sight of *Cape Verde*  
*Verd*: And the twenty-fifth they met with a  
 great hollow Sea out of the North, which is a  
 common Sign, that the Wind will be northerly;  
 and so it proved.

THE fifteenth of *November*, they met with  
 three Currents, out of the West and North-  
 West, within an Hour after one-another. This  
 was in the Latitude of six Degrees, forty-two  
 Minutes.

THE eighteenth, they met with two other  
 great Currents, out of the South-West; and  
 the twentieth, another, from the North-East.  
 The twenty-fourth, they had a great Current  
 from South South-West; and at six o'Clock, to-  
 wards Night, they had three Currents more.

THE twenty-seventh, they thought that they had  
 ran at least two Leagues and half every Watch,  
 at the same Time they sailed but one League eve-  
 ry Watch, for the Space of twenty-four Hours,  
 by means of a great Sea and Current, that came  
 out of the South.

THE fifth of *December*, in setting the Watch,  
 they tacked about, and steered East North-East,  
 and North-East; and here in five Degrees and a  
 half, their Pinnace lost them wilfully.

THE seventh, at Sun-set, they saw a great  
 black Spot in the Sun, which appeared the eighth,  
 both at Rising and Setting, being, to their seem-  
 ings, about the Bignets of a Shilling. They were  
 then in five Degrees of Latitude, and still there  
 came a great Sea from the South.

THE fourteenth, they had fifteen Fathom  
 Water, with coarse red Sand; and two Leagues  
 from Shore, the Current set along it South-East,  
 with a Sea still from the South.

THE fifteenth, they were thwart a Rock, two  
 Leagues distant, somewhat like the *Mewstone* in  
*England*; it is not above a Mile from Shore:  
 Here they had twenty-seven Fathom. A Mile  
 farther they saw another Rock, and between  
 them

1590. them both, broken Ground. Where they had a they found nothing in her but only a little Oil 1591.  
 Welth. but twenty Fathom, and black Sand, they could of Palm-trees, and a few Roots. Next Morn-  
 { plainly discern, that the Rock went not along ing the Captain <sup>a</sup> and Merchants went to meet  
 the Shore, but from the Land to the Seaward: *Portuguese*, who came in a Boat to speak with  
 And about five Leagues to the South, they saw them, about ransoming the Caravel; offering  
 a great Bay. The Latitude was four Degrees and for her certain Bullocks and Elephants Teeth.  
 and twenty-seven Minutes. They gave them one of each Sort, and said they  
 would bring them the rest next Day.
- The Pinnace* THE sixteenth, they met with a *French Ship* of *Hunfleur*, which had robbed their Pinnace: 1591.  
*robbed.* They sent a Letter by her; and this Night they of *Welth.*  
 saw another Spot in the Sun, at his going down. b They dissembled, he came aboard again; and pre-  
 Towards Evening they were thwart of a River; sently unriggering the Caravel, set her on Fire  
 and right over the River was a high Tuft of before the Town. Then proceeding along the  
 Trees. Shore, they saw a Date-tree, by the Water-side,  
 the like whereof is not on all that Coast. They  
 ran on Ground a little in one Place; then get-  
 ting to *Villa Longa*, anchored there. *Villa Longa.*
- Cape Pal-* THE seventeenth, being the Change of the Moon, they anchored in the River's Mouth, and found the Land to be *Cavo de las Palmas*. Be-  
*nus.* tween them and the *Cape* there was a great Ledge  
 of Rocks one League and a half from Shore, and they bare to the West of the *Cape*. They  
 saw also an Island off the *Foreland Point*. Night c  
 approaching, they could perceive no more of the approaching, they could perceive no more of the  
 Land, but only that it trended inwards like a Bay, where there runs a Stream, as if it were  
 in the River of *Thames*.
- THE nineteenth, a fair, temperate Day, and the Wind South, they went East; and the Land a-stern of them bore West, appearing low, by the Water-side, like Islands. This was the East of *Cavo de las Palmas*, the Coast trending in with a great Sound. They went East all Night, and in the Morning were but three or four Leagues from Shore.
- Rio de los* THE twentieth, they were thwart of a River, called *Rio de los Barbos*. The twenty-first, they went East along Shore; and three or four Leagues to the West of *Cavo de tres Puntas*, Mr. *Welsh* found the Bay to be set deeper, than it is by four Leagues. At four o'Clock the Land began to shew high, and the first Part of it full of Palm-Trees.
- Barbos.*
- Rio de* THE twenty-fourth, still going by the Shore, which was very low and full of Trees, at twelve o'Clock, they anchored thwart the *Rio de Boilas*. Here they sent the Boat ashore, with the Merchants; but they durst not put into the River, because of a great Sea that continually broke at the Entrance upon the Bar.
- Boilas.*
- THE twenty-eighth, they sailed along the Shore, and anchored at Night in seven Fathom, because otherwise a great Current from the East f  
 South-East, from the *Papuas*, would have put them back.
- Arda.* THE twenty-ninth, at Noon, they were thwart of *Arda*, and there they took a Caravel; but the Men were fled on Land. Going aboard, *Caravel*  
*saken.*
- THE first of *January*, the Captain went on Land to speak with the *Portuguese*: But finding they dissembled, he came aboard again; and presently unriggering the Caravel, set her on Fire before the Town. Then proceeding along the Shore, they saw a Date-tree, by the Water-side, the like whereof is not on all that Coast. They ran on Ground a little in one Place; then getting to *Villa Longa*, anchored there. *Villa Longa.*
- THE third, they were as far shot as *Rio de Lagoa*, where the Merchants went ashore, and upon the Bar found three Fathom flat; but went not in, because it was late. There is to the Eastward of this River a Date-tree, higher than all the other Trees thereabouts. Thus they went along the Coast, which was full of Trees and thick Woods, anchoring every Night.
- THE sixth, in the Morning, it was very foggy, so that they could not see Land: But at three in the Afternoon it clearing up, they found themselves opposite the River of *Jaya*; where, meeting with the shallow Water, they ran out to Sea, as they did the Voyage before, and came to Anchor in five Fathom. Next Day they set Sail again, and, towards Noon, came before the River of *Benin*, in five Fathom Water. *River Jaya and Benin.*
- THE tenth, at two in the Afternoon, the Captain went on Land with the Shallop. Every Morning this Week it was very foggy till ten o'Clock; and hitherto the Weather was as temperate as the Summer in *England*. This Day they went into the Road (the West Point of which bore East North-East off them) and anchored in four Fathom Water.
- THE twenty-first, being a fair temperate Day, M. *Hassald* went to the Town of *Goto*, to hear News of the Captain. The twenty-third, came the Caravel <sup>b</sup>, and *Samuel* in her, bringing sixty-three Elephants Teeth and three Bullocks. The twenty-eighth was fair and temperate; but towards Night there fell much Rain, Lightning and Thunder. This Day the Boat came aboard from *Goto*. *Goto Town.*
- THE twenty-fourth of *February*, the Wind at South-East, they took in 298 Serons, or Sacks of Pepper, and four Elephants Teeth. The twenty-sixth, they put the rest of their Goods into the Caravel, and M. *Hassald* went with

<sup>a</sup> The Name of the Captain is mentioned neither in this nor the former Voyage.  
 tioned how they came by this Caravel.

<sup>b</sup> It is not men-

1591. her to *Gato*. The fifth of *March*, she came back a Day also Mr. *Wood*, one of their Company, died. The twenty-third, they spoke with the *Dragon*, of my Lord of *Cumberland*, whereof Master *Ivie* was Master. The second of *October*, they met with a *Newcastle Ship*, from *Newfoundland*, and had out of her 300 Couple of *Newland Fish*. 1591.
- Well. The twenty-fourth, they spoke with the *Dragon*, of my Lord of *Cumberland*, whereof Master *Ivie* was Master. The second of *October*, they met with a *Newcastle Ship*, from *Newfoundland*, and had out of her 300 Couple of *Newland Fish*.
- Water- The sixteenth was a drowsy rainy Day. In the Afternoon they saw three great Spouts of Rain, two on the larboard Side, and one right a-head; but they came not near them. This Day they took in the last of their Water; and the twenty-sixth, victualled the Caravel to go with them to Sea.
- scuts. The twenty-seventh, they set Sail homeward, with the Wind at South-West; and at two o'Clock in the Afternoon, the River of *Benin* was North-East eight Leagues from them.
- A Tornado, The third of *May*, they had such a terrible Gust at South-East, with Rain, Lightning and Thunder, that it tore and split their Foresail; and also the Caravel's Foresail and Mainsail.
- or Hurri- The twelfth, a fair temperate Day, much like the Summer Mornings in *England*, being but one Degree and a half from the Line; but, at Midnight, they had a violent Gust of Rain, with the Wind at North-East. The twenty-fourth, they were South from *Cavo de las Palmas*, thirty-seven Leagues. The first of *July*, they had Sight of *Brava*, one of the *Cape Verd Islands*, seven Leagues to the East.
- Cape Verd Islands. The thirteenth of *August*, they fell in with the Fleet under the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Admiral, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*, Vice-Admiral; which was lying at hull, in wait for *Spanish Ships*, thirty Leagues to the South-West of the Island of *Flores*. They were detained till the fifteenth at Night; and then had Leave to depart, with a Fly-boat laden with Sugar, that came from *Sant Thome*, and was taken by the Queen's Ships. The Lord Admiral giving Mr. *Welsh* great Charge, not to leave her till she was harboured in *England*.
- Island Corvo. The twenty-third, the North-East Part of the Island of *Corvo*, bare East and by South six Leagues off. The seventeenth of *September*, they met a Ship of *Plymouth*, that came from the *West-Indies*, but she could tell them no News. The next Day they had Sight of another Sail; this
- Day also Mr. *Wood*, one of their Company, died. The twenty-third, they spoke with the *Dragon*, of my Lord of *Cumberland*, whereof Master *Ivie* was Master. The second of *October*, they met with a *Newcastle Ship*, from *Newfoundland*, and had out of her 300 Couple of *Newland Fish*.
- The sixth, they had Sight of *Scillie*, and were forced by Rain and Wind to put into *St. Mary's Sound*, where they stayed four Days. Departing the eleventh, they had three Fathom upon the Bar at high Water. Then steering South-East, through *Crow-fund*, they shortly after had Sight of the *Land's End*; and, at ten o'Clock, were thwart of the *Lizard*.
- The thirteenth, they were put into *Dartmouth*, where they stayed till the twelfth of *December*: When setting Sail with the Wind at West, on the eighteenth, anchored at *Limehouse*, in the *Thames*; where they landed 589 Sacks of Pepper, 150 Elephants Teeth, and thirty-two Barrels of the Oil of Palm-trees. The Commodities that were carried out this second Time, were Broad-cloths, Kerseys, Bays, Linen, Iron unwrought, Bracelets of Copper, Coral, Hawks-Bells, Horse-Tails, Hats, and such like.
- This Voyage was more comfortable to them than the first, because they had Plenty of fresh Water, nay, the Water which they brought out of the River of *Benin*, the first of *April*, 1591, was, on the seventh of *June*, 1592, to be seen aboard the Ship as clear and sweet as any Fountain could yield.
- In this Voyage they sailed 350 Leagues, within half a Degree of the Line, and there they found it more temperate than where they rode. And under the Line they caught Abundance of small Dolphins, and other good Fishes. The like they did all the Way, which was a very great refreshing; the Fish never leaving them till they were North of the *Azores*; and when the Fish forsook them, they met with their Countrymen, which was no small Comfort to them, having been five Months before at Sea without any Company.

This Distinction of Master and Maister, often occurs in these early Voyages.

*A Cruizing Voyage, by the Right Honourable George Earl of Cumberland, to the Azores, in 1589. Written by Mr. Edward Wright Mathematician and Engineer.*

## S E C T. I.

*They take three French Ships Eleven Sail more. At the Azores take three Spanish Ships and other Prizes. Santa Cruz in Flores. Monstrous Fish. Fayal. Several Prizes more Strange Escape of eight English. Miss of the Caracks. Fayal taken. Its Description. Plundered. The Friery. Town ransomed. The Earl's Courtesy.*

**T**HE Earl of Cumberland, at his own Charges, prepared this small Fleet, which consisted of four Sail only, viz. the *Victory*, one of the Queen's Ships, wherein he commanded himself, the *Meg*, and the *Margaret*, Mr. *Mounson* (afterwards Sir *William*) Captain, his Vice-Admiral. These two, were small Ships; and a small Caravel, Mr. *Pidgeon*, Captain. Having assembled together 400 Men (or fewer) Gentlemen, Soldiers, and Sailors, he set Sail from the Sound of *Plymouth*, in *Devonshire*, the eighteenth of *June*, 1589.

BESIDES these already mentioned, he was accompanied by Captain *Christopher Lister*, a Man of great Resolution; Captain *Edward Careless*, alias *Wright*, who in Sir *Francis Drake's West-Indian Voyage* to *St. Domingo* and *Carthage*, was Captain of the *Hope*; Captain *Boswell*, M. *Merum*, M. *Henry Long*, M. *Partridge*, M. *Nor-ton*.

Take three French Ships.  
ABOUT three Days after their Departure, they met with three *French Ships*, whereof one was of *Newhaven*, and another of *St. Malos*: These they took as lawful Prizes, and sent two of them for *England*, after taking out Part of the Fish with which they were laden, from *Newfoundland*. In the third, all their Men were sent home to *France*. The same Day and the next, they met with some other Ships; which they dismissed, finding they were of *Rotterdam*, and *Emden*, bound for *Rochell*.

Take eleven Sail.  
THE twenty-eighth and ninth, they met divers *English Ships*, returning from the *Portugal Voyage*, which his Lordship relieved with *Vic-tuals*. The thirteenth of *July*, in the Morning, they espied eleven Ships, without Sight of the Coast of *Spain*, in the Height of thirty-nine

a Degrees, whom they prepared to engage; having first sent Captain *Mounson* before, to discover whence they were. The *Meg* approaching near, there passed some Shot betwixt them; and by their Admiral and Vice-Admiral hoisting their Flags, it was evident they intended to fight. The *English*, making what Haste they could, endeavoured to get the Wind of them, and about eleven o'Clock, the *Victory* came up: But after exchanging a few Shot, they yielded, and the Masters came aboard; shewing their several Passports from the Cities of *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, *Breme*, *Pomerania*, and *Galice*.

THEY had in them certain Bags of Pepper and Cinnamon, which they confessed to be the Goods of a *Jew* in *Lisbon*, and were carrying them into their own Country to his Factor there. Finding it, by their Confession, to be lawful Prize, the same was soon after divided among the whole Company; the Value having been reckoned to be about 4500 *l.* at two Shillings the Pound. After which, on the seventeenth, the Ships were dismissed, and all their Men; except seven, who were willing to go along with the Fleet as Sailors.

HOLDING on their Course for the *Azores*, Come to the first of *August*, in the Morning, they had Sight of the Island of *St. Michael*, one of the Eastermost, toward which they sailed all that Day; and at Night having put forth a *Spanish* Flag on their Main-top, that they might be the less suspected, they approached near the chief Town and Road of that Island, where they spied three Ships, and some other Vessels at Anchor; all which they determined to take in the Night. Accordingly, about ten or eleven o'Clock, they sent their Boats well manned to cut their Cables and Hausers, and let them drive into the Sea. The Men coming to them, found that one of the greater Ships was the *Falcon*, of *London*; being there under a *Scottish* Pilot, who bare the Name of her as his own. But they let loose three other small Ships, that lay under the Castle, (fraught with Wine and Sallad-Oil from *Sevil*) and towed them away. Most of the *Spaniards*, that were in them, leaped over-board, and swam

\* This is the famous *Wright*, Author of that admirable Invention for Charts, commonly called *Mercator's Projection*, but unjustly; as he complains in his Book of *Vulgar Errors*, where he charges *Mercator* with Plagiarism. In the Title of this Voyage in *Hakluyt* (vol. 2. part 2. p. 143.) he is stiled the excellent Mathematician and Engineer; and from the Narrative it appears, that he was in the Expedition himself, on board the *Victory*.



1589. to Shore, making lamentable Outcries; which, a were at *Tercera*, they hastened thither with all the 1589. Speed they could. In the Way, they came to E. of Cumb. the Town hearing, was presently in an Uproar, *Fayal* Road the twenty-seventh Day of *August*, after Sun-set; where, descrying certain Ships at Anchor, Captain *Lifter* and Captain *Monson* were sent in the *Victory*'s Skiff, accompanied, for the better Security, by the *Saucy-jack*, and small Caravel, to observe them. But the Wind being from Shore, the Ships were not able to get so nigh as the *Spaniards* rode, nevertheless, the Boat did, and clapped a Vessel aboard of two hundred and fifty Tons, which carried in her fourteen cast Pieces. They continued to fight alone for an Hour, till other Boats came up from the Ships, and then they boarded her afresh, one Boat in the Quarter, and another in the Haufe. As they entered her on one Side, all the *Spaniards* leapt over-board on the other, excepting *Juan de Palma*, the Captain, and two or three more.

THE seventh, they had Sight of a little Ship, which their Pinnace chased towards *Tercera*, (the Weather being calm) and towards Evening overtook her. There were in her thirty Tuns of good *Madeira* Wine, certain woollen Cloth, Silk, Taffata, &c. The fourteenth, they arrived at Flores, where, designing to take in fresh Water and Victuals, they manned their Boats with an hundred and twenty Men, and rowed towards Shore. On their Approach, the Inhabitants, who were assembled at the landing Place, set up a Flag of Truce, whereupon the *English* did the like. His Lordship gave them to understand, by his *Portuguese* Interpreter, that he was a Friend to their King *Don Antonio*; and came not to injure them, but only to have some fresh Provision in Exchange for Oil, Wine, or Pepper: To which they readily agreed, and sent some of their Company for Beeves and Sheep.

MEAN Time, the *English* marched Southward about a Mile to *Villa de Santa Cruz*, from whence all the Inhabitants, young and old, were departed, and not any Thing of Value left; for Fear (as their usual Manner was) when any Ships came near their Coast. That Part of the Island was full of great, rocky, barren Hills and Mountains, and but little inhabited, as being molested by Ships of War: For *Santa Cruz* itself (which is one of their chief Towns) was all ruinous, having been burnt about two Years before, as the Inhabitants said, by certain *English* Ships of War.

AT Evening, as the Author and others were rowing towards the *Victory*, an huge Fish pursued them for nigh two Miles together, within a Spear's Length of the Boat; and sometimes so near, that she struck upon him. The Tips of his Finns, about the Gills, appeared oftentimes above the Water; and were, by Estimation, four or five Yards asunder: His Jaws, when he gaped, were a Yard and half wide, which made them fear he would overturn the Pinnace; but by rowing as hard as they could, they escaped.

AT Flores, a little Ship, called the *Drake*, having brought them Word, that the Caraks

THIS Ship was moored to the Castle, which shot at them all the Time of the Action, yet did no Hurt, only the Master of the Caravel had the Calf of his Leg taken off. The Vessel was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and Hides, lately come from *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*. After they had towed her clear off the Castle, they rowed in again with their Boats, and fetched out five small Ships more: One laden with Hides, another with Elephants Teeth, Grains, Cocoa-Nuts, and Goats-Skins, brought from *Guinea*; another with Wood, and two with Dog-Fish, which they set adrift, as not being worth carrying away. The other four were sent for *England* the thirtieth of *August*. At the taking these Prizes, they were joined by some other small Men of War, as Mr. *John Davis*, with his Ship, Pinnace, and Boat; Captain *Markesbury*, with his Ship, whose Owner was Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the Bark of *Lime*, which was also in Company with them before.

THE last of *August*, in the Morning, they came in Sight of *Tercera*, nine or ten Leagues from Shore, where they espied a small Boat, under Sail, making towards them; which they were surpris'd at, being so far from Land, and no Ship in Sight, to which it might belong. It seems, they were eight *Englishmen*, who had been Prisoners in *Tercera*; and finding Opportunity, at that Time, to escape, committed themselves to the Sea in that small Boat: Having no other Yard for their Main-sail, but two Pipe-Staves tied together by the Ends; and no more Provision of Victuals, then they could bring in their Pockets and Bosoms. They were taken into the *Victory*, and gave certain Intelligence, that the Caraks were departed from thence about a Week before.

THUS, being without any farther Hope of those Caraks, they resolv'd to return for *Fayal*, with Intent to surprize the Town: But till the ninth of *September*, the Wind was so contrary, or the Weather

1589. Weather so calm, that they could not get above a  
 E. of Cumb nine or ten Leagues on the Way, beating the Sea  
 all the while, not far from *Pico*. However, at  
 length, on *Wednesday* the tenth, in the Afternoon,  
 they came again into *Fayal* Road. Whereupon,  
 immediately the Earl of *Cumberland*, sent Cap-  
 tain *Lister*, with one of *Graciosa*, (whom Captain  
*Munson* had before taken) and some others, to-  
 wards *Fayal*. On the Way, they were met in a  
 Boat by certain of the Inhabitants; who, coming  
 back with Captain *Lister*, his Lordship gave them  
 their Choice: Either to suffer him quietly to enter  
 the Platform, where he and his Company would  
 peaceably remain, till such Time as they (the In-  
 habitants) should compound for the Ransom of  
 the Town, or else to stand to the Hazard of  
 War.

It is taken  
 by the Earl.

AFTER this, they returned to the Town. But  
 the Keepers of the Platform answered, that it  
 was against their Oath and Allegiance to King  
*Philip*, to surrender without fighting. Where-  
 upon, his Lordship commanded the Boats of every  
 Ship to be manned, and soon after, landed his  
 Men on the sandy Shore, under the Side of an  
 Hill, about half a League to the North of the  
 Platform. On the Top of the Hill certain Horse-  
 men and Footmen shewed themselves. Likewise  
 two other Companies appeared with Ensigns dis-  
 played; one of them before the Town, by the  
 Sea Side, which marched towards the Place where  
 the English landed, as though they would en-  
 counter them. The other in a Valley, to the  
 South of the Platform, as if they intended to  
 help the Townsmen. Mean Time, the Earl,  
 having set his Men in Order, marched along the  
 Sands, betwixt the Sea and the Town, towards  
 the Platform, for the Space of a Mile or more;  
 and then the Shore growing rocky, which made  
 the Way very difficult, he entered the Town,  
 and passed through the Street without Resistance,  
 to the Platform; which played upon his Forces  
 with its Ordnance all the while. But on his Ap-  
 proach, those who guarded it fled, and left it at the  
 Mercy of his Men, who, scaling the Walls to  
 enter, took Possession of it. In like Manner,  
 the Companies before-mentioned, as soon as his  
 Lordship began to march, dispersed, and vanished  
 of a sudden. During this Action, the Ships ceased  
 not to batter the Town and Platform with great  
 Shot, till such Time as they saw the Red-Cross  
 of *England* displayed upon the Front thereof.

