

CHAP. 16.

1567.

They ran to the North of 30° latitude, and (in October) met hard gales of wind in which the *Capitana* was in danger of foundering, and obliged to cut away her mainmast; and they lost sight of the *Almiranta* (the ship of the officer next to the commander in chief). The *Capitana* afterwards made the land of *California* near the *Isle de Cedros*, and anchored in a bay on that coast. At length, on January the 22d, 1568, they anchored in the port of *Santiago*; and three days after, they had the satisfaction of seeing the *Almiranta* arrive, but without her mainmast, and in as distressed a state as the General's ship. They sailed from *Santiago*, March the 2d, and returned to *Lima*.

Returns to  
\**LIMA*.

The description of the lands seen in this voyage, do not appear to have immediately excited any uncommon degree of interest or expectation in the minds of the Spaniards in *Peru*. The name of the *Salomon Islands* was however given to the whole of the large group of islands discovered by Mendana, from his making *S<sup>a</sup> Ysabel* to his sailing from *San Christoval*; but was probably not conferred on them till after the conclusion of the voyage, as it does not occur in the account of Figueroa. In 1572, we find that the *Salomon Islands* were spoken of, as appears from a short description of *New Spain*, written that year by Henry Hawks, an Englishman, who had visited that country, and which Hakluyt has inserted in his *Collection of Voyages* \*. Hawks gives the following short relation:

‘ Four years past, to wit, 1568, a ship made out of *Peru* to seek the *Salomon Islands*, and they came somewhat to the South of the equinoctial, and found an island with many black people, in such number that the Spaniards durst not go on land among them. And because they had been long upon the voyage, their people were very weak, and so went not on

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\* *Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 467.

‘ land

‘ land to know what commodity was upon it. And for want of  
 ‘ victuals, they arrived in *Nova Hispania*, in a port called *De*  
 ‘ *Navidad*, and thence returned back again unto *Peru*, where  
 ‘ they were evil entreated, because they had not known more of  
 ‘ the said island.’

Whether this relation had its origin in reports which circulated in *Meaico*, concerning the voyage of Mendana, or that another voyage of discovery was undertaken from *Peru* immediately after his return, appears doubtful. It is however well established that the islands of Mendana were not revisited by Europeans till two centuries after their discovery, though the appellation of the *Salomon Islands* encouraged romantic ideas concerning the riches to be found there. Lopez Vaz says, in the conclusion of his discourse, that ‘ the discoverer of these islands, named them  
 ‘ the *Isles of Salomon*, to the end that the Spaniards, supposing  
 ‘ them to be those isles from whence Solomon fetched gold to  
 ‘ adorn the temple at *Jerusalem*, might be the more desirous to  
 ‘ go and inhabit the same \*.’

### *Geographical Remarks.*

The lands discovered by Mendana in this voyage are :

The *Island de Jesus*,  
 The *Baxos de la Candelaria*,  
 The *Salomon Islands*,  
 And two Islands in North latitude.

It is doubtful whether the mention of some distance has not been omitted between *Candelaria* and *S<sup>a</sup> Ysabel*. The distance from *Callao* to *S<sup>a</sup> Ysabel* is 2100 Spanish leagues. By the Spanish reckoning in this voyage, supposing no part left out

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\* *Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 802.

CHAP. 16. in the account, the distance was estimated at only 1610 leagues; but there are so many instances of errors, equal in magnitude, and of a similar nature (i. e. the distances diminished), among the reckonings of the early navigators in the Pacific Ocean, that no inference of omission can be fairly made in the present case. Figueroa has not given dates, which might have assisted in supplying the deficiency of other information. Herrera, in his *Description de las Ind. Occid.\** says 'in 7° latitude, and to the North of S<sup>a</sup> Ysabel, are the shoals of Candelaria.' Herrera's information respecting the *Salomon Islands* was general, and not very correct. It however may be deemed, with the addition of the other circumstances, sufficient for admitting, that if S<sup>a</sup> Ysabel was not discovered from the *Baxos de la Candelaria*, it was seen very soon after quitting those shoals.

BAXOS DE  
LA CANDE-  
LARIA.

The discoveries of the last forty years have verified the discoveries of Mendana, though the knowledge obtained of the geography of the *Salomon Islands* is not more than sufficient to explain their general position. Very few of the points marked in the original account have been recognized and identified. M. Fleurieu believes, that a shoal which the Spanish frigate *La Princesa* fell in with, in 1781, and named *El Roncador*, is the *Baxos de la Candelaria* of Mendana. The place and circumstances support this conjecture; and M. Fleurieu has calculated the situation from such information as the journal of the *Princesa's* voyage furnished; by which he makes the South West part of the shoal to be in latitude 6° 45' South, and longitude [from *Paris* 157° 45' East] 160° 05' East from the meridian of the Observatory at *Greenwich*.

Island  
DE JESUS.

Taking this longitude for the *Baxos de la Candelaria*, (the South West part), the island *De Jesus*, to preserve the proportion of the distances given in the narrative (1450 leagues

from *Callao*, and 160 leagues from *La Candelaria*) must be placed in  $172^{\circ} 30'$  East longitude from *Greenwich*. CHAP. 16.

The voyage of Mendana afforded opportunities for making a good chart of the *Salomon Islands*, but good charts were not among the common productions of that time, and it might be asserted, without presumption, that a good chart of the *Salomon Islands* has not yet existed. The whole which is at present known of them, is by no means equal to what appears to have been known by the first discoverers. From their time till after the middle of the last century, it may in strictness of truth be said, that the *Salomon Islands* were lost to the knowledge of Europeans. Conjectures respecting their situation, varied more than one third of the distance across the Pacific Ocean; and it has been thought necessary to advance arguments to prove that the original accounts were not fictitious. The voyage of M. Surville, in 1769, must be said to have first put an end to this uncertainty, and to have determined their situation; for the islands of the North West extremity, seen by M. Bougainville in the year preceding, were not marked by such peculiar circumstances as could establish any proof of their forming a part of the *Salomon Islands*.

M. Fleurieu, with much study and labour, put together the parts of this archipelago, which were seen at different times; the North West part by M. Bougainville, in 1768; the North East part by M. Surville, in 1769; and the South West side, as delineated by Lieutenant Shortland of the British Navy, in 1788. Since that time the *Salomon Islands* have been seen in different parts, by both English and French navigators. If the whole of the materials obtained by them can be collected, the geography of those islands will be much advanced, but will still be far from perfect. These materials could not be procured for the present purpose; but to render more easily intelligible both the narrative and a few remarks of comparison between



CHAP. 16. the first accounts and the modern discoveries, a sketch has been annexed, for the basis of which, M. Fleurieu's reduced chart has been followed. The variations made, are chiefly in the South