The Town  
 described,

*FAYAL* is the principal Town in the Island  
 of that Name; and is situate directly over-against  
 the high and mighty Mountain *Pico*, [in the  
 Island of *Pico*] towards the West North-West,  
 being divided therefrom by a narrow Sea, about  
 two or three Leagues over. The Town contain-  
 ed, about three hundred Households. Their Houses  
 were fair, and strongly built of Lime and Stone,

and double covered with hollow Tiles; much like  
 our Roof-Tiles, but that they are less at the  
 one End than the other. Every House almost  
 had a Cistern, or Well in a Garden behind it,  
 where grew Vines, whose Grapes being then  
 ripe, made a pleasant Shade; also Tobacco,  
 (which is now commonly known and used in  
*England*) wherewith their Women dye their  
 Faces reddish, to make them seem fresh and  
 young; Pepper, *Indian* and common Fig Trees,  
 bearing both white and red Figs; Peach Trees,  
 not growing very tall; Oranges, Lemons, Quinces,  
 Potato Roots, &c. Sweet Wood, (Cedar, the Au-  
 thor thinks) is there very common, even for  
 building and firing.

HIS Lordship having possessed himself of the  
 Town and Platform, gave Orders, that no Ma-  
 riner, or Soldier, should enter into any House to  
 plunder, and appointed Guards to the Churches  
 and Religious Houses, by which Means, they  
 were preserved from Violence: But the rest of  
 the Town, notwithstanding the Prohibition, was  
 rifled, and ransacked by the Soldiers and Mariners,  
 who scarcely left any House unsearched; out of  
 which, they took the very Furniture and Appa-  
 rel. Not content with this, they ranged about the  
 Country, where some of them were hurt by the  
 Inhabitants.

THERE was a *Franciscan* Friery at *Fayal*,  
 consisting of thirty Friars, which was built by a  
 Friar of *Angra*, in *Tercera*, of the same Order,  
 about the Year, 1506. The Tables in the Hall  
 had Seats on one Side only, and, were always  
 covered, as ready for Dinner or Supper. And  
 indeed, they were better fed than taught; for  
 there was not one to be found among them who  
 could speak true *Latin*.

THE English continued here from *Wednesday*  
 in the Afternoon, when they entered the Town,  
 till *Saturday* Night; at which Time, the Inha-  
 bitants agreed to pay for its Ransom, two thou-  
 sand Ducats, most Part whereof was in Church  
 Plate.

THEY found in the Platform fifty-eight Iron  
 Pieces of Ordnance; whereof twenty-three were  
 ready mounted on their Carriages, between Bar-  
 ricados, upon a Platform towards the Sea Side.  
 This Ordnance they took away, and then set the  
 Platform on Fire, and so departed.

THE *Sunday* following, the Earl invited to  
 Dinner in the *Victory*, so many of the Inhabit-  
 ants as were willing to come; excepting *Disgo*  
*Gomez*, the Governor, who came but once to  
 parle about the Ransom. However, only four  
 came, who were well entertained, and solemnly  
 dismissed, with Sound of Drum and Trumpets,  
 and a Peal of Ordnance. His Lordship, at the same  
 Time, delivered them a Letter, subscribed by him-  
 self; importing a Request to all other Englishmen  
 not

1589. not to molest them any farther, or demand any a fresh Water, being paid for their Trouble, to their Satisfaction. *E. of Cumb.*

Thing of them, excepting fresh Water, and *E. of Cumb.*  
*St. Michael.*  
 Victuals. During their Stay here, two Men came from Pico, which had been Prisoners there: And at Fayal, they set at Liberty a Prisoner, translated from St. Jago, Cousin to one then in England, who was a Servant of Don Antonio, King of Portugal: These Prisoners they detained with them.

SECT. II.

*The Fleet leaves Fayal. Another great Fish. St. Michael. Tercera. Graciosa. Their Landing opposed, and hazardous. Provisions granted. News of the West India Fleet. Fifteen Sail arrive at Tercera. Attempt in vain to get at them. Refused Water at St. Michael's. Attack two Ships at St. Mary's, and carry off one. Their Loss, and Strength of the Place. In Stress for Want of Water. Sail for the Coast of Spain. Take three Prizes in the Way.*

*Take a Whaler.* ON Monday and Tuesday, they sent Boats ashore for fresh Water. The first Day they were easily supplied, by Reason the Rain fell the Night before, which made the Streams run plentifully down the Hills: But next Day they found it more difficult to come at, because the Wind was high; and in the Afternoon, increased to such a Degree, that they thought it not safe to ride so near the Land: Whereupon, they weighed Anchor, and sailed North-West by West, along the Coast of Fayal. Some of the Inhabitants coming aboard this Day, told them, that always about the same Time of the Year, such West South-West Winds blew on that Coast.

*Great Fish.* THIS Day, near St. George's Island, they perceived a huge Fish directly a-head of them, lying still, just even with the Surface of the Water. The Sea broke over his Back, (the Colour of which was black) in such Sort, that judging, at first Sight, it had been a Rock, and the Ship stemming directly with him, they were put in great Fear for a little Time, till he moved out of the Way.

*Return to Fayal.* THE sixteenth of September, in the Night, it lightened much, attended with great Winds and Rain, which continued till the twenty-second. Next Day, they came again into Fayal Road, to weigh an Anchor, which they had left behind in their Haste to get away. Going on Shore to see the Town, many of the People, through Fear, departed with their Effects, as soon as they appeared before it; till they were assured by the Earl, that his Coming was not to do them any Injury, but only to get fresh Water, and some other Necessaries, for which they should be paid. After this, they viewed the Town quietly, and bought what Things they wanted, as freely, as if they had been in England. The People also helped to fill

VOL. I. N° 9.

1589. *E. of Cumb.*

THE twenty-fifth, they were forced again to leave the Place, before they had sufficiently watered; by a sudden Tempest that arose in the Night, and grew so violent, that the Earl himself, soon after Midnight, raised the Men out of their Cabins to weigh Anchor; hauling along with them at the Capstern, and afterward cheered them up with Wine.

*St. Michael.*  
 b NEXT Day, the Caravel, and Saucy-Jack, were sent to the Road of St Michael, to see what they could espy. The Fleet followed them on the twenty-seventh, plying to and fro, and came within Sight of the Island; but by contrary Winds, which held for three Days, they were driven to Leeward, and could not get near it.

*Tercera.*  
 THE first of October, they sailed along Tercera, and directly against Brazil, (a Promontory near to Angra, the strongest Town in that Island) they spied some Boats coming to the Town, and made out towards them: But being near to the Land, they ran to Shore, and escaped.

*Graciosa.*  
 IN the Afternoon, approaching Graciosa, his Lordship sent Captain Lister to acquaint the Inhabitants, that his Desire was only to have Water, Wine, and some fresh Victuals, without any Design to molest them. They answered, that they could not satisfy his Demand, till the Governours of the Island had consulted thereupon; and therefore desired him to send for Answer next Day.

*The Island.*  
 UPON the second of October, early in the Morning, they sent their Long-boat and Pinnace, with empty Cask, and fifty or sixty Men, together with the Margaret, and Captain Davis's Ship, the rest of their Consorts having left them. But when the Men would have landed, the Islanders shot at, and would not suffer them. Some Companies likewise appeared with Ensigns displayed, in order to oppose them. Upon this, the Boats rowed along the Coast, to find some convenient Landing-place, shooting, as the Ship did also, at those on Shore: But not meeting with any Place where they might land, without great Danger of losing many Men, they were constrained to retire. Three Men suffered in this Conflict: Whilst the Boats were consulting what was best to be done, two of them were struck with a Ball from a Cannon, which the Portuguese drew from Place to Place with Oxen; whereby one lost his Hand, and the other his Life, within two or three Days after; the third was shot into the Neck with a small Shot, but received no great Hurt.

*The Attempt hazardous.*  
 THE Company having returned at Night, with an Account of their ill Success, Preparation was made to renew the Attempt next Day: But the Day was far spent before they could get near with their Ship; neither could they find any

h. c

1589. good Ground, where they might lie at Anchor, <sup>to batter the Town</sup>. What was worse, no Landing-place could be found, without greatly exposing the Hands; which might both overthrow the Voyage, and endanger the Queen's Ship, for Want of Hands to bring her home. On these Considerations, his Lordship thought it best to write a Letter to this Effect; that he could not but wonder at their Inhumanity and Cruelty shewed towards his Men, seeing they were sent in peaceable Manner to receive their Answer, which they had promised to give the Day before; and that, were it not for Don Antonio's Sake, he should not put up so great Injury, without just Revenge: Notwithstanding, on their King's Account, whose Friend he was, he was yet content to send once again for their Answer.

Provisions  
want'd.

At Night, Captain Lister returned with this Answer from them: That their Gunner shot off one of their Pieces, which was charged with Powder only, and was stopp'd; and that the English thinking, perhaps, it had been discharged at them, shot again, and so began the Fight, that as to his Lordship's Demand, they would send him a positive Answer next Morning, for as yet they could not know their Governor's Mind. Accordingly, next Morning, there came a Boat from Shore with a Flag of Truce, wherein were three of the chief Men of the Island; who agreed, that his Lordship should have sixty Butts of Wine, and fresh Victuals: But said, they could not supply him with Water, having none themselves, but what they saved in Vessels or Cisterns when it rained; and that they had rather give them two Tuns of Wine than one of Water. They requested, that the Soldiers might not land; engaging to bring all they had promised to the Water Side. Which Request being granted, one of them was kept on board till their Promise was performed; the other was sent to Shore in the Boat which carried her empty Cask, and some of the Men, to help to fill them with such Provision as was expected: To take in which, the *Margaret*, Captain Davis's Ship, and another of *Weymouth*, staid riding at Anchor before the Town.

News of the  
West India  
Fleet.

THIS Ship of *Weymouth*, which joined them the Day before, and by Report, had taken a rich Prize worth sixteen thousand Pound, brought News, that the *West India* Fleet was not yet come, but would arrive very soon: For all this, the Earl put to Sea; and on the fourth of October, took a French Ship of *St. Malo*, (a City of the unholy League) laden with Fish from *Newfoundland*: Which had been in so great a Storm, that she was constrained to cut her Main-mast with the Board, and was coming to *Graciosa*, to repair. The chief of her Men were taken into the *Victory*, in Place of Mariners and Soldiers, who were put on board to carry her to *England*. The Sunday

following, at Night, all the promised Provisions having been brought from *Graciosa*, the Natives were dismissed in a friendly Manner, under a Discharge of Ordnance.

THE three next Days, the Weather being rough, they plied to any fro about those Islands. And Tuesday, at Night, being driven three or four Leagues from *Tercera*, saw fifteen Sail of the *West India* Fleet entering the Haven at *Angra* in *Tercera*: But the Wind proved so cross, that for four Days they could not possibly come near them. In this Time, they lost their French Prize, (she not being able to lie so near the Wind as they) and heard no more of her till they came to *England*, where she safely arrived. On Monday, they drew very near the Haven's Mouth, intending to have run in and fetched out some of them: But in the End, this Enterprize was deemed too dangerous, considering the Strength of the Place where those Ships rode. For on the first Appearance of the English, they were hailed, and towed in nearer the Town, under the Protection of the Castle of *Brazil*; on one Side defended by twenty-five Pieces of Ordnance, and a Fort on the other, which mounted thirteen or fourteen great Brass Cannon: Besides, when they came near Land, the Wind proved too slack for them to make an Attempt.

ON Tuesday the fourteenth, they sent their Boat to sound the Road, to see if there were any Place to anchor in, out of Reach of the Guns of the Castle and Fort, and within Shot of those Ships; that they might either oblige them to come out, or sink them where they lay. Such a Place was found; but the Wind would not suffer them to get to it: Besides, if they had anchored there, it was judged the Enemy would rather have run their Vessels a-ground to save themselves and some of their Goods, than come forth to lose both. They then shot, to try if they could reach them from the Place where they were: But finding the Bullets fell far short, they departed, to lie out at Sea, upon the Decoy, for four or five Days; while the Pinnace lay out of Sight close by the Shore, to bring them Word, if the Ships came forth. After a while, the Pinnace returned with Intelligence, that they had taken down their Sails and Top-masts: Whence it was concluded, they would not come out till they perceived the English were quite gone.

WHEREFORE on the twentieth, hearing that there were certain Scottish Ships at *St. Michael*, they sailed thither, and found there one Scottish Roader; and two or three more at *Villa Franca*, the next Road, a League or two East of the Town of *St. Michael*. Of these, they had five or six Butts of Wine, and some Water; which not being sufficient, on the twenty-first, they sent their Long-boat to Shore, to fetch some from a Brook, a little

Refused War-  
ter at St.  
Michael.

1589. little to the West of *Villa Franca*: But the Inhabitants coming down with two Ensigns displayed, and about a hundred and fifty Men armed, to oppose them; the Men having spent all their Powder, in attempting to land, without Success against so great Odds, returned frustrate.

St Mary's  
Island.

FROM hence they departed towards *St. Mary's* Island, intending to water there, (for they had Intelligence, that it was a Place of no great Force) and then to sail for the Coast of *Spain*. Therefore, on *Friday* following, the Earl, about nine in the Forenoon, sent Captain *Lyster*, and Captain *Amias Preston*, in the *Victory's* long Boat and Pinnace, with sixty or seventy Shot in them, to carry a friendly Letter to the Islanders; desiring leave to water, and promising not to give them any farther Trouble. About three, in the Afternoon, the Men being something weary with rowing, (within a League or two of the Shore, and four or five Leagues from the *Victory*) espied two Ships at Anchor, close under the Town: Whereupon, having shifted six or seven of their Men into Captain *Davis's* Boat; being too much pestered in their own; and retaining some twenty Shot in the Pinnace, they made Way towards them with all the Speed they could.

Attempt two  
Ships on the  
Road.

By the Way, they observed Boats passing betwixt the Roaders and the Shore, and Men in their Shirts swimming and wading to Land; who, it seems, were labouring to run the Ships on Ground, while the Inhabitants were now busily preparing for their Defence. When they came near, Captain *Lyster* commanded the Trumpets to be sounded, and forbid any Shot to be made, till he gave Orders: But some of his Company, either not well perceiving or regarding what he said, immediately, upon the Sound of the Trumpets, discharged their Pieces at the Islanders; who, for the most Part, lay intrenched up to the Eyes, and immediately returned the Fire, with both great and small Shot.

They carry  
off one.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Captain *Lyster* earnestly hastened forward the Sailors that rowed, (who began to shrink at the Shot flying so fast about their Ears) and himself first entered one of the Ships that lay a little farther from Shore than the other. The Pinnace presently came up, still plying them [on Shore] with their Shot; and having cut asunder her Cables and Haufers, towed her away. Mean Time, Captain *Davis's* Boat overtook them, and entered the other Ship, which also (as the former) was forsaken by all her Men: But she stuck so fast a-ground, that they were constrained to leave her, whilst Shot and

Stones from Shore flew thick amongst them. The Townsmen perceiving this, and that they were but few in Number, and the Pinnace buffed about the other Ship, were preparing to come and take them: But they returned, and both together towed off the Prize, which was lately arrived from *Brazil*, loaden with Sugar.

1589.

IN this Fight they had two Men slain, and sixteen wounded: As for the Enemy, it is like they had little Hurt, lying for the most Part behind Stone Walls, which were built one above another, close by the Sea Side, at the End of the Hill whereon the Town stood, betwixt two Valleys. Upon the Top of the Hill their great Ordnance was planted, which shot leaden Bullets; whereof one pierced through the Side, of the Prize, and then fell in the Ship without doing any more Harm. Next Day, being the twenty-fifth, they went again for Water; but for Want of being apprised before-hand, of the Disadvantage of the Place where they attempted to land, returned without any. The same Night, departing for *St. George's* Island to get fresh Water, they arrived there the twenty-seventh; and having espied where a Spout of Water came running down, the Pinnace and Long-boat were presently manned, and sent under the Conduct of Captain *Preston*, and Captain *Munson*, with a Letter to the Islanders as before, for Leave to water: Notwithstanding the Men landing, found some of the poor Islanders, who, for Fear, had hid themselves amongst the Rocks.

Their Loss,  
and Strength  
of the Place.

WEDNESDAY, the twenty-ninth, the Boats returned with six Tuns of Water for the *Victory* only. They alledged, they could get no more, thinking, (as was supposed) that the Earl, having no more Provision of Water and Wine, but twelve Tuns, would sail directly for *England*, without taking the Coast of *Spain* in his Way, as many of the Men greatly desired. His Lordship, on the contrary, being otherwise resolved, intended, next Day, to have taken in more Water: But no less, through Unwillingness of his Men, than Roughness of the Seas and Wind, it was not done. For all this, as much of his Provision was still unspent, and his Voyage (as he thought) not yet performed sufficiently to the Satisfaction either of himself or others, he determined not to return so suddenly.

In Sirels for  
Want of  
Water.

It was therefore referred, to the Choice of the whole Company, whether they would stay there, till they could be provided with Water; or go by the Coast of *Spain* for *England*, with half so much Allowance of Drink as before: And the

Sail for the  
Coast of  
Spain.

\* That Gentleman, not long before, had come out of his own Ship; which, losing the *Victory* in the Night, he was forced to continue on board her.

† By the Author, in the Original, speaking on this Occasion,

in the first Person Plural, it is likely he was in the Boat himself.

1589. last Proposal was readily agreed to; with an Exception as to the Drink of the Sick and Wounded, which was not to be diminished.

THE thirty-first, the *Margaret* was sent for *England*, because she leaked much, together with the *Brazil* Prize; and in them some of the hurt, wounded, and sick Men, who desired it: But Captain *Monson* was taken out of the *Meg* into the *Victory*.

Take a Brazil Ship.

THUS they steered their Course for the Coast of *Spain* with a fair and brisk Wind, which before they seldom had; and on the fourth of *November* espied a Sail right before them: They chased her till about three in the Afternoon, at which Time, over taking her, she stroke Sail, and being questioned, said, A *Portuguese*, and from *Pernambuck* in *Brazil*. She was a Ship of about one hundred and ten Tons, freighted with four hundred and ten Chests of Sugar, and fifty Kintals of *Brazil* Wood; every Kintal containing one hundred Pound Weight. They took her in Latitude twenty-nine Degrees, about two hundred Leagues West of *Lisbon*. Captain *Preston* being sent, put some Mariners and Soldiers on board her, and brought back with him her principal Men. These *Portuguese* having informed them, that they saw another Ship before them, the same Day, about Noon, they made after her as fast as they could: Leaving Orders, that Captain *Davis's* Ship, and the Prize, should follow them due East; and that if they had Sight of them next Morning, they should follow them still, if not, that they should go for *England*.

Another Prize.

NEXT Morning, they could not see the Sail which they went in Pursuit of, and Captain *Davis's* Ship and Prize were behind, out of Sight. But early on the sixth, (being in thirty-eight Degrees thirty Minutes Latitude, and about sixty Leagues from *Lisbon* Westwards) Captain *Preston* descried a Sail two or three Leagues a-head, whereupon, quickening their Speed, they overtook her about eight or nine o'Clock. She came latterly from *St. Michael's* Road, having been before at *Brazil*, laden with Sugar and *Brazil*. While the *Victory's* Boat went to bring some of the Chief of their Men aboard, one, from off the Main-top, espied another Ship three or four Leagues a-head. Immediately crowding all the Sail they could, they pursued, and about two o'Clock, in

Take a West-India Ship.

the Afternoon, overtook her. She had put herself in a Posture to fight, by hanging her Sides so thick with Hides, (which was her chief Lading) that Musket-shot could not have pierced them. But as soon as the *Victory* had made two Shot at her, she struck. This Prize was of about three or four hundred Tons, and came from the *West-Indies*, *Mexico*, and *St. John de Lowe* (or more truly *Ulbu*) She had in her seven hundred Hides,

worth ten Shillings a-piece; six Chests of *China*, every Chest holding one hundred Weight, and every Pound worth twenty-six Shillings and Eight-pence: Also certain Chests of Sugar, and *China* Dishes, with some Plate and Silver.

### S E C T. III.

They return homewards. Stressed for Want of Wind and Drink. Shifts to procure some. A Lesson for Spaniards. Many die of Thirst. Relief of Rain. Violent Storms. Brave Service of the Master. Meet with some Supply. Put into Ireland. Dingle Icouch Town. Ruined by Desmond. Provisions plenty, but Money scarce. Form of Government and Devotion there. Baptism by Immersion. Numerous Spanish Prizes taken by the English. The best Prize lost, with Captain Lister, and the Men. The *Victory* arrives at Falmouth.

THE Captain of her was an *Italian*, and seemed to be a grave, wise, and civil Man. He had ventured, in this Ship, twenty-five thousand Ducats. He, with some other principal Men, (who were *Spaniards*) were taken into the *Victory*; and Captain *Lister*, with about twenty Mariners, Soldiers, and Sailors, were sent into her. Mean Time the other Prizes, which followed after, came up; and having now gotten enough to satisfy them, it was resolved to shape their Course for *England*: Besides, they had so many *Portuguese*, *Spaniards*, and *Frenchman* amongst them, that they could not have manned any more, without endangering themselves. Accordingly, about six in the Evening, they set sail homewards. But the *Victory*, having spared the Prizes several of her Sails, to enable them to keep up with her, rowled and tumbled so for Want of them; that it was not only very troublesome, but the Main-mast was in Danger of falling over-board. For this Reason, Directions were given them to keep together, and follow his Lordship to *Portsmouth*.

THE last Prize was taken in the Latitude of thirty-nine Degrees, and about forty-six Leagues to the West of the Rock [of *Lisbon*.] She was one of those sixteen Ships which they saw going into *Terceira*, *October* the eighth. Some of the Men informed those of the *Victory*, that whilst she was plying up and down before the Haven, expecting their coming out; the Governor ordered three of the largest of them to be unladen, and three hundred Soldiers put into each, in order to lay the *Victory* aboard in the Night: But she was out of Sight before they could execute their Design.

THE *Victory* ran so nimbly before the Wind, with all the Sails she could bear, that, in twenty-four

1589. four Hours, she advanced near forty-seven Leagues; notwithstanding the Ship was very foul, and much grown with long being at Sea. Hence, some of the Company reckoned, they should be time enough to see the Running at Tilt, at *White-hall*, upon the Queen's Day: Others were delighted to think what a merry *Christmas* they should keep in *England*, with their Shares of the Prizes. But so it fell out, says Mr. *Wright*, that we kept a cold *Christmas* with the *Bishop and his Clerks*, (Rocks which lie to the West of *Sailly*.) For soon after, the Wind falling, came about to the East, (the worst Point of the Heavens, from which the Winds could blow) in such Sort, that they could not fetch any Part of *England*. Hereupon also their Allowance of Drink, which was small enough before, became smaller still; being reduced to half a Pint a Man at a Meal, and that oftentimes cold Water, and scarce sweet.

And for Want of Drink.

HOWEVER, this was an happy State in Comparison of that which followed: For from half a Pint, they came to a Quarter, and that lasted not long neither, so that by Reason of this great Scarcity of Drink, and the contrary Wind, they thought to put into *Ireland* for Relief. But when they came near the Coast, as they lay at Hull one Night, waiting for the Day, in order to put, with more Safety, into some Port, they were driven so far to Leeward, that they could fetch no Part of the Island; so as with heavy Hearts, and sad Cheer, they were constrained to beat the Sea till the Wind should prove fair for either *England* or *Ireland*. Mean time, each Man was allowed three or four Spoons full of Vinegar to drink at a Meal. For that was all their Drink, except that two or three Meals, they had instead thereof the same Quantity of Wine, which was wrung out of the Lees that remained. What was worse, by Reason of this great Want of Drink, they durst eat but very little.

Thirst to procure some.

THUS they fasted for about a Fortnight, excepting, that now and then, to make some Amends, they feasted; and that was, when there fell any Hail or Rain, they gathered up and eat the Hail-stones with more Pleasure than if they had been the sweetest Comfits, and the Rain-drops were so carefully saved, that scarce one was lost of all that fell into the Ship. Some hung up Sheets by the four Corners, with a Weight in the Middle, that the Water might drain into a Vessel underneath: Others, who wanted Sheets, suspended Napkins and Clouts; wringing and sucking out the Water, when they were thorough wet. Even the Drops, that fell upon the Deck, and washed off the Filth, (as bad as any Kennel-Water) was watched; the Men diligently waiting, with Dishes, Cans, and Jars, at every Scupper-hole, to receive it, and often quarrelled for a Share. This, though as thick as Puddle, some

would drink as it was, Dirt and all; others would let it settle, or strain it, but not often. For it passed through the Cloths so slowly, that they had not Patience to stay so long; and, besides, were loth to lose too much of such precious Stuff. Some licked with their Tongues (like Dogs) the Boards under Feet, the Sides, Rails, and Masts of the Ships. Others, who were more ingenious, fastened Girdles, or Ropes, afloat about the Masts; dawbing Tallow to stop the Rain in its Passage, and let it fall to the lower Part of the Girdle, or Rope, where a Leather Spout was fastened, to convey the Water into a Receiver.

He, who got a Can of Water by these Means, was spoken of, made court to, and envied as a rich Man. Some of the poor *Spaniards* (who had the same Allowance as the *English*) would come and crave, for the Love of God, but so much Water as they could hold in the Palm of their Hand, and they had it, notwithstanding the great Extremity to which their Captors were driven, to teach them some Humanity, instead of their accustomed Barbarity. They also put Bullets of Lead into their Mouths to slake their Thirst.

Now were heard, in every Corner of the Ship, the lamentable Cries of sick and wounded Men, being ready to expire for Want of Drink, as many actually did. So that they lost more Men, on this Occasion, than they had done all the Voyage before, having, till then, lived in a Manner as well, and lost as few Men, as if they had been in *England*. Whereas, in this Time of Affliction, every Day some were cast over-board.

BUT the second Day of *December*, 1589, was a festival Day with them. For it happening to rain plentifully, they saved a good Quantity of Rain-water, (though they were well wet for it, and that at Midnight) and filled their Skins full besides, notwithstanding it was muddy and bitter, with washing the Ships but sweetening it with some Sugar, it went pleasantly down. Yet it was not so delicious, but that they wished for some Conduit, Pump, Spring, or Stream of clear Water in *England*. They called to mind how often they had reckoned some poor Creatures miserable, whom they had seen forced to drink Water to quench their Thirst; and now would have thought themselves happy, if they could have gotten such good Liquor. However, they should have been well enough satisfied with their slender Fare, if they could have been sure of keeping Possession: But the Ship rolled and tossed, in such a Manner, with the stormy Weather, that they were every Minute in Danger of their Drink being spilt, or their Meat shaken out of their Hands.

SCARCE any of their Sails escaped being torn, (some from Side to Side) and their Main-sail was rent from the Yard, and blown over-board. The Waves

1589  
E of Cumbr

Waves rolled like Mountains one after another, which raked the Waste of the Ship, like a mighty River running over it; whereas, in fair Weather, it was near twenty Foot above Water. The Ship itself leaked and cracked so much, with the Tossing, that they were often in Fear it would have split in Pieces.

B. 101. S. 1.  
71 of the  
M. 101.

THE Tempest being allayed, a new Main-sail was made, and the rest repaired. Which was no sooner done, but they were in Danger of losing it again, by a new Storm, had not *William Antony*, Master of the *Victory*, ventured, (when none else would, or durst) by creeping along the Main-yard, (which was let down close to the Rails) to gather it up out of the Water, and fasten it thereto, being, in the mean Time, often ducked over Head and Ears in the Sea. In short, the Storms were so terrible, that some, who had gone to Sea for twenty Years, declared, they had never seen the like; and vowed, if ever they returned safe home, they would never go to Sea any more.

Meet with  
some Supply.

THE last of *November*, at Night, they met with an *English* Ship, out of which, it was agreed, that next Morning, they should have had two or three Tuns of Wine; pretending, that was all the Provision of Drink they had, excepting a Butt or two reserved for their own Use: But after that, they heard no more of them, till they were set on Ground upon the Coast of *Ireland*, when it appeared, that they might have relieved the *Victory's* Necessities, and had sufficient to carry them into *England*. The first of *December*, at Night, they spoke with another *English* Ship, and had some Beer out of her, but not enough to carry them into *England*; wherefore, the Wind serving, they were constrained to put into *Ireland*.

Put into  
*Ireland*.

THE second, they came to Anchor, not far from the *St. Kalmes*, under the Land and Wind, where they were somewhat more quiet: But that being no safe Harbour to ride in, they went next Morning about to weigh Anchor; but having some of their Men hurt at the Capstern, were fain to leave it behind, holding on their Course to *Ventre Haven*. They arrived there the same Day, and saw an End of their great Distress and Fatigue. So soon as they had anchored, the Earl of *Gumberland* went on Shore, and brought presently Water and Victuals, as Muttons, Pigs, Hens, &c. to refresh his Company; notwithstanding himself had lately been very weak, and tasted of the same Extremities that they had done: For in the Time of their Scarcity, having had a little fresh Water left in a Pot, in the Night it was broken, and the Water drank or dried up.

Soon after, the sick and wounded Men were carried to *Dingenacush* [or *Dingle Iscouch*] about three Miles from the aforesaid Haven, and had

a the Surgeons daily to attend them. Here they 1589. refreshed themselves, whilst the *Irish* Harp sounded sweetly in their Ears; and were in a manner restored to Life.

THIS *Dingenacush* is the chief Town in all that Part of *Ireland*, consisting of one main Street; from whence some smaller do proceed on either Side. It seemed to have had Gates in Times past, at either End, like a Town of War; and a Castle also, which the Houses themselves resemble, being very strongly built with thick Stone Walls, and narrow Windows: And indeed they confessed, that in troublesome Times, occasioned by the wild *Irish*, or otherwise, they used their Houses for their Defence. The Castle and Town were taken by the Earl of *Desmond*, and all burned by him; excepting four Houses, which the Inhabitants having fortified, withstood him and all his Force. There still remained a thick Stone Wall, crossing the midst of the Street, which was Part of their Fortification. Yet some confessed, they were driven to as great Extremities as the *Jews*, besieged [in *Jerusalem*] by *Titus*, the *Roman* Emperor; having been constrained, for want of Provisions, to eat dead Carcases.

THE Place is now again somewhat repaired; yet, in effect, there remain but the Ruins of the former Town. Commonly they have no Chimneys in their Houses, excepting those of the better Sort; so that the Smoke was very troublesome to the *English*. Their Fuel is Turf (which is very good) and Whins, or Furze. There grows but little Wood hereabouts; this joined to the Want of Lime, which they are fain to fetch from a great way off, makes Building chargeable. But Stones are so plenty, that with them they commonly make their Hedges, to part their Lands. The Ground seems to be nothing underneath but Rocks and Stones; yet it yields e Abundance of Grass and Grain: As appeared from the great Number of Cattle; inasmuch, that they had good Muttons (though somewhat less than the *English*) for two Shillings, or five Groats apiece, with Pigs and Hens for three Pence each.

THE greatest Want is industrious People, to till and cultivate the Ground: For the common Sort, if they can provide sufficient to serve from Hand to Mouth, take no farther Care. Money f seemed to be very scarce amongst them; which perhaps was the Reason that they made their Guests pay for many Things double and treble the Prizes they went at before they came thither. Good Land was to be had for four Pence the Acre, yearly Rent. There are Mines of Alom, Tin, Brass, and Iron. They saw Stones as clear as Crystal, naturally squared like Diamonds.

THAT Part of the Country is full of great Mountains



1589. Mountains and Hills, from whence descended the pleasant Streams of Water. The hardy Constitutions of the Natives appeared in this, that their small Children run usually, in the midst of Winter, up and down the Streets, bare-footed, and bare-legged, and often with no other Apparel, than a Mantle to cover them.
- The People hardy.*
- THE chief Officer of their Town they call their Sovereign, who had the same Authority among them, that Mayors have in England; with his Sergeants to attend him, in the same Manner, and bear the Mace before him. They were first entertained at his House, which was one of the four that withstood the Earl of Desmond in his Rebellion. They have the same Form of Common-Prayer, Word for Word, in Latin, as in England. On Sunday, the Sovereign came to Church, with his Sergeant before him, accompanied by the Sheriff, and others of the Town. There they kneel down, every Man saying his Prayers to himself. After this, they rise and go out again to drink; which being done, they return to Church, and then the Minister begins Prayers.
- The Sovereign, or Governour.*
- THEIR Manner of baptizing differeth something from the English; Part of the Service belonging thereto, is repeated in Latin, and Part in Irish. The Minister taking the Child in his Hands, first dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, over Head and Ears, into the cold Water, in the midst of Winter: Another Instance of their being hardy. They had neither Bell, Drum, nor Trumpet, to call the Parishioners together; but they watch when their Sovereign comes, and they who have any Devotion follow him.
- Form of Devotion.*
- THEY make their Bread all in Cakes, and the Bakers, for their Trouble, have the tenth Part. Ten or eleven Tuns of Beer were bought for the Victory; but it proving purgative to the Men, they chose rather to drink Water.
- And Bishop.*
- THE twentieth of December, the Wind being very fair, they departed, accompanied with Sir Edward Dennis, his Lady, and two young Sons. While his Lordship was ashore, this Morn-
- ing, to dispatch the last of the Water, he learned News, that sixty Spanish Prizes had been taken and brought to England. For two or three Days they had a fair Wind, and then it fell so, that they lingered on the Way. After this they met with an English Ship, which raised the Number of those Prizes to ninety; and with this joyful, brought the sorrowful News. That the last and best Prize had suffered Shipwreck at *Alis Efferne*, that is, *Hell Cliff*, in *Cornwall*, and that Captain *Lister* was drowned, and all his Men, excepting three Englishmen, and as many Spaniards, who escaped by swimming: But that much of the Goods were saved by the Care of Sir *Francis Godolphin*, and the Gentlemen of the Country. The Earl was very sorry for Captain *Lister's* Death; wishing that he had lost his Voyage to have saved his Life.
- THE twenty-ninth, they met with another Ship, from which they had the same News: Al- so, that Sir *Martin Frobisher*, and Captain *Reymond*, had taken the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, which put into *Tercera*, as mentioned before; that the Admiral, being very leaky, sunk, near to the *Idy Stone* [or *Ed-distone*] a Rock that lieth over-against *Plymouth Sound*, but that the Men were saved, and that Captain *Preston's* Ship had taken a Prize laden with Silver.
- THE Earl, going on board this Ship, went to *Falmouth*; and the *Victory* held on her Course for *Plymouth*. At Night she drew near the *Ram-head* (the next Cape Westwards from *Plymouth Sound*) but fearing to attempt to pass it in the Dark, lest the Wind should fail, they stood off to Sea till towards Morning, when they had the Wind more at large; yet partly by not making sufficient Use of it, and partly by mistaking the Land, they were driven so much to Leewards, that they could not double the Cape. Therefore they turned back, and came into *Falmouth Haven*, where they struck on Ground in seventeen Foot Water. But as the Tide was out, and the Bottom soft, no Hurt was done.
- 1589. E of Cumh. Numerous Spanish Prizes. Captain Lister and Men lost. More prizes. They arrived at Falmouth.*

1591.  
Greenville

## C H A P. XIII.

1591.  
Greenville

*The Fight between the Revenge Man of War, commanded by Sir Richard Green-ville<sup>a</sup>, and fifteen Armadas of the King of Spain, in 1591.*

*Written by Sir Walter Raleigh<sup>b</sup>, Knight.*

A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE, by Sir a ped into England: That the Queen disdaining Walter.

11. Report  
of the Fight.

SIR Walter's Motive for writing this Account of the Fight, was to refute the false Reports that had been spread in England, as well as the Low Countries, and elsewhere, relating thereto, by the Spaniards; who, according to Custom, gave their Disgraces a false Gloss, and bragged of Victory, when they had been most shamefully beaten. However, Sir Walter thinks it no Wonder, that they should endeavour, by untrue and slanderous Pamphlets, Advices, and Letters, to misrepresent an Action performed at a Distance; seeing they were not ashamed in the Year 1588, after their invincible Armada (as they styled it) had been almost all destroyed or taken by a few English Ships, without the Loss of one, to boast, in Print, of great Victories obtained against this Realm; spreading their Impostures, in divers Languages, over France, Italy, and other Countries.

12. Fleet of the  
Armada, in  
1588

HERE Sir Walter Raleigh, summing up briefly the chief Articles of that great Transaction, observes, that this Armada consisted of 140 Sail of Ships, including the greatest Argosies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge Hulks of other Countries; that the Queen's Ships were no more than thirty, assisted by only a few Merchantmen, under the wise and valiant Conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, High Admiral of England. That by this small Fleet they were beaten and shuffled together, from the Lizard, in Cornwall, first to Portland, where they shamefully deserted Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty Ship; from Portland to Cales, where they lost Hugo de Moncada, with the Galleys which he commanded; and from Cales, driven with Squibs, were chased out of Sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland: That at this last Place, hoping to find Succour and Assistance, on account of their barbarous Religion, many of them were crushed against the Rocks; while those who landed, though very numerous, being defeated, slain, and taken, were sent from Villages to Village, coupled in Halters, to be ship-

ped into England: That the Queen disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to detain or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their own Countries, to report the glorious Atchievements of their invincible and dreadful Navy.

THAT although their Ostentation was such, Spanish as to publish before-hand, a List of their Forces, Vanity and containing the Number of Soldiers, the Burthen Fictions, of their Ships, the Commanders Names of every Squadron, with an Account of their Ammunition and Provision. As if they imagined their Army and Navy were irresistible, and that it was not possible to provide a Fleet to oppose them; yet they did not, in all their Progress round about England, either sink or take one single Ship, Bark, Pinnace, or Cockboat, or so much as burn one Sheep-cote belonging to England: Whereas, on the contrary, Sir Francis Drake, with only 800 Soldiers, not long before, landed in their Indies, and took Sant Jago, Santo Domingo, and the Forts of Florida from them. That after this, Sir John Norris marched from Peniche, in Portugal, with a Handful of Soldiers, to the Gates of Lisbon (being above forty English Miles) where the Earl of Essex, and other valiant Gentlemen, insulted that City, encamping at the very Gates. That after many Days Stay, finding neither the Party, nor Provision to batter, which they expected, they retreated by Land, in Spite of all their Garisons, both of Horse and Foot.

SIR Walter made this Digression, only to shew Character of the Difference between the two Nations: The one covetous of Honour, without Boast or Bravado; the other so greedy to be thought superior to others, and to conceal their own Dishonours, that they will not stick at the most barefaced Falshoods to gratify that foolish Humour. On gaining the smallest Advantage over the English, if it were but for taking one poor Adventurer, they will celebrate the Victory with Bonfires in every Town; always spending more in Faggots, than the Prize they obtained was worth: Whereas when the English have taken eight or ten of their India Ships, and twenty of the Brazil

<sup>a</sup> In the Text of Hakluyt, it is written *Grinville*, but in the Running-Title *Greenwill*. This Narrative is intited in Hakluyt, vol. 2. part 2. p. 169. and entitled, *A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azore, the 1st of August, 1591. betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesty's Ship, and an Armada of the King of Spain; penned by the Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight.*

1591. Fleet at one Time, they were never so vain-glorious as to consume two Billets upon the Occasion. 1591. Greenville.

## S E C T. I.

*The English surprized by the Spanish Armada. Bad State of their Fleet. The Revenge intercepted by them. Boarded by the San Felipe, and four others, which are beaten off Two Admiral Ships sunk The whole Armada, by Turns, assault Sir Richard, and are repulsed. The Revenge miserably torn. Sir Richard's desperate Resolution to sink the Ship. Opposed by the Captain and Master.*

*The English surprized by the Armada*

THE Lord Thomas Howard, with six of the Queen's Ships, six Victuallers of London, the Bark *Raleigh*, and two or three other Pinnaces riding at Anchor near Flores, one of the Westerly Islands of the Azores, the last of August, in the Afternoon, had Intelligence by one Captain Middleton, of the Approach of the Spanish Armada. Middleton being a very good Sailor, had kept them Company for three Days before, on purpose both to discover their Forces, and give Lord Thomas Notice of their Approach. He had no sooner delivered the News, but the Fleet was in Sight. Many of the Ships Company were on Shore, some providing Ballast, others filling of Water, and refreshing themselves with such Things as they could get, either for Money, or by Force. The Ships themselves were in great Disorder, besides wanting Ballast.

*Bad State of the Fleet.*

BUT what was worst of all, one half of the Men were sick, and quite unfit for Service: For in the *Revenge* there were ninety diseased; in the *Bonaventure* not so many in Health, as could handle her Main-sail: Insomuch, that had not twenty Men been taken out of a Bark of Sir George Carey's (which was ordered to be sunk) and turned into her, she had hardly ever recovered England. The rest, for the most Part, were in little better State. The Names of her Majesty's Ships were, the *Defiance*, which was Admiral; the *Revenge*, Vice-Admiral; the *Bonaventure*, commanded by Captain *Cross*; the *Lion*, by George Fenner; the *Forefight*, by Mr. Thomas Vavasour; and the *Crane*, by Duffild. The *Forefight* and the *Crane* being but small Ships; only the others were of the middle Size: The rest, except the Bark *Raleigh*, commanded by Captain *Thin*, were Victuallers, and of small or no Force.

*The Revenge intercepted.*

THE Spanish Fleet having covered their Approach by the Island, came so suddenly upon the English Ships, that they had scarce Time to weigh their Anchors; and some were forced to slip their Cables and get off. Sir Richard Greenville was the last who weighed, having stayed to take in the

Vol. I.

N. X.

F f

Men who were upon the Island, and otherwise had been lost. The Lord Howard and the rest, with much Difficulty, recovered the Wind: which Sir Richard Greenville not being able to do, he was persuaded by the Master, and others, to cut his Main-sail and tack about, and so trust to the sailing of his Ship; for the Squadron of *Sevil* were on his Weather-bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turn from the Enemy, declaring, that he would rather die, than dishonour himself, his Country, and her Majesty's Ship. He therefore endeavoured to persuade his Company, that he would pass through both Squadrons in spite of them; and force those of *Sevil* to give him Way. This he performed with respect to several of the foremost Ships; which, as the Mariners term it, sprung a Luffe, and fell under the Lee of the *Revenge*. However, the other Course had certainly been the better; and might well have been justified by the Impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding, out of the Greatness of his Mind, he could not be dissuaded.

BUT while he attended those that were nearest him, the *Great San Philip* (of no less than 1500 Tons) being in the Wind, and coming towards him, becalmed his Sails in such Sort, that the Ship could neither make way, nor feel the Helm: After this she laid the *Revenge* aboard; which being thus bereft of her Sails, the Ships, that were under her Lee, luffing up, also laid her aboard: Of which the next was the Admiral of the *Biscaines*, a large Ship, of great Force, commanded by *Brittandona*. The *Philip* carried three Tire of Ordnance on each Side, and eleven Pieces of Guns in every Tire. She shot eight out of her Chafe, besides those of her Stern Ports.

AFTER the *Revenge* was entangled with the *Philip*, four others boarded her; two on her Larboard, and two on her Starboard. The Fight thus beginning at three in the Afternoon, continued very terrible all that Evening. But the *Great San Philip* having received the lower Tire of the *Revenge*, charged with Cross-bar Shot, shifted herself in all haste from her Sides, utterly disliking her first Entertainment. Some said, that she foundered; but the Author would not vouch it for Truth. The Spanish Ships were filled with Companies of Soldiers, in some, two hundred, besides the Mariners; in some five, in others, eight hundred. In the English there were none, besides the Mariners, but the Servants of the Commanders, and some few Gentlemen Volunteers. After exchanging many Volleys of great and small Shot, the Spaniards concluded to enter the *Revenge*, and made divers Attempts, hoping to force her by their armed Numbers; but were still beaten back into their Ships, or the Sea.

14

1591. IN the Beginning of the Fight, the *George* a contrary, the *Spaniards* were continually supplied with Soldiers brought from every Squadron; and had all manner of Arms, as well as Powder, in Plenty. To the *English*, in short, there remained no Comfort at all, no Hope, no Supply either of Ships, Men or Weapons; the Masts all beaten overboard, all her Tackle cut afunder; her upper Work entirely rased: She was, in effect, evened with the Water, and no more than the Foundation, or Bottom of a Ship; nothing being left over-head, either for Flight or Defence.

*Greenville* *Noble*, of London, having received some Shot through her by the Armadas, fell under the Lee of the *Revenge*, and asked Sir *Richard* what he would have him do; being but one of the Victuallers, and of small Force? Sir *Richard* bid him save himself, and leave him to his Fortune. After the Fight had thus, without Interruption, continued while the Day lasted, and some Hours of the Night, many of the *English* were slain and hurt. On the other Side, one of the great Galleons, and the Admiral of the Hulks, were both sunk, besides great Slaughter made in many other of the *Spanish* Ships. Some write, that Sir *Richard* was dangerously hurt, almost in the Beginning of the Fight; and lay, for a Time, speechless. But two of the *Revenge's* Company, brought home in a Ship of *Lime* from the Islands, and examined by some of the Lords, and others, affirmed, that he was never so wounded, as to forsake the upper Deck, till an Hour before Midnight; that then being shot into the Body with a Musket, as he was dressing, he was again shot into the Head, and his Surgeon mortally wounded. With this agreeth also an Examination of four other Mariners of the same Ship, taken by Sir *Francis Godolphin*, and sent to Mr. *William Killegrue*, of the Queen's Privy-Chamber.

BUT to return to the Fight. As fast as the *Spaniards* were wounded and beaten off, others succeeded in their Places; the *Revenge* having never had fewer than two mighty Galleons by her Sides and aboard her: So that from the Time the Engagement began, till next Morning, fifteen several Armadas had assailed her; yet they all so ill approved of the Entertainment they met with, that, by Break of Day, they were far more willing to hearken to a Composition, than renew their Attacks. But, as the Day advanced, her Men decreased, and their Distress improved: For none appeared in Sight but Enemies; excepting one small Ship, called the *Pilgrim*, commanded by *Jacob Whidden*, who hovered all Night to see the Success: But, in the Morning, bearing with the *Revenge*, was hunted like a Hare amongst many ravenous Hounds; however he escaped.

ALL the Powder of the *Revenge*, to the last Barrel, was now spent, and all her Pikes broken; forty of the best Men slain, and most of the rest hurt. In the Beginning of the Fight, she had but one hundred free from Sickness; fourscore and ten lying sick, in the Hold, upon the Ballast; A small Crew to man such a Ship, and a weak Garrison to withstand so mighty an Army! By these hundred all was sustained, the Volleys, Boardings, and Enterings of fifteen Ships of War; besides those which beat her at large. On the

contrary, the *Spaniards* were continually supplied with Soldiers brought from every Squadron; and had all manner of Arms, as well as Powder, in Plenty. To the *English*, in short, there remained no Comfort at all, no Hope, no Supply either of Ships, Men or Weapons; the Masts all beaten overboard, all her Tackle cut afunder; her upper Work entirely rased: She was, in effect, evened with the Water, and no more than the Foundation, or Bottom of a Ship; nothing being left over-head, either for Flight or Defence.

SIR *Richard* finding himself in this Distress, and unable any longer to make Resistance (having endured in this fifteen Hours Fight, the Attack of fifteen Armadas, all by Turns aboard him, and received, by Estimation, eight hundred Shot of great Artillery, besides many Assaults and Entries,) reflecting also, that both himself and the Ship, in a little Time, must needs be possessed by the Enemy, who were now all cast in a Ring about him. (The *Revenge* not being able to move one Way or other, but as she was moved by the Sea,) he therefore commanded the Master Gunner, whom he knew to be a resolute Man, to split and sink the Ship, that nothing might remain of Glory or Victory to the *Spaniards*. Who in so many Hours Fight, with above ten thousand Men, and fifty-three Men of War, were not able to take her. At the same Time he exhorted the Company to yield themselves to the Mercy of God, and none else, and that as they had, like valiant Men, repulsed so many Enemies, they should not now impair the Honour of their Nation, by prolonging their own Lives for a few Hours, or a few Days.

THE Master Gunner, and divers others, readily consented; but the Captain and Master opposed that Resolution, and besought Sir *Richard* to have more Regard for their Lives. He alleged, that the *Spaniards* would be as ready to come to a Composition, as they to offer it; and that several brave able Men being still left, whose Wounds were not mortal, they might live to do their Country and Prince good Service hereafter. And whereas Sir *Richard* had declared, that the *Spaniards* should never glory to have taken one of the Queen's Ships, after having so long and notably defended themselves; they answered, that the Ship had six Foot Water in Hold, three Shot under Water, which were so weakly stopped, that with the first working of the Sea she must needs sink; and withal, was so crushed and bruised, that she could never be removed out of the Place.

## SECT. II.

Honourable Terms obtained from the *Spaniards*. Sir *Richard* over-ruled by a Majority. Is carried on board the *Spanish* Admiral. Is generously treated

1591.  
Greenville.

1591. treated by Don Alfonso Bazan. Great Loss of a Shot and Boarding of so many huge Vessels; 1591. and to repel the Assaults and Entries of so many Soldiers. Yet all this and more has been confirmed by a Spanish Captain of the same Armada, present in the Fight, who being severed from the rest in a Storm, was taken by the *Lion*, of London, a small Ship, and a Prisoner in London, when Sir Walter wrote this Narrative.

1591. Sir Richard's  
Apology for  
the Fleet.

WHILE the Matter was thus in Dispute, Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those Reasons, the Master of the *Revenge* was conveyed aboard the Spanish General, Don Alfonso Bazan; leaving the Captain over the greater Part of the Men. As the General found none were over-hasty to enter the Ship again, fearing Sir Richard would have blown himself up, and then along with him, and that by the Master's Report, this was his desperate Resolution; he yielded that all their Lives should be saved, and the Company sent for England; the better Sort paying such reasonable Ransom as their Circumstances would bear; and that, in the mean Time, they should be free from Galley or Imprisonment. To this Don Alfonso so much the rather condescended, out of the Desire he had to recover Sir Richard Greenville, whom, for his extraordinary Valour, he seemed greatly to esteem and admire, as well as to prevent farther Loss and Mischief to his Armada.

Sir Richard's  
Apology for  
the Fleet.

WHEN this Answer was returned, and that Safety of Life was promised, most of the common Sort being now at the End of their Danger, drew back from Sir Richard; and the Master Gunner, who finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented by a Majority, would have slain himself with a Sword, had he not been by Force withheld, and locked up in his Cabin. The General having sent several Boats aboard the *Revenge*, many of the Men stole away to the Spanish Ships, for fear of Sir Richard's resolute Disposition. Soon after he was sent to by Don Alfonso, to remove out of the *Revenge*, the Ship being extremely nauseous, filled with Blood and Bodies of dead and wounded Men, like a Slaughter-house. Our Hero answered, that the General might do with his Body what he list, for he valued it not. As he was carried out of the Ship he swooned, and reviving again, desired the Company to pray for him.

Is generously  
treated by  
Don Alfonso.

DON ALFONSO used Sir Richard with all Humanity, and left nothing unattempted, that tended to his Recovery; highly commending his Valour and Worthiness, and greatly bewailing the Danger wherein he was: It having been to them an unusual Spectacle, and Instance of more than common Resolution, to see one Ship turn towards such a Number of Enemies; to stand the

Don Alfonso Bazan was Brother to the Marquis of Santa Cruz. The Admiral of the *Biscaine* Squadron, was *Britandona*, of the Squadron of *Sevil*, the Marquis of *Arumbuch*, the Hulks and Flyboats were commanded by *Luis Coutinho*. There were slain and drowned in this Fight, well near one Thousand of the Enemies, and two special Commanders, Don *Luis de Sant John*, and Don *George de Prunaria de Mallaga*, as the Spanish Captain confessed; besides divers other considerable Persons, whose Names were not then come to hand. The Admiral of the Hulks, and the *Ascension* of *Sevil* were both sunk by the Side of the *Revenge*, one other recovered the Road of *St. Michael*, and sunk also there, a fourth ran herself on Shore, to save her Men. Sir Richard died, as it is said, the second or third Day, aboard the General, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his Body, whether it was buried in the Sea, or on the Land, was not known to Sir Walter. As for his Fame, it will remain to latest Posterity, having ended his Life so greatly to the Honour of his Country, and Reputation of his Family.

THE Reasons why the rest of the Queen's Ships entered not so far into the Fight as the *Revenge*, were these. First, there were only six in all, whereof two but small Ships; the *Revenge* engaged past Recovery, the Island of *Flores* was on one Side, and fifty-three Sail of the Spanish divided into Squadrons, on the other, all filled as full with Soldiers as they could contain; almost one half of the English sick, and not able to serve, the Ships grown foul, unroomaged, and scarcely able to bear any Sail, for want of Ballast, having been six Months at Sea before. If the rest had engaged, they had all been lost. For the Spanish Ships were so huge, that in case no other Violence had been offered, they would have crushed ours between them into Shivers.

HOWEVER it is certain, that the Lord Howard would have entered between the Squadrons, but the rest would not consent, and the Master of his Ship offered to leap into the Sea, sooner than conduct the Fleet to be a Prey to the Enemy, seeing there was no Hope or Possibility, either of Defence or Victory. The Author himself is also of Opinion, that it comported neither with the Prudence nor Trust of a General, to commit himself and his Charge to an assured Destruction. The Foresight of the Queen's, commanded

1591. manded by Mr. *Vauisor*, ventured far into the a  
 Engagement, and stayed two Hours as near the  
*Revenge* as the Weather would permit him; not  
 forsaking the Fight till he was ready to be en-  
 compassed by the Squadrons, and with great Dif-  
 ficulty cleared himself. The rest discharged fev-  
 eral Broad-sides, and entered as far as the Place  
 would permit, or the Necessity they were under  
 of keeping the Weather-gage of the Enemy al-  
 low, till they were parted by Night.

Spanish  
 Ships dis-  
 persed and  
 lost.

A FEW Days after the Fight was ended, and  
 the English Prisoners distributed among the Ships  
 of the Armada and the *India* Fleet, (which had  
 then joined them) they were all dispersed by a  
 great Storm from the West and North-West.  
 Fourteen Sail of them, with the *Revenge*, and in  
 her two hundred *Spaniards*, were wrecked upon  
 the Isle of *St. Michael*. This was the End of  
 that renowned Ship, whose Obsequies were hon-  
 oured with the Destruction of so many of her  
 Enemies. On the rest of the Islands, there were  
 cast away in this Storm, fifteen or sixteen more  
 of the Ships of War; and, of above an hundred  
 Sail of the *India* Fleet, expected this Year in  
*Spain*, there were (partly in this Tempest, partly  
 before in the Bay of *Mexico*, and about the *Ber-*  
*موداس*) seventy odd consumed and lost, reckon-  
 ing those taken by the Ships of *London*: Besides  
 one very rich *India* Ship, which being boarded by  
 the *Pilgrim*, set herself on Fire; and five others,  
 taken by Mr. *Wats's* Ship of *London*, between the  
*Havana* and Cape *St. Antonio*. The fourth of  
 this Month of *November*, Letters came here from  
 the *Tercera*, affirming, that three thousand *Bodies*  
 of *Men* remained in that Island, saved out of the  
 perished Ships: And that by the *Spaniard's* own  
 Confession, there are ten thousand cast away in  
 this Storm, besides those that perished between  
 the Islands and the Continent <sup>a</sup>.

Numbers of  
 Men drown-  
 ed.

The English  
 Stripped by  
 English.

A DAY or two before this Wreck happened, e  
 some of the Prisoners having desired to be landed  
 upon the Islands, hoping to be from thence trans-  
 ported into *England*, (which Liberty had been  
 promised by the General) one *Morice Fitz John*,  
 Son of old *John of Desmond*, a noted Traitor,  
 Cousin German to the late Earl of *Desmond*, was  
 sent to the English from Ship to Ship, to persuade  
 them to serve the King of *Spain*. The Argu-  
 ments he used to induce them were, the Increase  
 of Pay, which he promised should be treble; Ad-  
 vancement to the better Sort; and the Exercise  
 of the true Catholick Religion, for the Salvation  
 of their Souls. Sir *Walter* observes, that those  
 English and Irish Rebels, were so poor and beg-

garly, that for Want of Apparel, they stripped 1591  
 their distressed Countrymen of their ragged Gar- Greenville  
 ments, worn to nothing by six Months Service;  
 taking even the bloody Shirts off their wounded  
 Bodies, and the very Shoes from their Feet: This  
 he thinks was but an ill Sign that their Wages  
 would be raised. He says, as to the second Mo-  
 tive, that no Man who has been disloyal to his  
 natural Prince, can ever expect Favour or Con-  
 fidence from another: That on the contrary they  
 may be sure to be employed in all desperate En-  
 terprizes, and to be held always in Scorn by those  
 whom they serve: That he never read, or could  
 remember an Instance, that a Traitor was ever  
 trusted or advanced.

WITH Regard to *Morice Desmond*, he ob- End of the  
 serves, that no Man could have worse become the Desmond  
 Place of an Orator, for such a Purpose, than he:  
 For that, first, the Earl his Cousin, who was one  
 of the greatest Subjects in the Kingdom of *Ire-*  
*land*, had almost whole Countries in his Possession,  
 with many goodly Manors, Castles, and Lord-  
 ships; was Count *Palatine* of *Kerry*, and had  
 five hundred Gentlemen of his own Name and  
 Family, besides others, to follow him; Honours  
 which he peaceably enjoyed for three or four  
 hundred Years, this Earl, in less than three Years  
 after his Rebellion, and Adherence to the *Spa-*  
*niards*, was beaten from all his Holds, and not  
 so many as ten Gentlemen of his Name left alive;  
 himself taken, and beheaded by a Soldier of his  
 own Nation; and his Land given by the Parlia-  
 ment to the Queen, whereby it passed to the  
 English. The other Cousin, Sir *John of Desmond*,  
 was taken by Mr. *John Zouch*; and his Body hang-  
 ed over the Gates of his native City, to be de-  
 voured by Ravens. The third Brother, Sir *James*,  
 was hanged, drawn, and quartered, in the same  
 Place.

TOUCHING the last Point, Religion, Sir *Wal-* Spaniard's  
*ter* says, it would require a particular Volume, to Life of Reli-  
 shew how irreligiously they cover their greedy and gion.  
 ambitious Views, with the Veil of Piety: That  
 they invade every Kingdom, or Commonwealth  
 in *Europe*; if it be Reformed, it is then for Re-  
 ligion sake; if it be, (as they term it) Catholic,  
 they set up a Title to it <sup>b</sup>; and thus, had they  
 Power, no Country could escape them; as if the  
 Kings of *Castile* were the natural Heirs of all the  
 World. When they dare not with their own  
 Forces invade any Nation, they basely entertain  
 the Traitors and Vagabonds thereof; seeking by  
 Means of such, and their *runnagate* Jesuits, to  
 gain Dominions: That by the same Methods,

<sup>a</sup> Sir *Walter*, making Reflection here, will have this Loss to be a Judgment of God on the *Spaniards*:  
 But we must not countenance that Superstition in our own Nation, which we have already condemned in others.  
 However, it may be said in Sir *Walter's* Favour, that this was rather the Fault of the Times he lived in, than  
 of himself.

<sup>b</sup> This is verified by their late Claims to the *Austrian* Dominions.

they.

1591. they have ruined many Families of the Nobility and a Gentry, as well as the common People of England; and yet, at the same Time, it does not appear, that any Person ever yet reaped any Honour or Advantage by them: That if the *English Papists* would but look into *Portugal*, against which the *Spaniards* have no Objection on the Score of Religion, and only observe how the Nobility are put to Death, and imprisoned, their rich Men made a Prey of, and all Sorts of People captived; they shall find, that the Obedience even of the Turk, is easy, and a Liberty in Respect of the Slavery and Tyranny of Spain. What have they done in *Sicily*, in *Naples*, *Milan*, and in the Low Countries? Who hath there been spared on Account of Religion at all?

An Instance. ON this Occasion, Sir *Walter* relates a Passage concerning a certain Burgher of *Antwerp*, whose House having been entered by a Company of *Spanish* Soldiers, when they first sacked the City, he besought them to spare him and his Goods, as being a good Catholic, and one of their own Party. The *Spaniards* answered, that as to himself, they knew he was very orthodox, and a true Son of the Church: But for his Money, Plate, Jewels, and Goods, they were all heretical; and therefore good Prize. Thus they abused and tormented the foolish *Fleming*, who imagined that an *Agnus Dei* would have been a sufficient Protection to him against all Violence, from that holy and charitable Nation. They will very gravely protest, that they never invaded the Kingdoms of the *Indies*, and *Peru*, or any other Part of *America*, either for Gold or Dominion, but purely with a View to reduce the People to Chris-

1591. tianity: Yet, in the Island of *Hispaniola* only, they have destroyed thirty thousand of the natural Inhabitants, besides many Millions <sup>a</sup> in other Parts of the *Indies*: An innocent and harmless People created of God, who might have been won to his Knowledge by Persuasion! Their lamentable Story is at large written by *Bartholomew de las Casas*, a Bishop of their own Nation <sup>b</sup>, and translated into *English*, and many other Languages, intituled, *The Spanish Cruelties*. Who therefore would repose Trust in such a blood-thirsty Nation? But least of all ought the *English*, whose Blood they more greedily thirst after, than that of any other People in *Europe*, on Account of the many Overthrows and Dishonours they have received at their Hands; whereby, their Weakness has been discovered to the World; we having with only Handfuls of Men and Ships, routed their Forces at home and abroad, in *Europe*, and in *India*, by Sea, and by Land.

Sir *Walter* therefore exhorts all *Englishmen*, of what Religion soever, to take it for granted, that the *Spaniard* esteems those whom he decoys over to his Interest, to be base and traiterous Knaves, or unconstant Fools; and that he makes a Pretence of Religion, for no other Purpose, but to bewitch them from their Allegiance. Hoping, in Time, by such Arts, to bring the Nation into Subjection and Slavery; after which, none would be more odious and contemptible to him, than the Traitors themselves. A Race of Men, detestable in all Ages and Nations, *Christian* or *Pagan*; who have suffered any Extremity, even Death itself, sooner than betray their Country, or the Allegiance due to their lawful Prince.

## C H A P. XIV.

*A Cruizing Voyage to the Azores in 1591, with a Fleet of London Ships, under the Command of Captain Robert Flicke; designed as Supplies to Lord Thomas Howard.*

*Written by the Captain himself.*

*To which is added, an Account of the West India Fleet, expected in Spain the same Year; and the Number of its Ships lost or taken.*

## Previous Remarks.

THE following Voyage is extracted from a Letter <sup>c</sup>, dated at *Plymouth* the twenty-fourth of *October*, 1591, and sent from thence by Captain *Flicke*, to three of the Proprietors, or

<sup>a</sup> *De las Casas*, mentioned a little lower in the Text, computes the *Indians* murdered by them, in about fifty Years only, to no fewer than twenty Millions. Shocking Barbarity! In short, of all *Papish* Nations, they and the *Portuguese*, have destroyed most of Mankind.

<sup>b</sup> He was Bishop of *Chiapa* in *New Spain*. This Letter is inserted in *Hakluyt*, Vol. 2. part. 2. p. 176. under the Title of, *A Report of Mr Robert Flicke, directed to Mr Thomas Bromley, Mr. Richard Staper, and Mr Cordall, concerning the Success of a Part of the London Supplies, sent to my Lord Thomas Howard, to the Isles of the Azores, 1591*

1591. <sup>Flicke</sup> Contractors, (as we apprehend) for the Ships. In this Letter, no Mention is made of the Number of Ships employed, nor of the Names of more than two Captains, besides *Flicke*, viz. *Brothus* and *Fuitho*, which last carried the Letter. We find also the Names of four of the Ships, viz. the *Costely*, the *Centurion*, the *Cherubim*, and the *Margaret and John*. But not of their Commanders, nor so much as the Name of the Ship in which Captain *Flicke* himself sailed, and we, for Distinction sake, call the Admiral. These Omissions may be excusable in a private Letter, written only to inform the Merchants of Things that they were not before acquainted with, and not designed as a formal Relation of the Voyage to be laid before the Public. But as they are Particulars essential to Narratives of this Kind, it might have been expected, that Mr. *Hakluyt* would have supplied such Defects, if, as we have already observed, it was not his Custom to neglect them. As to the Number of Ships however, we judge there were seven, from hence. That in the annexed Account of the *India Fleet*, Mention is made of six *English* Ships that fell in with it; which, in all Probability, were those separated from the Admiral, which make seven.

### THE VOYAGE

*The Captain's Orders. Coast of Spain. Islands Tercera, Flores, Corvo. A Sail descried. Violent Storms. Three Ships taken. One attempts to escape. Another founders. One set adrift. The Crew plunder the Prizes, and mutiny for the Silver. News of the Armada, and West India Fleet. Losses of the latter. The Admiral returns to Plymouth.*

*The Captain's Orders.*

THE seventeenth of *August*, the Fleet departed from *Plymouth*, the Wind not serving before. Next Day, the Captain causing a Flag of Counsel to be put forth, the Captains and Masters of every Ship came aboard, whom he acquainted with his Commission, (firmed by the Right Honourable the Lords of her Majesty's Council) and the Advices Sir *Edward Denny* had received, of Lord *Howard's* Determination, to remain threescore Leagues to the West of *Fayal*, spreading his Ships North and South, betwixt the Latitude of 37°. 30'. or 38°. 30'. In case the Captain did not find his Lordship in this Height, he was then to repair to the Isles of *Flores* and *Corvo*, where a Pinnace on purpose should wait his Coming, till the last of *August*; which being passed, he was to sail for the Coast of *Spain*, about the Height of the Rock [of *Lisbon*,] and

ply twenty or thirty Leagues off *Sore*. The Purport of these Orders having been duly considered, and Regard had to the Shortness of Time, occasioned by the Fleet's long Stay at *Plymouth*, as well as the Uncertainty of the Weather, in order to meet with Lord *Howard*; it was generally decreed the best and surest Way to bear with the Height of the Rock, without making any Stay upon the Coast, and to steer directly for the Islands.

THE twenty-eighth, they had Sight of the *Burlings*, [on the Coast of *Portugal*,] and the twenty-ninth, being thwart of *Peniche*, the Wind serving, they proceeded on their Voyage. The thirtieth, they met with Captain *Royden*, in the *Red-rose*, (before called the *Golden Dragon*) separated from the Earl of *Cumberland* in a Storm, who informed them, that fifty Sail of the *Spanish Armadas* were gone for the Islands, but could tell them no News of Lord *Howard*.

THE fourth of *September*, they fell with *Tercera*, and ranged along all the Islands, both on the South and North Sides, the Space of four Days. During which Time, it was not their Chance to meet with any Shipping that might give them Intelligence, either about his Lordship, or the *Indian Fleet*. Hereupon they directed their Course to the Westward of *Fayal*, according to the Instructions of Sir *Edward Denny*. The eleventh, in plying to the Westwards, those in the Admiral descried a Sail from the Main-top; and between two and three, Afternoon, raised her Hull. But the Weather falling calm, they could not fetch her. The Captain sent off the Skiff thoroughly manned, furnished with Shot and Swords; the *Cherubim*, and the *Margaret and John*, doing the like. Upon this, the Sail stood off again; and the Night approaching, the Boats lost her, and returned.

IN the Pursuit, the *Centurion* being left a-stern, next Morning they missed her; and spent that Day plying up and down in Quest of her. But as the Ships had received Orders, in case of being separated by Extremity of Weather, or any other Mischance, to meet at *Flores*; the rest, according to Sir *Edward Donny's* Instructions, proceeded in Search of Lord *Howard*. But being in the Height appointed, and not able to hold the same, by Reason of extreme Tempests, they were driven to the Isles of *Flores* and *Corvo*; which they made the fourteenth in the Morning, and there again joined the *Centurion*. She informed Captain *Flicke*, that the Day she lost the rest, she met with forty-five Sail of the *India Fleet*. Whereupon, the same Night, he came to Anchor between *Flores* and

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 185. Note <sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup> The Captain, in his last of the twelfth of *August*, from this Place, had given the Proprietors of the Ships, a particular Account of the Accidents relating to the Fleet, till that Time



1591. *Corvo*; and next Morning, at Day-break, having called a Council of the Captains and Masters, it was thought proper to send the Boats on Shore armed, under the Conduct of Captain *Brothus*, to see to get some Tidings of his Lordship, and take in Water: After which, they were to range along the South Sides of the Islands, in Hopes of meeting with either his Lordship, or the *India Fleet*; and in case they missed of their Aim, to direct their Course for Cape *Sant Vincent*.

A Sail descried.

\* THE Boats, accordingly, being sent on Shore, it happened, that the *Costely*, riding outermost, weighed to bring herself nearer the rest, for aiding the Boats; and in opening the Land, discovered two Sails, which they, in the Road, could not perceive: Whereupon she shot off a Warning Piece, which caused them to wave their Boats back: But before they could recover the Fleet, the descried Ships appeared in Sight, towards which they made with all Haste, and that, very luckily, as it happened; for they had no sooner gotten clear of the Land, and spoken with one of them, (a Bark of *Bristol*, which had also fought Lord *Howard*, in the Heights appointed, without Success) but such a violent Storm arose, (which lasted near three Days) that, had they remained in the Road, they must have been in Danger of perishing. In this Storm, the Admiral was separated from the rest of the Fleet, except the *Cherubim*, and the *Costely*, which kept her Company. And sailing among the Islands, viewed the Road of *Fayal*, but finding no Roaders there, went directly for *Terceira*.

Fleet scattered by a Storm.

A storm temp'ed.

Three Ships taken.

ARRIVING at that Island the nineteenth in the Morning, with Intent to edge into the Road, a Tempest arose, and scanted the Wind, that they could not reach it. Being driven from thence, they fell among certain of the *India Fleet*, which the Storm had dispersed, and put them from the Road: Whereupon the three Ships gave several Chaces, and thereby lost each other's Company. The Admiral, about Noon, made the Vessel she followed strike, being a *Portuguese* laden with Hides, Salsa Perilla, and Anile. At this very Instant, spying another, they took their Prize along; and somewhat before Night came up to her. She was named the *Conception*, and the Captain *Francisco Spinola*, laden with Hides, Cochinillo, and certain raw Silk. But in regard the Sea swelled so, that neither Boat nor Ship could board her, that Work was deferred till fit Opportunity. The same Night, a little before Day, another Ship happened to fall into Company with the Admiral, supposing by the two Prizes, that she belonged to their Fleet; nor did the deceive them till Morning.

One attempts to escape.

THE twentieth, in the Morning, the last Ship being shot somewhat a-head of the Admiral, Captain *Flicke* being careful to keep the two for-

mer, purposed to cause the Prizes to put out more Sail, that they might be near while he chased the other. But the Master would needs be persuaded, that they would follow without that Caution. The Effect of his Wilfulness was, that by the Time they had caused the other to yield, and sent Men aboard, the *Conception* Prize having fallen a-stern, and gotten the Wind of them, stood off with all her Sails, so that they were forced to chace her a second Time; and had not the Wind increased, must have lost her. So much Time was spent in this Pursuit, and joining the other Prizes again, that the whole Day was lost, besides the Opportunity of boarding the *Portuguese* Ship, which was in great Distress, and intreated the Captain to take them, as being ready to sink. Nor was this unlikely, for he perceived they pumped continually Day and Night. So that he concluded, she perished that same Night in the Sea.

1591.

Flicke

Arise

found

THE twenty-first, the *Conception* having also sprung a Leak, which increased, notwithstanding the continual pumping, so that she could not be kept long above Water, Captain *Flicke* took out of her forty-two Chests of Cochinillo and Silks, and then set her adrift with all her Furniture, and four thousand seven hundred Hides on board, having had eleven Foot Water in the Hold. The other Prize, which they brought to *Plymouth*, was named *Nossa Senhora de los Remedios* [our Lady of the Remedies] *Francisco Alvares*, Captain. She was laden with sixteen Chests of Cochinillo, certain Packs of raw Silk, and about four thousand Hides.

IN boarding the Prizes, the Company was so disorderly, that besides rifling the *Spaniards*, they broke open the Chests, and purloined such Money as was in them. Notwithstanding it had been ordered, that Captain *Flicke* should have gone aboard himself; and having, in Presence of three or four Witnesses taken an Account thereof, locked it up according to Directions. And whereas several Sums of that Money were taken from the Company, and, with some others, brought aboard the Admiral, amounting to two thousand one hundred and twenty-nine Peros and a half, they exclaimed against it, and demanded to have the same shared among them as lawful Plunder. This the Captain refused, and having, at the Mast-head, read the Articles signed by the Lord Treasurer, and Lord Admiral, whereby it appeared, that the disposing thereof was to be referred till their Return, they mutinied, and at last growing furious, threatened to break down the Cabins, unless they were granted. Captain *Flicke*, seeing them on the Point to execute their Design, was forced to comply, for fear the *Spaniards*, who were many, should lay hold of the Opportunity, and use, afterwards they attempted to do.

And mutiny.

1597.  
FlickeNews of the  
Armada and  
1 day.

By the last Advice from *Castile*, the General of the King's *Armada*, lately put to Sea, had Orders to join the *India Fleet*, and stay with them at *Terceira*, till the fifteenth of *October*: Because six *Pataches*, with seven or eight Millions of the King's Treasure, would arrive thereby that Time, otherwise their coming from *Havana*, had been deferred either till *January* next, or till the King's Pleasure was farther known. It was said, each of those *Pataches* measured three hundred Tons, carried thirty Brass Cannon, and had the Advantage of any other Ship in sailing.

1597. 11.

THERE perished of the *India Fleet*, before their coming to *Flores*, eleven Sail, whereof the General was one, and not one Man saved: And the *Spaniards* themselves supposed, that the Storm before-mentioned, (which happened at *Flores* and *Terceira*) had devoured many more of them; whereof, in Part, the Fleet under Captain *Flicke*, were Witnesses. Whence the Author presumed, that between the Seas, and the English Men of War, half of seventy-five Sail, which came from *Havana*, would never arrive in *Spain*.

Return to  
Plymouth.

THE eleventh of *October*, at Night, the Admiral anchored in *Plymouth Sound*; and next Morning, with their Prize, came into *Cat-water*; which happened in good Time: For a vehement Storm arose, and with such Fury increased, that the Prize was forced to cut away her Main-mast; otherwise, her Ground Tackle being bad, she must have been driven on Shore. This indeed was his chief Reason for putting into this Place, where he intended to discharge the Goods, without running farther Hazard: Of which he gave Notice to the Lord Admiral; and, at the same Time, desired to know the Directions of the Lords of the Council, together with those of the Proprietors, inasmuch as Lord *Thomas Howard* was not then returned. Here the Captain concludes, by observing, there was much Room to hope, that the rest of her Consorts, (which were separated by bad Weather) had sped well, and taken several Prizes, by reason the *West India Fleet* was scattered.

## SUPPLEMENT.

*A more particular Account of the West-India Fleet mentioned in the foregoing Narrative, and the Number of Ships that were cast away.*

THE following Account was taken out of the Examination of certain *Spaniards*, who were

brought into *England* by six<sup>b</sup> of the Ships of *London*, which took seven of the *West-India Fleet* near the Islands of *Azores*. 1597. Flicke.

THE Fleet of *New Spain*, at their first setting forth from *Spain*, were fifty-two Sail. The Admiral and Vice-Admiral were of six hundred Tons Burden. Four or five of the Ships were of nine hundred, and one thousand Tons a-piece; some five hundred, others four hundred, and the least of two hundred Tons. Of this Fleet, nineteen were cast away on the Coast of *New Spain*, and in them 2600 Men by Estimation; so that only thirty-three arrived at the *Havana*.

THE Fleet of *Terra Firma*, at their first Departure, were fifty Sail, bound for *Nombre de Dios*; where they unladed, and thence, for Health, they returned to *Carthagena*: But before this Fleet departed, [for *Europe*] some were gone by one or two at a time, so that only twenty-three Sail of them arrived at the *Havana*.

At the *Havana*, there met

|   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| { | 33 Sail of <i>Nova Hispania</i> . |
|   | 23 Sail of <i>Terra Firma</i> .   |
|   | 12 Sail of <i>San Domingo</i> .   |
|   | 9 Sail of the <i>Hunduras</i> .   |

THE whole seventy-seven Ships joined, and set sail together, from the *Havana*, the seventeenth of *July*, according to our Account; and kept together until they came into the Height of thirty-five Degrees, which was about the tenth of *August*. Here the Wind changed suddenly, from South-West to the North; and blowing violently against the Sea, which came from the South-West, the Fleet was put to great Extremity, and lost the General, with five hundred Men in her. Within three or four Days after, another Storm arising, the Vice-Admiral, and five or six other of the biggest Ships, were cast away, with all their Men. Again, in the Latitude of thirty-eight Degrees, about the End of *August*, a third Tempest arose, in which all the Fleet, except forty-eight Sail, were cast away.

THESE kept together till they came in Sight of the Islands of *Corvo* and *Flores*, about the fifth or sixth of *September*: At which Time a great Storm<sup>d</sup> separating them, fifteen or sixteen of the Number were after seen, by the Examinants, to ride at Anchor under the *Terceira*, and twelve or fourteen more to bear with the Island of *St. Michael*. What became of them, after the Examinants were taken, they knew not: Their Opinion

<sup>a</sup> This Account in *Hakluyt* follows the Narrative of Sir *Richard Greenville's* Fight, given in the former Chapter.

<sup>b</sup> These we take to have been the Ships separated from Captain *Flicke*, as observed in the previous Remarks, from the Time, and other Circumstances.

<sup>c</sup> These were the Ships which joined the Armada after the Fight, as mentioned in the Narrative.

<sup>d</sup> This was the Storm that arose after the Fight.

1589. was, that very few of the Fleet escaped, but were a have come into Spain this Year, being one hun- 1589.  
 Linschoten either wrecked or taken; and late Accounts farther certify, that of the whole Fleet that should arrived but twenty-five. Linschoten

## C H A P. XV.

*The Exploits of the English in several Expeditions, and Cruizing Voyages, from 1589, to 1592.*

*Extracted from John Huighen Van Linschoten's Voyage<sup>a</sup> from Goa to Portugal.*

*Introduction.* THIS Chapter is intended as a Supplement b to the *English* cruising Voyages already inserted, which fall within the above-mentioned Period: And is the more necessary, as the Memoirs it contains, not only confirm the most material Facts related in those Voyages, but give a satisfactory Account of many Things which are there but imperfectly set forth, often continue the History, which there breaks off abruptly, and bring to light some remarkable Achievements of our Countrymen, of which otherwise no Mention would be found among our voluminous Collectors of naval Transactions. We are persuaded, the Reader will feel a secret Joy at beholding the great Figure this Nation made in those heroic Times; owing to that universal Zeal to promote the Commerce and Glory of *England*, which prevailed among the Ministers, as well as the People. We presume likewise, that the Pleasure will be not a little enhanced from the Consideration, that these Particulars were written by d a Foreigner, who is in great Reputation for his Judgment and Fidelity, and has founded their Praise beyond what their own Historians have done. On the other Hand, we conclude he will be no less concerned to find what immense Treasures some of our Adventurers lost, by unaccountably missing of the Fleets they went in Quest of, at the same Time that they were so near them, that it seemed almost impossible they should escape. Which shews, after all, how uncertain the Meeting of Ships is at Sea; and that two great Fleets may sail almost close to one another, without having the least Suspicion of it.

*Santa Cruz, which is in great Distress They quit her. Are taken for Portuguese by the Islanders. Alarms of the English They sail to Lisbon. Narrowly escape being taken by Drake. Earl of Cumberland's Fleet. Destroys Fayal West-India Fleet. Loss at setting out. Fifteen Sail taken by the English. Earl of Cumberland's Fleet Misses a vast Treasure; and a greater still. The Spanish Admiral at Tercera. His Ships lost in the Way to Spain. An English Ship takes two Spanish. Odd Adventure of the Owner. Value of the Prizes.*

THE twenty-second of July, 1589<sup>b</sup>, about *The English* Evening, being near the Islands of *Flores* *come in Sight* and *Corvo*, they perceived three Ships making towards them, from under the Land, which put them in great Fear, for they came close by the Admiral, and shot divers Times at her, and another Ship. By their Flag, which they carried upon their Main-tops, they appeared to be *English*; but none of them seemed to be above sixty Tons in Bulk: They followed the *Portuguese* all Night, with Lights at their Sterns, although the Moon shined. Next Day, being between the Islands of *St. George* and *Graciosa*, they spied three more Ships, whereof one sailed backwards, thinking some one of the Company might lay behind. But it was not long before she returned to her Consorts, which, having consulted together, came e all three founding their Trumpets against the *Santa Cruz*, that lay in the Lee of the rest, thinking to oblige her to run ashore on *Graciosa*, which was very near.

BEING come up, they sailed, at least, three *They attack* Times about her, firing their Muskets and Calibers, with some great Cannon; and although *the Santa Cruz*, they did the Body of the Ship no Harm, yet they spoiled all her Sails and Rigging. In short, they

## S E C T. I.

*Transactions of 1589. The English come in Sight of the Goa Fleet near Tercera. Attack the*

<sup>a</sup> These Extracts are made from the 96, 97, and 99<sup>th</sup> Chapters of the first Book of *Linschoten's Voyages*, in *English*; from whence *Hakluyt* inserted them in his Collection, vol. 2. part 2. p. 179. The Author left Goa with a Fleet of Ships, viz. the *Santa Maria*, our Lady de *Concepçao*, (or of the Conception) the *St. Christopher*, which was Admiral; the *St. Thomas*, which was greatest, and richly laden; and the *Santa Cruz*, in which *Linschoten* sailed.

<sup>b</sup> See *Linschoten's Voyages*, part 1. chap. 96. p. 171; and *Hakluyt's Collection*, at *supra*.

1589. peppered her so, that not a Man durst shew his Head, and when she shot off a Gun, it was, at least, an Hour's Work to load it again. Which occasioned so great a Cry and Noise in the Ship, as if they had all been cast away. Hereupon the *English* began to mock, and throw their Jest upon them. Mean Time the other Ships, hoisting all their Sails, made what Haste they could to gain the Island of *Tercera*, not caring what became of the *Santa Cruz*, so they saved their own Bacon. Whereby, says *Linschoten*, it appears what Company the *Portuguese* keep one with the other; and how little Order there is among them. At length, the *English* perceiving, they got but small Advantage against the *Santa Cruz*, (little knowing what a pitiful Case and Fear those on board were in) and that she was not far from *Tercera*, left her: Which made the *Portuguese* to rejoice, as Men risen from Death to Life; although they did not think themselves quite safe neither, till they got into the Road, before that Island, under the Fort.

Are taken  
for Portu-  
guese.

ON the other Side, they were in great Doubt, because they knew not what passed in the Island, nor whether they were their Friends or Enemies: And the rather, for that they found no Men of War, nor Caravels of Advice from *Portugal*, as they expected, that might convoy, or give them Advice, as used to be the Custom; and because the *English* had been so victorious in those Parts, it made them suspect, that it went not well with *Spain*. The Inhabitants of *Tercera* were in no less Fear than themselves, whom they took for *English*, come to over run the Island; because the three *English* Ships had furled their Flag, and put in along with them. Hereupon the Island sent out two Caravels (that lay there, with Advice for the *India* Ships that should come thither) to view the *Portuguese*; which perceiving what they were, advanced towards them; whereupon the *English* Ships left them, and made up to the Caravel, which, taking them to be Friends, as being in the others Company, shunned them not. But the *Goa* Ships made four or five Shot, and other Signs, that they should return to the Island, which they presently did. The *English* perceiving that, put to Sea, and the Caravels, going on board the *Goa* Fleet, informed them, that the Men of the Island were all in Arms; as having received Advice from *Portugal*, that Sir Francis Drake was ready, and designed to pay them a Visit.

Alarms of  
the English.

THEY likewise brought them News of the Overthrow of the *Spanish* Armada, sent against *England*; and that the *English*, in their Turn, had been before *Lisbon*: That, thereupon, the

<sup>a</sup> *Portugal* being then under the Dominion of Philip II, King of *Spain*. <sup>b</sup> *Linschoten*, ubi supra, p. 180. In Hakluyt, the Paragraph begins, *The Day before the Earl*, &c. as if it had been the twenty-third of July, <sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* p. 185. <sup>d</sup> See *Linschoten*, part 1. p. 186. <sup>e</sup> That is to be understood of some Dispute or Strife between the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, who could not brook the Dominion of the former.

a King had ordered this Fleet from *East-India* to 1589. put into *Tercera*, and there lie under the Castle *Linschoten*, till farther Advice; it being dangerous, at that Time, to sail for *Lisbon*. Those Tidings put the Fleet in great Fear, and made them look upon each other, not knowing what to resolve on, for it was unsafe to put into the Road, because it lies open to the Sea. For which Reason, the *India* Ships, although they had express Orders from the King, yet never durst anchor there; but only uled to ply to and fro, till their Boats fetched, from Shore, such Necessaries as they wanted, and then departed. But this *Goa* Fleet being compelled, by the present Necessity, and understanding likewise, that the Earl of *Cumberland* was not far from those Islands, with certain Ships of War, they entered the Road, and anchored close under the Castle, resolving to wait there for the King's Orders. This was the twenty-fourth of July, after which a great Storm arose, where one of the Ships, that came very richly laden from *Malakka*, was lost.

THE twelfth of August<sup>b</sup>, the Earl of *Cum-* <sup>The Earl of Cumberland sailed for Lisbon.</sup> berland, with six or seven Ships of War, sailed by the Island of *Tercera*, and passed out of Sight. Very luckily for the *Goa* Fleet, which hereupon made all the Haste they could away, taking with them, for better Security, four hundred *Spaniards* of the Garison there, and sailing towards *Lisbon*, eleven Days after arrived in the River, with great Joy and Triumph. For if they had stayed but one Day longer, they had all been taken by Captain Drake, who, with forty Ships, came before *Cascais*, at the same Time that the *India* Ships <sup>Narrowly escaped Sir Francis Drake.</sup> cast Anchor in the *Tajo*, guarded thither by divers Gallies.

WHILE *Linschoten* lay at *Tercera*<sup>c</sup>, the Earl <sup>Earl of Cumberland.</sup> of *Cumberland* came to *St Maria*, to take in fresh Water, and some other Provision: But the Inhabitants refused to let him land, wounding both himself, and divers of his Men, who were forced to depart without having any Thing there. He likewise landed in *Graciosa*, with seven or eight in Company, demanding certain Cattle, Hens, and other Victuals, with Wine and fresh Water; which having been civilly granted him, he departed without doing any Hurt: For which he received Thanks from the Inhabitants, who commended him for his Courtesy, and keeping his Promise.

f ABOUT the same Time<sup>d</sup>, the Earl landed at *Destroya* <sup>Fayal.</sup> *Fayal*: Where, the first Time he came, they began to resist him; but by Reason of some Controversy among them<sup>e</sup>, he was suffered to land: After which, he razed the Castle to the Ground,

**1589.** and sunk all their Ordnance in the Sea; taking with him certain Caravels and Ships that lay in the Road, besides Provision of all Things that he wanted, and so departed. Whereupon the King of Spain caused the principal Actors therein to be punished; and sent a Company of Soldiers thither, from *Tercera*, with all Kind of warlike Munition, and great Shot. Causing the Fortrefs to be rebuilt for Defence of the Island, and trusting no more in the *Portuguese*.

**THE** ninth of *October*, there arrived, in *Tercera*, fourteen Ships from the *Spanish Indies*, laden with *Cochineal*, *Hides*, *Gold*, *Silver*, *Pearls*, and other rich Wares. They were fifty in Company, when they left the *Havana*, whereof, in coming out of the Channel, eleven were sunk by foul Weather, and the rest scattered by a Storm. Next Day, there came another Ship of the same Fleet, which sailed close under the Island, to get into the Road, where she met with an *English* Ship that had not above three Guns, but the *Spaniards* had twelve. After fighting, a long Time, in Sight of the *Goa* Fleet, the Governor sent two Boats of Musketeers to help the Ship. But before they could come to her, the *English* had shot her under Water. Whereupon she immediately sunk down, with all her Sails up; and in a Trice not any Thing of her was to be seen, except the Men swimming about: Of whom the *English*, with their Boats, saved the Captain, and about thirty others, but not one Penny-worth of the Goods; and yet, in the Ship, there was, at least, to the Value of 200,000 Ducats in *Gold*, *Silver*, and *Pearls*. The rest of the Men, about fifty in Number, were drowned; among them were some *Friars* and *Women*, whom the *English* would not save. Those taken up were set on Land, and then they sailed away.

**THE** twenty-seventh of the same Month, the said fourteen Ships having refreshed themselves in the Island, departed from *Tercera* toward *Sevil*; and coming upon the Coast of *Spain*, were all taken, except two, by the *English* Ships that lay there to watch for them, and carried them into *England*.

**ABOUT** the same Time, the Earl of *Cumberland*, with one of the Queen's Ships, and five or six more, kept about those Islands; and came oftentimes so close under *Tercera*, and the Road of *Angra*, that the People on Land might easily tell all the Men he had a-board, and knew such as walked on the Hatches: And though they were within Musket-shot both of the Town and Fort, yet the Islanders did not make one Shot at them. In these Parts he continued for the Space of two

Months, sailed round about the Islands, and landed in *Graciosa* and *Fayal*, as hath been already mentioned. Here he took divers Ships and Caravels, which he sent into *England*, so that those of the Island durst not put out their Heads.

**THREE** or four Days after the Earl had left *Fayal*, six *India* Ships arrived there, whose General was one *Juan D'roves*, and landed four Millions of *Gold* and *Silver*. Then fearing the coming of the *English*, they, with all Haste, victualled; and letting Sail, arrived safely in *St. Lucar*, to the great good Luck of the *Spaniards*, and hard Fortune of the *English*. For that within less than two Days after the *Gold* and *Silver* was re embarked on board those Ships, the Earl of *Cumberland* sailed again by that Island. Whence it appeared, that God would not let them have the Treasure; for if they had once had Sight of that Fleet, without Doubt it had been all their own, as the *Spaniards* themselves confessed.

**IN** November there arrived, in *Tercera*, two great Ships, which were the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, laden with *Silver*; having been separated by stormy Weather, and in great Danger of sinking, for they were forced to use all their Pumps. In this Distress they wished a thousand Times to have met the *English*; to whom they would willingly have given their *Silver*, and all that ever they brought with them, only to save their Lives. And although the Earl of *Cumberland* hovered still about those Islands, yet they met not with him: And thus, after much Pain and Labour, they got into the Road before *Angra*; where, with all Speed, they unladed to the Value of above five Millions of Ducats, in *Silver*, all in Pieces of eight or ten Pound great: So that the whole Key lay covered with Plates and Chests of *Silver*, full of *Rials* of Eight, most wonderful to behold; besides *Pearls*, *Gold*, and precious Stones, which were not registered.

**THE** Admiral of those Ships and Fleet, called *Alvaro Flores de Quimones*, landed, being infected with the *Neapolitan* Disease; whereof, not long after, he died in *Sevilla*. He brought with him the King's broad Seal, and full Authority, to be General and chief Commander upon the Seas; as well over all Fleets and Ships, as Places and Islands, or Lands wheresoever he came. On this Account, the Governor of *Tercera* did him great Honour; and considering the Weakness of their Fleet, and the Danger from the *English*, it was agreed, between them, to send the Ships, with Soldiers to guard them, either to *Sevilla*, or *Lisbon*, where they could first arrive; with Ad-

\* *Linschoten*, *ibid* chap. 99. p. 187  
The Deity sometimes helped Men to such Jobbs, and at other Times baulked them.

b The Stupidity as well as Impiety of such Notions as if the Deity sometimes helped Men to such Jobbs, and at other Times baulked them.

c But perhaps God would not let them.

1589. vice to his Majesty of all that had past, and that a  
 Linschoten he would order a sufficient Convoy to fetch the  
 Silver away.

*This Ship  
lost.* WHEREUPON the Spanish Admiral stayed  
 there, under Colour of securing the Silver; but  
 in reality on Account of his Disease, and for  
 Fear of the English. This *Alvaro Flores* had a-  
 lone, for his own Part, above 50,000 Ducats in  
 Pearls; which he shewed to those of the *Santa*  
*Cruz*, and would have sold or bartered them for  
 Spices, or Bills of Exchange. The said two Ships  
 set Sail with three or four hundred Men as well  
 Soldiers, as others that came with them out of  
*India*; but meeting with a Storm, the Admiral  
 split and sunk, not one Man being saved. The  
 Vice-Admiral cut down her Mast, and ran the  
 Ship on Ground hard by *Sitaval*, where it broke  
 in Pieces; but some of the Men saved themselves  
 by swimming, and brought News of the Loss of  
 the rest.

*English take  
new Ships.* IN the same Month, there came two great  
 Ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within  
 half a Mile of the Road of *Tercera*, met with  
 an English Ship, which, after a long Fight, took  
 them both. About seven or eight Months before,  
 there had been an English Ship in *Tercera*, that  
 under the Name of a Frenchman, came to traffic  
 in the Island, there to lade Wood<sup>a</sup>; and being  
 discovered, both Ship and Goods were confiscated  
 to the King's Use, and all the Men made Pri-  
 soners: Yet they had Liberty to go about, and  
 get their Living, by labouring like Slaves; be-  
 ing, indeed, as safe in that Island, as if they had  
 been in Prison.

*Escape of  
English Pri-  
soners.* BUT at length, upon a Sunday, all the Sailors  
 walking out behind the Hills called *Bresil*, they  
 there found a Fisher-boat, and getting into it,  
 rowed off to the Earl of *Cumberland's* Ships<sup>b</sup>  
 Which, luckily for them, chanced, at that very  
 Time, to arrive, and anchor about half a Mile  
 from the Road of *Angia*; hard by two small  
 Islands, which lie about a Gun-shot from thence,  
 and are full of Goats, Deer, and Sheep, belong-  
 ing to the Inhabitants of *Tercera*.

*Adventure of  
the Cruise.* THIS being well known to those Sailors, they  
 went thither with their Boats; and lying at An-  
 chor that Day, fetched as many Goats and Sheep  
 as they had Occasion for. Those of the Town  
 and Island saw all this, yet durst not once stir  
 out to oppose them; so there remained no more  
 on Land, but the Master and the Merchant of  
 the said English Ship. This Master had a Brother-  
 in-law dwelling in *England*, who hearing of his  
 Imprisonment in *Tercera*, got Licence of the  
 Queen to set forth a Ship; to try if he could re-  
 cover his Losses from the Spaniards, by taking

some of them, and so redeem his Brother. He it  
 1590. was that took the two Spanish Ships before the  
 Town, the Master ascended looking on all the  
 while from the Shore with *Linschoten*, whose in-  
 timate Acquaintance he was.

THE Ships being taken, (worth 300,000 Du-  
 cats) he ordered all the Men to be set on Land,  
 excepting two of the principal Gentlemen, and  
 then sent the Pilot of one of those Ships with a  
 Letter to the Governor of *Tercera*: Letting him  
 know, that he would send him the two Gentle-  
 men, provided he delivered his Brother; if not,  
 that he would carry them into *England*, as he  
 did. For the Governor would not release the other;  
 saying, that the Gentlemen might make their  
 Suit to the King of *Spain* himself. This Spanish  
 Pilot being invited, along with the two English-  
 men, to Supper, by those of the *Santa Cruz*, he  
 gave them an Account of the Fight, much com-  
 mending the English Order and Manner of Fight-  
 ing, as also their courteous Treatment of him.  
 But, at length, the English Pilot likewise stole a-  
 way in a French Ship, without paying any Ran-  
 some.

## SECT II.

### Transactions in the Year 1590.

West-India Fleet lost. Another suffers by a Storm.  
*A small English Prize, makes a Spanish Tri-  
 umph. Cruelty of a Spanish Officer, condemned  
 by others. Ship taken by the English. Fleet sails  
 back to Spain. Escapes the English. Frobisher's  
 Expedition. Sir John Hawkin's. East India  
 Fleet. Escapes the English. Many West-India  
 Ships taken. Don Alonso Bagan's Fleet. Vice-  
 roy of East-India; his Vanity.*

IN January, 1590, a Ship arrived in *Tercera*,  
 from the Spanish Indies, and brought News,  
 that a Fleet of an hundred Ships, which sailed  
 from *Terra Firma*, were driven, by a Storm,  
 upon the Coast of *Florida*, where they were all  
 cast away, excepting that one, by which Disaster,  
 immense Riches, and many Men were lost:  
 Hence they reckoned, that of two hundred and  
 twenty Ships, which, in 1589, had set out from  
*New Spain, St. Domingo, the Havana, Cape Verde,  
 Brazil, Guinea, &c.* to sail for *Spain* and *Portu-  
 gal*, not above fourteen or fifteen arrived, all the  
 rest being either sunk or taken.

THE same Month, there arrived, in *Tercera*,  
 fifteen or sixteen Ships from *Sevil*, most of them  
 Fly-boats of the Low Countries, and some Bri-  
 sons, that were arrested in *Spain*. These came  
 full of Soldiers, and well appointed with Muni-  
 tion, to carry the Silver and *Alvaro de Flores* in-

It ought, doubtless, to be Wood, for dying, which *Tercera* produces in great Plenty. This Error is both in  
 the Translation of *Linschoten* and *Hakluyt's* Extract.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 207<sup>c</sup>.

1590. to Spain: But they durst not enter the Road; a  
 Linfchoten. for then it blew so great a Storm (as it always  
 does about those Islands at the same Time of the  
 Year) that some of their Ships, which had an-  
 shore, were forced to cut down their Masts,  
 and were in Danger to be lost: Among the rest,  
 a Ship of *Biscay* ran against the Shore, and was  
 broken in Pieces, but the Men were all saved.  
 The other Ships were forced to keep the Sea, and  
 drive before the Wind, till the fifteenth of  
*March*. In all which Time they had not one  
 Day of fair Weather, whereby they endured  
 much Misery, cursing both the Silver and the  
 Island

A Spanish  
 Triumph.

THIS Storm being past, they chanced to  
 meet with a small *English* Ship, of about forty  
 Tons; which not being able, by reason of the  
 great Wind, to carry all her Sails, they set upon  
 and took. After which, with the *English* Flag,  
 in their Admiral's Stern, they came as proudly  
 into the Haven, as if they had conquered all the  
 Realm of *England*. But as that Ship was enter-  
 ing into the Road, in all her Pride, she was so  
 handsomely battered for her Pains, by two *En-  
 glish* Ships, which chanced to pass by in the  
 Nick of Time, that they were forced to cry *Mi-  
 serecordia*; and, without all doubt, had been ta-  
 ken, if she had been but a Mile further from  
 Shore: But having gotten under the Fortrefs,  
 which also began to play upon the *English* Ships,  
 they quitted her, and stood farther out to Sea,  
 having slain five or six of her Men.

... of a  
 Spanish Of-  
 ficer.

THE *Englishmen* who were taken in the small  
 Ship, were put under Hatches, and coupled in  
 Bolts. Three or four Days after, a *Spanish* En-  
 sign, who had a Brother slain in the Fleet that  
 came for *England*, resolving to revenge his  
 Death, and shew his Manhood, took his Oppor-  
 tunity to slip down under the Hatches, and with  
 a Poniard, stabbed six of the poor defenceless  
 Prisoners to the Heart: This two others per-  
 ceiving, to disappoint the Murderer, clasped each  
 other about the Middle, and throwing themselves  
 into the Sea, were drowned.

Condemned by  
 the rest.

THIS Act was resented by all the rest of the  
*Spaniards*, who carried the Offender Prisoner to  
*Lisbon*: Where being arrived, the King of *Spain*  
 ordered him to be sent to *England*, that the  
 Queen might dispose of him as she thought pro-  
 per. This Sentence, his Friends, by Intreaty,  
 got to be reversed; yet at the same Time *Philip*  
 positively declared, that he should lose his Head:  
 But on *Good Friday*, the Cardinal going to Mass,  
 all the Captains and Commanders made so great  
 Intreaty for him, that in the End they got his

Pardon. This *Linschoten* thought proper to take  
 notice of, that the World might see what disho-  
 nest and bloody-minded Mortals the *Spaniards*  
 are, when they have People in their Power.

THE two *English* Ships which followed the  
 Admiral, as before-mentioned, putting to Sea  
 again, met with another *Spanish* Ship of the same  
 Fleet, that had likewise been scattered by the  
 Storm, and was the only one missing, the rest  
 lying in the Road. This small Ship they took,  
 and set all the Men on Shore, without hurting  
 any of them. But it is probable they would not  
 have dismissed them so peaceably, had they known  
 what had been done to their captivated Country-  
 men; for which afterward many an innocent  
 Soul paid dear. This was the same Ship that  
 was taken from the *Englishmen*, who got out of  
*Tercera* in a Fisher-boat (as was said before) and  
 after Confiscation, was sold to the *Spaniards*, just  
 then arrived from the *Indies*, who carried it with  
 them to *St. Lucar*, where it was also embargo'd  
 by the Duke; and being a good Sailor, sent  
 back with the rest to fetch the Silver home. But  
 it was the meanest of all that Fleet. Being thus  
 retaken, it was carried into *England*; and the  
 Owners had it again when they thought least  
 of it.

THE nineteenth of *March*, the aforesaid Ships,  
 being nineteen in Number, having taken in the  
 King's Silver, with *Alvaro Flores de Quinones*,  
 and his Company, besides Victuals, Munition,  
 and Soldiers, (who talked very big, and seemed  
 resolved to fight to the last Man, before they  
 would yield, or loose their Riches) they steer-  
 ed their Course for *St. Lucar*. But the Wind fa-  
 vouring them, drove them to *Lisbon*, much a-  
 gainst the Inclination of *Alvaro de Flores*; who,  
 in spite of both Wind and Weather, would have  
 obliged the Sailors to make the former Port.  
 But they remonstrating the Danger of the At-  
 tempt, and declaring they would require their  
 Losses at his Hands, he was content at length to  
 be governed by the Wind, and sail to *Lisbon*;  
 from whence the Silver was, by Land, carried to  
*Sevil*.

AT Cape *St. Vincent* there lay a Fleet of twen-  
 ty *English* Ships to watch for this Armada, so  
 that if they had steer'd for *St. Lucar*, they must  
 have fallen directly in their Way, as they would  
 have done if the Wind had served. They had  
 Reason therefore to thank the Frowardness of the  
 Wind, for making so safe a Voyage: For if the  
*English* had met with them, in all Probability,  
 few of them had escaped; if it was only by  
 Reason of the Fear, wherewith they were pos-

\* We suppose the Author means the Armada in 1598.  
*Englishmen*, and *Hakluyt* has the same Reading, which

b In the Translation it is rendered, by the  
 which alters and confounds the Sense of this Passage  
 killed,

1590  
Linchoten.

seised: Because Fortune, or rather God, was wholly against them<sup>a</sup>; which is enough to dishearten the Spaniards, and encourage the English, who are stout and valiant, as well as victorious. Inasmuch that all their Enterprizes being crowned with Success, they are at length become Lords and Masters of the Ocean; nor is there any Power which they need be afraid of, as may appear by this brief Discourse.

Frother's  
Expedition.

THE seventh of August, a Navy of English Ships, to the Number of twenty, (five whereof were the Queen's Ships) appeared before *Tercera*, their General was one *Martin Furber*, as the Author was afterwards informed. They came purposely to watch for the East and West-India Fleets, as well as other Ships trading to the Westward: Which put the Islanders in great Fear, especially those of *Fayal*, for that the English having sent a Trumpet to the Governor, in a friendly Manner, to desire a certain Quantity of Wine, Flesh, and other Provisions for their Money, he was not only refused his Request, but his Messenger shot at, and killed. The General, highly incensed at this barbarous Treatment, sent them Word, that they had best look to themselves, for that he designed to pay them a Visit whether they would or not. The Governor answered, that he was there in Behalf of the King of Spain, and would do his best to keep them out, as he was in Duty bound. But after all nothing was done, although they in *Fayal* were in no little Fear, sending to *Tercera* for Aid; from whence they had certain Barks, with Powder and Ammunition, some Bisket, and other Provision.

Sir John  
Hawkins.

THE thirtieth, Advice came from Portugal, that eighty Ships had put off *Carunho* [or the Groin] laden with Victuals, Munition, Money, and Soldiers, to go for *Brittain*<sup>b</sup>, to aid the Romanists and Leaguers against the King of *Navarre*. At the same Time two *Neitherland* Hulks, mid-way between Portugal and *Tercera*, met with four of the Queen's Ships, under Sir *John Hawkins*; which stopped, and after let them go again, without doing them any harm. The *Neitherlanders* reported, that each of the Queen's Ships had eighty Pieces of Ordnance; and that Captain *Drake* lay with forty Ships in the English Channel, watching for the *Carunho* Fleet: Likewise ten other English Ships plied at *Cape St. Vincent*, to snap up such as escaped from the Islands. These Tidings put the Islanders in great Fear, concluding that if the English missed of the Spanish Fleet, they would fall upon the Islands, that they might not return empty home: Whereupon

they kept strict Watch, sending Advice to the King of what News they heard.

1590  
Linchoten.  
East India  
Fleet.

THE first of September thereat arrived the Island of *St. Michael*, a Portuguese Ship from *Fernambuck*, in *Brazil*; which brought an Account, that the Admiral of the Portuguese Fleet, which came from [East] India, having missed the Island of *St. Helena*, was constrained to put into that Port; Although the King had expressly forbidden it, under a great Penalty, because of the Worms there, which spoil the Ships. The same Ship wherein *Bernardín Ribeiro* was Admiral the Year before, 1589, sailed out of *Lisbon* to the Indies, with five others in her Company; whereof only four got thither. The fifth being never heard of, was thought to be cast away. The other four returned safe again to Portugal, though the Admiral was very much damaged; having met with two English Ships by the Way, which fought long with him, and slew many of his Men.

THE fifth of the same Month, there arrived in *Tercera*, a Caravel from *Corvo*, which brought fifty Men belonging to a Ship that came from the Spanish Indies; but meeting with the English was taken, and the Men set on Shore in that Island. They brought Tidings, that the English had taken four more of the India Ships, and a Caravel which carried the King of Spain's Letters of Advice for the Fleet, coming from the Portuguese Indies; and that with those which they had taken, they were at least forty Ships in all; so that not one Bark escaped them, that therefore the Goa Fleet durst not put into the Islands, but took their Course for *Lisbon*, under forty and forty-two Degrees, shunning likewise *Cape St. Vincent*, for otherwise they could not have arrived in Safety, the Sea having been then so full of English Ships.

Escapes the  
English.

HEREUPON, to avoid this Danger, the King sent Orders to the Fleet lying at *Havana*, ready to sail for Spain, that they should stay there till next Year; which was no small Charge and Prejudice to them: Because the Ships that lie there consume themselves, and, in a Manner, eat up one another, by reason of the great Number of People, and Scarcity of all Things; so that many of this *Havana* Fleet chose rather to venture home, one by one at a Time, than stay there: But all fell into the Hands of the English, who landed many of the Crew in *Tercera*; and, for a whole Day, the Author could see nothing but spoiled Men setting on Shore, some out of one Ship, some out of another; which was enough to move Compassion. They all cursed the English, and their own ill Fortune, with those

Man; West-  
India Ships  
taken.

<sup>a</sup> Awhile ago God was for them, in saving them from the English: But an absurd Principle must always clash with itself, being composed of opposite Extremes.

<sup>b</sup> It should be *Bretagne*, or *Britanny*, in France.

who



1590. who had been the Cause to provoke that Nation <sup>a</sup> to fight; complaining loudly of the small Care and Order taken therein by the King of Spain's Officers. <sup>1591.</sup>

Don Alonso  
Bassan's  
Fleet.

THE nineteenth, there arrived a Caravel from Lisbon, with one of the King's Officers, who came to cause the Goods saved out of the *Malakka* Ship, (for which the Fleet, wherewith the Author came, stayed there) to be laden and sent to Lisbon. At the same Time, there put out of Carunbo, one Don Alonso de Bassan, with forty great Ships of War, designed for the Islands; there to wait for the Fleet of the Spanish and Portuguese Indies, and to convoy them, with the Goods of the *Malakka* Ship, into the *Tajo*: But meeting with contrary Winds, only two of them (which were scattered from the rest) arrived at *Tercera*; where, not finding the Fleet, they presently returned to seek them. Mean Time, the King changing his Mind, ordered the Fleet to stay in *Inuta*, as is before-mentioned; and therefore he sent Advice to Don Alonso de Bassan, to return to Carunbo, which he did, without doing any Thing, or once approaching near the Islands: For he well knew, that the English lay near Corvo, but did not care to visit them. And thus the Goods, that came from *Malakka*, instead of being shipped, were packed up again, and forced to wait for a more favourable Opportunity.

Vice Roy of  
India.

THE twenty-third of October, there arrived a Caravel from Portugal, with Advice, that of five Ships, which in 1590, sailed from Lisbon to the Indies, four of them were turned back again, after they had been four Months at Sea; that only the Admiral, wherein went the Vice-Roy, called *Matthias d'Albuquerque*, had made the Voyage, having been at least, eleven Months at Sea, without ever seeing Land, and that they arrived in great Misery at *Malakka*. In this Ship, there died by the Way, two hundred and eighty Men, according to an Account sent by the Vice-Roy himself, to the Cardinal of Lisbon; which contained a List of their Names and Surnames, with a Relation of his Voyage, and the Misery they had endured. This Evil he brought on the Fleet to avoid losing the Government of India: For

which Reason he had sworn, either to lose his Life, or to arrive thither; as indeed he did: But to the great Danger, Loss, and Prejudice of his Company; who, to serve his Interest, were forced to sacrifice their Lives; which Misfortune, (it may be presumed) happened for Want of Provision: For he well knew, that if he had returned to Portugal, as the other Ships did, he should have been deprived of his India Grandeur; because the People began already to murmur at him for his proud and haughty Carriage.

AMONG other Things that shewed his Vanity, behind the Gallery of his Ship, he caused Fortune to be painted, and himself, with a Staff, standing by, as it were, threatening her; with this Motto, *Quero que Vencas*; that is, *My Aim is to overcome thee*. Which being read by the Cardinal, and others, (who to honour him, attended him on board his Ship) was thought to be an Instance of exceeding Folly. But that is no strange Thing among the Portuguese: For they, above all others, must let the Fool prep out of their Sleeves; especially when they are in Authority. I, (saith the Author) knew the said *Matthias d'Albuquerque*, in India, where he was a Captain, and passed for one of the best of them; having been much honoured, and beloved of all for his courteous Behaviour. So that every body desired that he might be Vice-Roy. But when once he had received his Patent, with full Power and Authority from the King, he became so much changed of a sudden, that for his Pride, they all began to fear, and curse him, even before he departed from Lisbon, as it is often seen in Men on their being advanced to State and Dignity.

### SECT. III.

*Transactions in the Year, 1591.*

Rich Prizes taken. Earthquakes at St Michael. Common in the Islands. English Fleet surprised. The Revenge left alone. The brave Greenville's Death. His Character. English Prisoners, and Spanish Damages. Bartandono's Courtesy. Prodigious Storm. Spanish Shipwrecks. The Revenge cast away. Fate of a Dutch Ship.

<sup>a</sup> De Faria y Sousa says, the Season was so far advanced when he set out, that it was generally believed he could not go through: But he caused himself to be painted on Colours, standing upon Fortune; and setting them up in his Ship, said, *He would perform the Voyage in spite of her*, and did it. The Author does not reflect on him for this; whence it may be presumed, he thought it only a Token of an heroic Disposition. See *Portuguese Asia*, vol. 2. p. 64.

<sup>b</sup> De Faria gives a very advantageous Character of this Vice Roy *Matthias de Albuquerque*, says he, was one of the most deserving Men who arrived to this Command, as well for his [good] Fortune and Valour, as Prudence and Justice. In the Treasury he left 80,000 Ducats in Money, and Jewels of Ceylon, of great Value. He thought no Body could cheat him. But a Soldier, to deceive him, received his Pay three Times in three several Shapes, and by as many Names. *Albuquerque* afterwards hearing of it, sent for him, and was kind to the Man, advising him to use that Art no more. As to his Person, he was of a middle Stature, and lame of one Foot; but not so in Manners, having been as much a Christian as a Gentleman. He was the sixteenth Vice-Roy, and thirty-fourth Governor. The first of the Name, and second of the Surname. See the same Book, p. 77, 78. This Note is inserted to do Justice to *Albuquerque*, not to confute *Linschoten*: who only reported what the Portuguese said of their Vice-Roy, perhaps out of Malice.

1591.  
Linschoten

Lost, and all the Men. Number of Ships cast away, and Men lost. West India Fleet's Losses.

J. P. 22  
121

THE twentieth of January, 1591, News was brought from Portugal, that the English had taken a Ship, which the King had sent to the Portuguese Indies, with Orders to the Vice-Roy, to send back the four Ships that set out with him; and afterwards returned as before-mentioned. That Vessel was laden as full of Goods as possible, besides five hundred thousand Ducats in Ryals of Eight. It departed from Lisbon in November, 1590, and meeting with the English, for a Time fought; but in the End, it was taken, and carried into England. Yet when they came there, the Men were set at Liberty, and returned to Lisbon, where the Captain was committed Prisoner. But having cleared himself, was released; and from him the Author had the Account. At the same Time also, they took a Ship that came from *la Mina* in Guinea, laden with Gold, and two others, with Pepper and Spices, designed for Italy: The Pepper only that was in them, being worth one hundred and seventy thousand Ducats. All these Ships were carried into England, and made good Prize.

Earthquake  
at St. Michael.

IN July, 1591, there happened an Earthquake in the Island of St. Michael, which continued from the twenty-sixth of that Month, to the twelfth of August. During all that Time, the Inhabitants durst not stay in their Houses, many of which fell down, but fled into the Fields, fasting and praying with great Sorrow. A Town called *Villa Franca*, was almost quite levelled with the Ground; all the Cloisters, and Houses, having been shaken down, and some People slain. The Land, in some Parts, rose up, and the Cliffs removed from one Place to another; nay, some Hills were defaced, and made even with the Plain. The Shock was so strong, that the Ships which lay in the Road out at Sea, felt it, and shook, as if the World had been jogged out of its Place. There sprang also a Fountain out of the Earth, from whence, for the Space of four Days, there flowed a most clear Water; and after that it ceased: At the same Time, they heard such dreadful Thunder, and Noise under Ground, that many died for Fear. The Island of *Tercera* shook four Times successively, so that it seemed to turn about; but no Misfortune happened to it.

Common in  
the Islands.

EARTHQUAKES are common in those Islands: For, about twenty Years before, there happened one so violent, that a high Hill, which stands by *Villa Franca*, before-mentioned, fell half down, and covering all the Town with Earth, killed many People. The twenty-fifth of August, the

King's Armada arrived in *Tercera* from *Ferol*; 1591: consisting of *Biscains*, *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards*, in all thirty-five Ships, with ten Dutch Fly-boats that were pressed in Lisbon: Besides other small Ships, and Pataros, to serve as Messengers from Place to Place, and to discover the Seas. This Navy came to stay for, and convoy the Ships that should arrive from the Spanish Indies; and the Fly-boats were appointed to carry to Lisbon the Goods belonging to the *Malakka* Ship that was lost.

Linschoten.

THE thirteenth of September, the Armada arrived at the Island of *Corvo*. Where the English, with about sixteen Ships, then lay waiting for the Spanish Fleet; and had a fair Prospect of taking them, inasmuch, as most of them were already come. But when they perceived the Armada was strong, the Lord Thomas Howard (who was Admiral) commanded his Fleet not to fall upon them, nor any of the Ships to separate from him, without his express Orders. Notwithstanding, the Vice-Admiral, Sir Richard Greenville, being in the *Revenge*, entered among the Spanish Fleet, and playing his Shot, did them great Hurt, thinking the rest of the Company would have followed him, which they did not, but left him there, and sailed away: The Cause why could not be known. The Spaniards perceiving this, with seven or eight Ships boarded her; but she withstood them all, fighting with them for at least twelve Hours together: In which Time, she sunk two, one being a new double Fly-boat, of six hundred Tons, and Admiral of the Fly-boats, the other, a *Biscain*. At length, being overpowered by Numbers, she was taken: But they paid very dear for it, having had above four hundred Men either killed or drowned. And of the English were slain about one hundred, among whom, was Sir Richard himself, who was wounded in the Brain, whereof afterwards he died.

The English Fleet lay -  
pressed

The Revenge left alone.

HE was carried into the *St. Paul*, wherein was the Admiral Don Alonso de Bassan: There his Wounds were dressed by the Spanish Surgeons, but Don Alonso himself would neither see him nor speak with him. All the rest of the Captains and Gentlemen, went to visit, and comfort him in his hard Fortune; wondering at his Courage and stout Heart, for that he shewed not any Signs of Faintness, nor changing of Colour: But feeling the Hour of Death approach, spoke these Words in Spanish: *Hera die I Richard Greenville, with a chearful and quiet Mind; for that I have ended my Life as a true Soldier ought to do; who hath fought for his Country, Queen, Religion, and Honour: So that my Soul most joyfully departeth out of this Body, which shall leave behind it the everlasting Fame of a valiant and true Soldier, who had*

The brave Greenville's Death.

<sup>a</sup> Linschoten calls him *Greenfield*.

<sup>b</sup> This seems to differ from the English Account.

1591. done his Duty as became him <sup>a</sup>. When he had finished these, or the like Words, he gave up the Ghost, with such great Courage, that none present could perceive any Sign of Concern in him.

*Linſchoten.* *THIS* Sir Richard Greenville was an English Gentleman, of great Estate and Family, but of a very daring and martial Disposition; insomuch, that he voluntarily offered his Service to the Queen. He had performed many valiant Actions, and was greatly feared in these Islands, as well as known to every body; but at the same Time naturally very severe: So that his own People hated him for his Fierceness, and spake very hardly of him <sup>b</sup>. For when they first entered amongst the *Armada*, they had their great Sail in Readiness, and might possibly enough have gotten off, for his Ship was one of the best Sailers in England; and the Master perceiving, that the other Ships had left them, commanded the Sail to be cut, that they might make away: But Sir Richard threatened to hang both him, and any else in the Ship, who should offer to lay a Hand upon it. He was of so hardy a Constitution, that, while he continued among the Spaniards, when the Officers were at Dinner or Supper with him, he would carouse three or four Bumpers of Wine, and then in a Bravado, crash the Glasses in Pieces between his Teeth, and swallow them down; so that often the Blood ran out of his Mouth, without doing him any farther Harm: And this was told *Linſchoten* by several credible Persons, who many Times stood and beheld him.

English Prisoners, and Spanish Damages.

THE English, who remained in the Ship, as the Captain of the Soldiers, the Master, and others, were distributed among the *Armada*, where a new Fight had almost arisen between the *Biscains* and the *Portuguese*; each of them with much Clamour contending for the Honour of having boarded her first: One took the chief Ensign, the other the Flag, every one holding his own. The Ships which had boarded her were quite out of Order, and shattered; many of their Men too were hurt; whereby they were compelled to put into *Tercera*, to repair themselves. Soon after they arrived, the Author, and his Chamber-fellow, eager to hear some News, went aboard a *Biscain*, which was a great Ship, and one of the *Twelve Apostles*, whose Captain, called *Bartandono* <sup>c</sup>, had been General of the *Biscains*, in the Fleet that went for England [in 1588].

Bartandono's Courtesy.

HE seeing them, called them up into the Gallery, where with great Courtesy he received them; being then at Dinner with the English Captain, who sat by him, and had on a Suit of black Vel-

a vet. But they could learn nothing from him, because he could speak no Language but English and Latin, which *Bartandono* also could speak a little. *1591. Linſchoten.* The Captain got Leave of the Governor to go on Shore with his Sword by his Side; and was at the Author's Lodgings, along with the English Prisoner mentioned before.

THE Governor of *Tercera* invited him to Dinner, and shewed him great Respect. The Master likewise had Leave from *Bartandono* to go on Land, and was at the Author's Lodgings. He had at least ten or twelve Wounds, as well in his Head as on his Body; whereof afterwards he died at Sea. The Captain wrote a Letter, wherein he gave an exact Account of the Fight, and left it with the English Merchant, who lay where *Linſchoten* lodged, to send it to the Lord High Admiral of England. After this he was carried to *Lisbon*, where he was well received; and from thence, under a Guard, to *Setuval*, where he embarked for England with the rest of his Countrymen, who were taken Prisoners.

THE Spanish Armada staid at *Corvo* till the last *Prodigious* of September, to assemble the rest of the Fleet: *Storm.* Which at length amounted to the Number of one hundred and forty Sail of Ships, including those from *India*; and being ready to sail for *Tercera*, there suddenly arose so violent a Storm, that, as the Islanders affirmed, the like thereof was never known in the Memory of Man: For the Sea seemed determined to have swallowed up the Islands; and although the Cliffs are so high, that it is amazing to behold, yet the Sea mounted above them, and the very Fishes were thrown upon Land. This Tempest lasted not only a Day or two with one Wind, but seven or eight Days continually; the Wind varying through all the Points of the Compass, at the least, twice or thrice during that Time, without any Relaxation of the Storm: Which was most terrible to behold, even to us, (says *Linſchoten*) who were on Shore, much more to such as were at Sea.

IN this Storm, on the Coasts of *Tercera* only, Spanish there were above twelve Ships cast away; so that on every Side of the Island, nothing was heard but Complaints, and Lamentations: Here lay a Ship broken in Pieces against the Cliffs, and there another, with all the Men drowned; insomuch, that for twenty Days after the Storm, they did nothing else but fish for dead Bodies, that continually came driving upon the Shore.

AMONG the rest, the *Revenge* was cast away upon a Cliff, where it brake in an hundred Pieces, and sunk downright; having in her seventy Men, *The Revenge cast away.*

<sup>a</sup> These Words, if really spoken, were a little vain-glorious; but then it must be allowed, that the Pursuit of true Glory was the prevailing Taste of those heroic Times. <sup>b</sup> Yet these might have been only such People as spoke ill of the Vice-Roy *Albuquerque*: For no Judgment is to be made on the Report of some Sorts of People. <sup>c</sup> The same with *Britandona*. See before, p. 219. <sup>b</sup>.

1591. *Galegos, Biscains*, and others, with some of the *Linschoten*. Captive *Englishmen*, whereof but one was saved, who clambered up the Cliffs. But was so bruised both in his Body and Head, that as soon as he got on Shore, he desired to be confessed, and presently after died. The *Revenge* had in her several fine Brass Pieces of Cannon, which the Islanders were in good Hope to weigh up again the following Summer.

*Tate of a Dutch Ship.* THERE was likewise a Fly-boat, one of those that had been pressed in *Portugal* to serve the King, called the *White Dove*, *Cornelius Marlinson*, of *Schidem* in *Holland*, Master. She had in her one hundred Soldiers, which Number each of the rest carried. After being driven up and down for some Days by the Storm, he at length came in Sight of *Tercera*; which the Captain perceiving, and imagining all their Safety consisted in putting into the Road, compelled the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Island. The former, at first, refused to do it, saying, that was a sure Course to be cast away: But the Captain called him Drunkard, and Heretic; and striking him with a Staff, commanded him to do as he would have him. The Master finding himself compelled by such rude Treatment, replied, Well then, Gentlemen, seeing it is the Desire of you all to be cast away, I can but lose one Life: Thereupon he desperately sailed towards the Shore, being on that Side of the Island, where there was nothing else but hard Stones and Rocks, as high as Mountains, most terrible to behold; where some of the Inhabitants stood ready with long Ropes, and Cork at the End, to throw down for the Men, to lay hold upon: But few of them got so near, most of them being cast away, and smitten in Pieces, before they could get to the Wall.

*Lost, and all the Men.* WHILE the Ship was thus driving full tilt towards the Shore, the Master, who was an aged Man, called his Son, and taking a last Embrace, enjoined the Youth to take no Care for him, but seek to save himself, who, being young, might hope to save his Life. While thus they talked together, shedding many Tears, the Ship fell upon the Cliffs, and brake in Pieces: The Father on one Side, the Son on the other, falling into the Sea; and every one laying hold upon that which came next to Hand, but to no Purpose: For the Waves ran so high and furious, that they were all drowned, excepting fourteen or fifteen, who saved themselves by swimming, with their Legs and Arms half broken and out of Joint; among whom was the Master's Son, and four other *Dutch Boys*: The rest of the Sailors, and Master, with

the *Spaniards*, and their Captain, were drowned, 1591. and their Bodies floating about: A most afflicting *Linschoten*. Spectacle to behold! And all owing to the Beastliness and Insolence of the *Spaniards*; which occasioned the Loss of other Ships, as the Men, who were saved, gave an Account.

At the other Islands, the Loss was not less than in *Tercera*: For on that of *St. George*, there were two Ships cast away; on *Pico*, two, and on *Graciosa*, three. Besides these Wrecks, the Sea also was covered, with Pieces of broken Ships, and other Things, floating on every Side towards the Islands; a mournful Prospect! On *St. Michael*, four Ships were cast away; and between *Tercera* and *St. Michael*, three more sunk within View, whose Men were heard to cry out most pitifully; but not one of them was saved. The rest put into the Sea without Masts, all torn and rent: So that of the whole Fleet and *Armada*, being one hundred and forty Ships in all, only thirty-two or three, arrived in *Spain* and *Portugal*; dropping in, one after another, after having endured extreme Misery, Pain, and Fatigue.

ALL the rest were cast upon the Islands, and overwhelmed in the Sea: So that in the Opinion of many, the *Spaniards* lost more Men and Ships by this Tempest, than were destroyed out of the *Armada*, that sailed for *England* [in 1588]. The Author presumes, that it was no other than a just Plague sent by God upon the *Spaniards*, and that it might be truly said, the taking of the *Revenge* was justly revenged upon them, by the Divine Power. He also reports, that some of the Inhabitants of *Tercera* openly declared, that they verily believed God would consume them; and that he manifestly took Part with the *Lutherans* and *Heretics*: Saying farther, that so soon as they had thrown the dead Body of the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Richard Greenville*, over board, the Wind began to rise; so that they firmly believed, that as he was of a devilish Faith and Religion, and consequently must have been beloved by the Devils for that Reason, so he presently sunk to the Bottom of the Sea, and thence down into Hell; where he raised up all the infernal Spirits to revenge his Death; and that they brought such excessive Storms and Miseries upon the *Spaniards*, only because they maintained the Catholic and *Romish* Religion. Such, and the like Blasphemies against God, they ceased not publickly to utter, without being reproved of any body\*, either for their Impiety, or false Conceits; most of them being firmly persuaded in the same Way of thinking.

\* *Linschoten* most justly terms such Opinions false and blasphemous; and it is pity they were not reproved: But is his own Notion of God's Judgment, delivered immediately before, more free from that Charge, or less liable to severe Reproof? So much does the least Taint of Superstition blind the Understandings of People, that they cannot see the very same Absurdities in themselves, which they discover in others.

1591. As one of these *Indian Fleets*, consisting of a there came two Ships laden with Gold and Silver, 1591. which were taken by the *English*; who, before *Lancaster*.  
 Raymond. fifty Sail, put out of *New Spain*, thirty-five of the *Spanish Armada* arrived at *Corvo*, at different  
 them were cast away by Storms, and swallowed in the Sea. Of the Fleet from *Santo Domingo*, Times, had taken at least twenty Ships, that came  
 Fleet of New from *Santo Domingo*, *India*, *Brazil*, &c. which  
 Spain. *Laffer*, fourteen were wrecked coming out of the Chan- were all sent into *England*.  
 nel of *Havana*; and among the rest, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral: And from *Terra Firma*,

## C H A P. XVI.

*A Voyage to the East Indies in the Year 1591, (being the first performed by the English to those Parts) begun by Captain George Raymond, and finished by Captain James Lancaster.*

*Written from the Report of Edmund Barker, Lieutenant of the Bonaventure*

Introduction. **W**E are at length arrived at the Period when the *English* began to visit the *East Indies* in their own Ships: This Voyage of Captain *Raymond*, or, if you will, *Lancaster*, being the first Essay of the Kind, that was performed by them. From this Year therefore, their oriental Navigations are to be dated; although they did not push them with any Vigour, till the Beginning of the next Century: At which Time, they pursued that Commerce with unwearied Application, and Success, till they had settled it upon a secure and advantageous Basis, as will appear from the Relations given in the next Book.

As for Captain *Raymond*<sup>a</sup>, his Ship was separated near Cape *Corientes*, on the Eastern Coast of *Africa*, from the other two; who never heard of him after. So that whether he performed the Voyage and returned, or was lost in the Way, does not appear from *Hakluyt*; from whose Silence however nothing can be concluded either one Way or the other, for a Reason given more than once in our Notes.

THIS Voyage is inserted in the Collection of *Hakluyt*<sup>b</sup>, who, (as we learn from the Title) penned it from the Mouth of *Edmund Barker*, of *Ipswich*, *Lancaster*'s Lieutenant, and is attested by *Lancaster* himself. In the same Place we are informed, that the Fleet consisted of three tall Ships, the *Penelope*, Admiral, commanded by *George Raymond*; the *Merchant Royal*, Vice-Admiral, *Abraham Kendal*, Captain; and the *Edward Bonadventure*, Rear-Admiral, in which was *James Lancaster*.

## THE VOYAGE.

## S E C T. I.

*The Fleet passes the Line. Coast of Brazil. Saldanna Bay. Great Plenty. Royal Merchant sent home. The Admiral lost in a Storm. Come to Madagaskar. Moors taken at Quitangone. Komoro Isles. Thirty English slain by the Moors. Zenjibar Island and Port. Portuguese Calumnies. That Port recommended for refreshing. Portuguese Design. Curious Sort of Pitch.*

**T**HEY left *Plymouth* the tenth of April, Fleet sets 1591; came to the *Canaries* the twenty-fifth of the same; and departed the twenty-ninth. The second of May, they were in the Height of Cape *Blanco*; the fifth, passed the *Tropic of Cancer*; and the eighth were in the Altitude of Cape *Verd*. They had a fair Wind at North-East till the thirteenth: When being within eight Degrees of the Equator, they met with a contrary Gale; which obliged them to lie off and on in the Sea, till the sixth of June, and then they passed the Line. Before that, they took a *Portuguese* *Can- Passes the*  
*ravel*, bound from *Lisbon* to *Brazil*, wherein they *L n.*  
 found sixty Tun of Wine, one thousand two hundred Jars of Oil, and one hundred of Olives; besides some Barrels of Capers, three Fats of Pease, and divers other Necessaries, which proved better to them than Gold. Many of the Men fell sick, and two died before they passed the Line; it being extremely unhealthy between eight Degrees North Latitude, and the Equator, at that

<sup>a</sup> We are uncertain whether this Gentleman was the same with Captain *Raymond*, mentioned before, p. 215.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. 2. part. 2. p. 102.

1591. Time of the Year: For they had nothing but a and fallow Deer, with others unknown to us; 1591.  
 Raymond. Tornadoes, with such Thunder and Lightning, and great Numbers of over-grown Monkeys. Lancaster.

Coast of  
Brazil.

AFTER passing the Line, they had still the Wind at East South-East, which carried them along the Coast of *Brazil*, at one hundred Leagues Distance, till they came into twenty-six Degrees of South Latitude, where the Wind changed to the North. Here they judged, that the *Cape of Good Hope* bore East and by South, betwixt nine hundred and a thousand Leagues off; and in their Way thither, they had the Wind often variable, as upon the *English* Coast; but for the most Part so, that they could pursue their Course.

Saldanna  
Bay.

THE twenty-eighth of July, they had Sight of the Cape; and till the thirty-first, lay off and on, with the Wind contrary, in Hopes to have doubled it; intending to have gone seventy Leagues farther to *Agoada de St. Bras* [Blas] before they put into any Harbour: But the Men in all the Ships being weak, and requiring some Place to refresh, they steered to Northward of the Cape along the Shore fifteen Leagues, and came to *Agoada de Saldanna*: A goodly Bay, with an Island lying to Seawards off it, where they cast Anchor the first of August, and then landed the Men; to whom there came certain Savages, very black and brutish, but soon retired. For the first fifteen or twenty Days, they could find no Provision, but Cranes and Geese, which they shot; nor was there any Fish but Mussels, and other Shell Fish, which they gathered on the Rocks. Then the Admiral went with his Pinnace to the Island, where he found abundance of Panguines and Seals, whereof he took Plenty. Twice after that, the Boats came laden with them to their Ships.

Great  
Plenty.

AT length they seized a Negro, and compelled him to march into the Country with them; making Signs, that they wanted some Cattle: But at this Time, not coming to the Sight of any Natives, they let him go again, with some Trifles, by Way of Present. However, within eight Days, he with thirty or forty other Negros, brought them about forty Bullocks, and as many Sheep, of which they bought a few; and eight Days after, twenty-four of each Sort. They had an Ox for two Knives; a Heifer, and a Sheep, for one Knife each; and some for less. The Oxen are very large and fleshy; but not fat. The Sheep big, and very good Meat; with Hair on their Backs instead of Wool; and great Tails like those of *Syria*. There are divers Sorts of wild Beasts, as the Antelope, whereof Mr. *Lancaster* killed one, (as big as a young Colt) the red

HERE it was thought good rather to proceed with two Ships well manned, than with three wanting sufficient Hands: And as there were but one hundred and ninety-eight Men in all, one hundred and one were put into the Admiral, and ninety-seven into the *Edward*; and fifty, (whereof many were pretty well recovered) left in the *Royal Merchant*; which, for many Reasons, was sent home. The Disease that consumed the Men was the Scurvy. The Soldiers who had not been used to Sea, held out best: But the Sailors dropt away; which, in the Relator's Opinion, proceeded from their bad Diet at home. Six Days after the Departure of the *Merchant Royal*, the Admiral left the Bay of *Saldanna*, and quickly doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*: But being come to *Cape dos Corientes*, the fourteenth of September there arose a mighty Storm, with violent Gusts of Wind, wherein they lost the Admiral's Company, and could never here of him after; though they long sought, and staid for him at the Island of *Komoro*, the Place appointed for Rendezvous. Four Days after, about ten in the Morning, there fell a terrible Clap of Thunder, which killed four Men, their Necks being wrung in sunder: And of ninety-four there was not one untouched: Some being stricken blind, others bruised in their Legs and Arms; some again in their Breasts, so that they voided Blood for two Days after; others were drawn out at length, as though they had been racked; but all recovered. The Main-mast was also sadly torn from the Head to the Deck; and some of the Spikes that went ten Inches deep into the Timber, were melted with the extreme Heat.

THENCE they sailed North-East, and soon after fell in with the North-West End of the Island of *St. Laurence*. Which one of the Men luckily espied late in the Evening, by Moon-light, without knowing what to make of it; but calling others to inform him, they perceived the Sea breaking upon the Shoals: Whereupon, in very good Time they tacked about, and escaped the Danger. Passing on forward, they happened to overshoot *Mozambik*, and fall with a Place called *Quitangone*, two Leagues to the Northward; where they took three or four Barks of *Moors*, which they call *Pangaias*, laden with Millio, Hens, and Ducks, with one *Portuguese* Boy on board, going for the Provision of *Mozambik*. A few Days after, they came to an Island, an hundred Leagues to the North-East of *Mozambik*, called *Komoro*: Which they found exceeding full of *Moors*, of tawny Colour, and good Stature; but carefully to be watched, being very treacherous.

HERE being in Want of Water, they sent the Boat with sixteen Men well armed, whom the People

1591. People suffered quietly to land; and divers of a  
Raymond. them came aboard the Ship with their King,  
dressed in a Gown of Crimson Sattin, pinked  
after the *Moors* Fashion, down to the Knee.  
The *English* entertained him in the best Manner,  
and had some Conference with him about the  
State of the Place, and Merchandizes; the *Portu-  
gal* Boy, lately taken, serving for their Inter-  
preter. After this, they sent twice for Water,  
and had it very quietly: They were now suffici-  
ently furnished.

Thirty Men  
plus by the  
Moors.

HOWEVER, *William Mace* of *Ratcliff*, the  
Master, pretending, that it would be long before  
they should find any other good watering Place,  
would needs go on Shore himself, with thirty Men,  
much against the Captain's Will. But as half of  
them were washing over-against the Ship, the  
*Moors* took that Opportunity, while they were  
divided, and killed most of them in Sight of those  
aboard, who were not able, for Want of a Boat,  
to yield them any Succour.

Shed Zan-  
ibar

FROM nence, with heavy Hearts, they shaped  
their Course for *Zanzibar* the seventh of *Novem-  
ber*; where, shortly after, they arrived, and made  
a new Boat with such Boards as they had in the  
Ship. They rode there till the Middle of *Fe-  
bruary*, in which Space they saw divers *Pangaia*s,  
or Boats, which are fastened with wooden Pins,  
and sewed together with *Palmito* Cords, caulked  
with the Husks of *Cocoa*-shells beaten. At length  
a *Portugal Pangaia*, coming out of the Harbour  
of *Zanzibar*, where they have a small Factory,  
sent a converted *Moor*, in a Canoe, with a Let-  
ter, desiring to know who they were, and what  
they wanted. The Answer was, they were *Eng-  
lishmen*, come from *Don Antonio* about Business  
to his Friends in the *Indies*: On which they went  
away, and returned no more.

Portuguese  
Calumnies.

NOT long after, they manned out their Boat,  
and took a *Pangaia* of the *Moors*, with one of  
their Priests, called, in their Language, *Sherif*<sup>b</sup>,  
whom they used very courteously. This the King  
took very kindly; and for his Ransom, furnish-  
ed them with two Months Viſuals, all which  
Time they detained the Priest with them. These  
*Moors* informed them of the false and spiteful  
Dealings of the *Portuguese*, who, that the *Eng-  
lish* might know nothing of the Affairs and  
Trade of the Country, advised them, if they  
loved their Safety, not to go near the Ship, re-  
presenting the Crew as Man-eaters. During their  
Stay here, they set upon a *Portugal Pangaia*  
(armed with ten Muskets) in their Boat; but it  
being so small, that the Men were not able to  
ſtir in it, they could not compass their Design.

IN this Harbour, a Ship of five hundred Tons  
may ride with Safety. Here is also good Water-  
ing, with Plenty of Provisions, as Oxen, Hens,  
and Fiſh, beſides Variety of outlandiſh Fruits:  
For this Reason, the Writer of the Journal re-  
commends it to all *English* Ships, which ſhould,  
for the future, paſs that Way, to touch at *Zan-  
zibar*; but to beware of the *Portuguese*. For  
while they lay here, their Admiral of the Coaſt,  
from *Melinda* to *Mozambik*, came in a Galley-  
b Frigate of ten Tons, with eight or nine Oars on  
a Side, to view their Boat, and ſeize it, if he  
could have found an Opportunity: Whereof *Portuguese*  
they were informed, by an *Arabian Moor*<sup>c</sup>, who  
came from the King divers Times to treat about  
the Delivery of the Priest aforeſaid; and after-  
wards by another, whom they brought away with  
them: For wherever they came, their Care was to  
get into their Hands, one or two of the Natives,  
in order to learn the Language and State of the  
Country. Here again they had another Clap of  
Thunder, which ſhook their Fore-maſt exceed-  
ingly. But they fiſhed, and repaired it with Tim-  
ber from the Shore, where there is abundance of  
Trees, ſome forty Foot high, which *Barker* ſup-  
poſed to be Cedar, the Wood being red and  
tough.

HERE *Arnold*, their Surgeon, died of a vio-  
lent Heat in his Head, which might have been  
cured by letting of Blood in Time. They got,  
in this Place, ſome thouſand Weight of Pitch;  
or rather a Kind of grey and white Gum, like  
*Frankincenſe*, as clammy as Turpentine, which,  
in melting, grows black as Pitch, and was very  
brittle, till mingled with Oil. Six Days before  
their Departure, the Cape Merchant of the [*Por-  
tuguese*] Factory ſent a Letter to Captain *Lan-  
caſter* by a Negro, his Man and a *Moor* in a  
Canoe, requeſting a Jar of Wine, another of  
Oil, and two or three Pounds of Gunpowder.  
e The Captain ſent him his Demands by the *Moor*,  
but took the Negro, along with him; becauſe he  
had been in the *East Indies*, and knew ſomewhat of  
the Country. He informed them of a ſmall Bark  
of thirty Tons, (called by the *Moors*, a *Junko*)  
which came from *Goa* thither, with Pepper for  
the Factory.

## SECT. II.

They leave Zanzibar. Deceived by the Currents.  
Cape Komoti. Nikubar Iſlands. Pulo Pinaou.  
Coaſt of Malakka. Take ſome Ships of Marta-  
van. Pulo Sambilam. Portuguese Ship taken.  
Another taken, but the Men eſcape. Kingdom of

<sup>a</sup> King of Portugal driven out by Philip II. of Spain.  
rather one of the Family of *Mohammed*.  
*Mohammedani* in general, throughout the Coaſts and Iſlands of the Indian Seas.

<sup>b</sup> *Sherif*, or *Sharif*, is *Arabic*, and denotes  
<sup>c</sup> The Name of *Moor* is corruptly given by Europeans to the

1592.  
Raymond.Junfalaom. Nikubar Islands. Come to Sey-  
lan.Deceived by  
the Currents.

HAVING trimmed their Ship, they set forward the fifteenth of February for Cape Komari, intending there to have lain off and on for such Ships as should have passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malakka, the Malukkos, the Coast of China, and the Isle of Japan; which Vessels are exceeding rich: But being deceived by the Currents that set into the Red-sea, along the Coast of Melinda; and the Winds shortening upon them to the North-East and Easterly, they were driven farther to the Northward, within fourscore Leagues of the Isle of Zecotora. However, here they always found abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying Fishes. Now the Ship being driven so much out of her Course, and the Time so far spent, they determined to sail either for the Red-sea, or the said Island: But the Wind very luckily came about to the North-West, and carried them directly towards Cape Komari.

Cape Komari.

BEFORE they doubled it, they purposed to touch at one of the Islands of Mamale, in twelve Degrees North, which yielded Provisions; but they missed it partly through the Obstinacy of their Master: For the Day before they fell with some of the Islands, the Wind coming about to the South-West, they changed their Course. The Wind increasing Southerly, they feared they should not have been able to double the Cape, which would have greatly hazarded their casting away upon the Coast of India: For the Winter Season and Western Monsoons, which continue on that Coast till August, were already come in. Nevertheless, the Wind changing more Westerly in May 1592, they happily doubled the Cape without Sight of the Land.

Nikubar  
Islands.

HENCE they directed their Course for the Islands of Nicubar, (which lie North and South with the Western Part of Sumatra, in seven Degrees North-Latitude) and having a very good Wind, arrived there in six Days, although the Weather was foul with violent Rain, and Gusts: But by the Master's Fault, in not duly observing the South Star, they fell, the first of June, to the Southward of them, within Sight of the Islands of Gomes Polo; and kept on the North-East Side of them, two or three Days becalmed, plying off and on the Coast of Sumatra, but two Leagues distant, expecting to have had a Pilot from thence. Now the Winter coming on, with much contagious Weather, they sailed for the Islands of Pulo Pinaou, (Pulo, in the Malayan, signifies an Island) where they arrived the Beginning of June, and came to an Anchor between them, in a very good Harbour, in six Degrees thirty Minutes North, about five Leagues from the Coast of

Pulo Pinaou.

Malakka. Here they determined to Winter, and landed their Men, being very sickly; of whom twenty-six died, and among the rest John Hall, their Master, and Rainold Golding, a Merchant of very good Sense. So that when they left the Island, there were but thirty-three Men and a Boy left; of whom not above twenty-two were fit for Labour, and of them not past a third Part Sailors. Their Refreshing, in this uninhabited Place, was very small; being only Oysters and great Wilks growing on Rocks, with some few Fish, which they took with their Hooks. However these Islands are full of Trees of white Wood, above an hundred Foot high, and so strait, that they are fit for Masts.

1592.  
Lancaster.

THE Winter being passed, and their Ship fitted for putting to Sea, towards the End of August, they departed to seek some Place of Refreshing; and crossing over to the Coast of Malakka, next Day they came to Anchor in a Bay in six Fathom Water, two League from Shore. Here Captain Lancaster, his Lieutenant, and some others landed, and perceived the fresh Tracks of bare-footed People, with a Fire burning: But saw no living Creature, save a certain Kind of Sea-fowl, called Ox Birds, which are very tame and grey, like a Snite in Colour, but not in Beak. Having killed some eight Dozen with Hail-shot, they returned towards Night aboard. Next Day, a Canoe, with about sixteen naked Indians, drew near them, but would not come aboard: However, the English going afterwards on Shore, they came and conversed with them in a friendly Manner, and promised them Victuals.

THE Day following, they espied three Ships of sixty or seventy Tons each, one of which they made to strike with their very Boat: And understanding it was of the Town of Martabam, (which is the chief Haven for the great City of Pegu) and that the Goods belonged to certain Portuguese Jesuits, and a Biscuit-Baker of the same Nation, they took it; but did not force the other two, because they were the Property of the Merchants of Pegu. All three were freighted with Pepper, which they laded at Pera, a Place thirty Leagues to the South. The Night following, all the Men, except twelve, whom they had taken into their Ship, being most of them Peguins, fled in their Boat; leaving their Ship and Goods, which were put on board the Edward. After this, they took another Ship of Pegu, laden with Pepper, and dismissed her without touching any Thing.

THEIR sick Men being somewhat refreshed and strengthened with such Relief as they found in the Prize; after a Stay of ten Days, in the Beginning of September, they sailed into the Streights, and came to Pulo Sambalam, forty-five Leagues Northward of the City of Malakka: To which

Coast of  
Malakka.Tak. some  
Ships of  
Martaban.Pulo Sam-  
balam.



1592. which Islands the Portuguese Ships must needs come, that are bound from either *Goa*, or *St. Thome*, for the *Malukos*, *China*, and *Japan*. When they had been five Days plying to and fro, upon a Sunday, they espied a Sail; which proved to be a *Portugal* Ship of two hundred and fifty Tons, laden with Rice for *Malakka*, that came from *Nagapatan*, a Port of *India*, over-against *Zeilan*. Having taken her, *Lan.aster* ordered their Captain and Master aboard his own Ship, and sent his Lieutenant and seven more to keep the Prize, which rode in thirty Fathom Water; there being good Anchorage in that Channel three or four Leagues from Shore. They thought also to have taken a *Portugal* Ship of *St. Thome* of four hundred Tons, that came and anchored by the Prize in the Night; but the *Edward* was so foul, that she escaped. After taking out of the Prize what they thought fit, they turned her adrift, with all her Crew, except a Pilot and four *Moors*.

A Gallion taken, the African escaping

THE sixth of *October*, they met with a *Malakka* Ship of seven hundred Tons, that came from *Goa*, which, after her Main-yard was shot through, yielded. Her Captain, Master, and Pilot, being commanded on board, only the Captain with one Soldier came. After some Talk, he proposed to go fetch the rest, under Pretence, that they would not come unless he went for them: But as soon as he reached the Ship, in the Edge of the Evening, he made to Shore with all the People, to the Number of three hundred Men, Women, and Children, in two great Boats. They found on board fifteen Pieces of Brass [Cannon] three hundred Butts of *Canarie* and *Nipar*, or Palm Wine, with very strong Raisin Wine; all Sorts of Haberdashery Wares, as Hats, red-knit Caps, and Stockings of *Spanish* Wool; Velvets, Tassetaes, Camblets and Silks, abundance of Suckets, Rice, *Venice* Glasses, counterfeit Stones, (brought by an *Italian* from *Venice*, to cheat the *Indians*) playing Cards, and two or three Packs of *French* Paper: But they found none of the Treasure, which is usually brought by this Gallion, in Royals of Plate. Because the Sailors pillaged this rich Ship in a disorderly Manner, and would not remove the Wines into the *Edward*, the Captain, after taking out the choicest Goods, set her adrift.

Kingdom of Junifalaom.

FOR Fear of the Forces of *Malakka*, they departed thence to a Bay in the Kingdom of *Junifalaom*, between *Malakka* and *Pegu*, eight Degrees Northward, to seek for Pitch to trim their Ship. Here they sent the Soldier, who was left behind by the Captain of the Gallion, and spoke the *Malayan*, to deal for Pitch, of which he pro-

cured two or three Quin als. They likewise sent Commodities to barter with the King for Amber-grease, and the Horns of the *Abath*: A Beast with one Horn in her Forehead, thought to be the Female Unicorn<sup>a</sup>, and highly esteemed by the *Moors* in those Parts, as a sovereign Remedy against Poison. They got but two or three of these Horns, which are of a brown grey Colour; and a Quantity of Amber-grease, whereof the Trade only belongs to the King, who at last went about to seize their *Portuguese*, and Merchandize: Which the Man perceiving, they told him, there was guilt Armour, Shirts of Male, and Halberts (Things, they greatly desired) on board the Ships, for Hope whereof the King let him return.

THEY then left this Coast, and passing by *Su-Nikubar mata*, went to the Islands of *Nikubar*, inhabited by *Moors*, who daily brought them Hens, Cocoa, Plantains, and other Fruits in their Canoes. They also bought Calico Cloth, with Royals of Plate, fished out of the Wreck of two *Portuguese* Ships bound for *China*, which, not long before, were cast away there. They call the Cocoa, in their Language, *Calamba*; the Plantain, *Pison*; a Hen, *Jam*; a Fish, *Ikkar*, a Hog, *Babee*.

THE twenty-first of *November*, they departed for the Island of *Zeilan*; and arrived on the South-Side the third of *December*, 1592, in six Fathom Water: But the Ground being rocky and foul, they lost their Anchor. Then they ran along the South-West Shore, to a Place called, *Punta del Galle*, intending to wait for the *Bengala* and *Pegu* Fleets; the first of seven or eight Ships, the second of two or three: Which, with the *Portugal* Ships of *Tanaferi*, (a great Bay in the Kingdom of *Siam*, to the Southward of *Martabam*) were to come that Way within fourteen Days, with Commodities for the Caraks, that commonly depart from *Kochin* for *Portugal* by the Middle of *January*. The Ships from *Bengala* carry fine Pavillions for Beds, wrought Quilts, Calicoes, Pintados, and other rich Manufactures, with Rice; and make this Voyage twice a Year. Those of *Pegu* bring the most valuable Stones, as Rubies and Diamonds; but their chief Lading is Rice, and certain Cloth. Those of *Tanaferi* are chiefly freighted with Rice and *Nipar* Wine; which is very strong, and as clear as Rock-Water, but somewhat whitish, and very hot, like *Aqua Vita*.

### SECT. III.

The Sailors refuse to proceed any farther. They steer homewards. Arrive at St. Helena. Odd

<sup>a</sup> The Beast meant here is the *Rhinoceros*, whose Horn proceeds from its Nose, as the Name denotes. *De Faria* says, a *Rhinoceros*, or *Abada*, was sent, by the King of *Cambaya*, to *Albuquerque*. See *Portug. Asia*, vol. 1. p. 202. *Linchoten* describes the *Abada*, or *Rhinoceros*, b. 1. chap. 47. p. 88.

1593.

Raymond.

*Accident. They mutiny again. Are driven to the Gulf of Paria in America. Current there. Mona Island. Hispaniola. Bermudas. Nueblas Islands. Return to Mona. Captain Lancaster and others left there. Are luckily relieved. He returns in a French Ship.*

The Sailors  
refuse to go  
farther.

**C**ASTING Anchor in foul Ground before *Punta Galle*, they lost it, and lay all that Night a-drift, because the two they had left were unstocked, and in hold; which the Sailors made a Handle of to return home. The Captain at that Time lying dangerously sick, in the Morning it was resolved to ply up to the Northward, and keep too and again out of the Current; which otherwise would have carried the Ship Southward out of the Reach of Land. Having, with this view, hoisted the Fore-sail, and prepared to set the rest, the Men declared they would take their direct Course for *England*, and stay there no longer. The Captain finding all Persuasions vain, was constrained to give way, and quit all his fair Prospects.

They feet  
homewards.

ON the eight of *December*, 1592, they set Sail for the Cape of *Buona Speranza*, passing by the Islands of *Maldiva*, and leaving that of *St. Lawrence*, [or *Madagaskar*] (in twenty-six Degrees South) to the Northward. Betwixt this Island and the Coast of *Africa*, they found great Store of *Bonitos*, and *Albocores*, which are a greater Kind of Fish; of which Captain *Lancaster*, being now recovered, caught, with an Hook, as many in two or three Hours, as would serve forty Persons a whole Day. They took as many daily for five or six Weeks, which was no small Refreshing for them. In *February*, 1593, they fell with *Baia de Agoa*, an hundred Leagues to the North-East of the Cape of *Good Hope*. But finding the Winds contrary, they spent a Month or five Weeks before they could double it. After which, in *March* following, they sailed for *St. Helena*, and arrived the third of *April*; where they stayed, to their great Comfort, nineteen Days.

Arrive at  
St. Helena.

HERE one of the Sailors took thirty goodly *Congers* in one Day, with other Rock-fish, and some *Bonitos*. Lieutenant *Barker*, going on Shore with four or five *Peguins*, or Men of *Pegu*, and the Surgeon, in an House by the Chapel, found *John Segar*, of *Bury* in *Suffolk*; who, having been dangerously ill, was left there eighteen Months before, by *Abraham Kendall*, in the *Royal Merchant*, to recover his Health. He seemed as fresh coloured, and in as good Plight, as might be: But whether through Fright, apprehending them at first to be Enemies, or through Excess of Joy, when he understood they were his old Consorts, he became light-headed; and taking no Rest for eight Days, died for Want of Sleep. Here two of the Men, whereof one was troubled with the

Old Acci-  
dent.

a Scurvy, and the other had been nine Months sick of the Flux, presently recovered. They found great Store of excellent green Figs, Oranges, and Lemons, with abundance of Goats, Hogs, Partridges, Guinea Cocks, and other wild Fowl.

HAVING taken in Water, and some Provision of Fish, the Sailors insisted to go strait home. This the Captain agreed to, because he

was desirous to go for *Fernambuk* in *Brazil*, for which they departed the twelfth of *April*, 1593.

b But the next Day, calling the Sailors to finish a Fore-sail, some of them answered, that unless they might go directly home, they would lay their Hands to nothing; whereupon he was constrained to follow their Humour. From thenceforth, they directed their Course for *England*, till they came to eight Degrees North of the Line; spending six Weeks in the Way, with many calm and contrary Winds at North, East, and West: Which Loss of Time, and Expence of their Provisions,

c (whereof they had very small Store) made them think of altering their Course; and some of the Men beginning a Mutiny, threatened to break up the Chests of others for Victuals: For every

Man had his Share in his own Custody, that they might be sure what they had to trust to, and husband it the better. The Captain, desirous to prevent this Mischief, having been informed, by one of the Company, who had been at the *Isle of*

*Trinidad*, in *D. Chidly's Voyage*, [to the Straights of *Magellan*] that there they should be sure to meet with Provisions, directed his Course to that

d Island: But not being acquainted with the Currents, was carried, the Beginning of *June*, into the Gulf of *Paria*. Here they were eight Days, and often in three Fathom Water; finding the Current continually setting in, and no Way out, till they got to the Western-Side, under the Main Land, where they found no Current at all, and more deep Water: And so keeping by the Shore, the Wind, which blew from Land every Night, did at length help them out to the Northward.

BEING clear, within four or five Days after, they fell with the Island *Mona*, where they rode

eighteen Days; in which Time, the *Indians* gave them some Refreshment: And a French Ship of *Caen* [in *Normandy*] likewise arriving, they bought of *M. de Barboterre*, the Captain, two Butts of Wine, Bread, and other Victuals. After this, they fitted out their Ship, and stopped a great Leak, which sprung in the Gulf of *Paria*. Being ready to depart, there arose a Storm from the North, which drove them from Anchor, and forced them to the Southward of *Santo Domingo*.

This Night they were in Danger of Shipwreck on an Island, called *Savona*, which is environed with Flats, lying four or five Miles off. Getting clear of them, they directed their Course Westward along *Santo Domingo*; and, doubling Cape *Tiberon*,

1593.

Lancaster.

Sailors mu-  
tiny again.Current of  
Paria.

Mona Island.

Hispaniola.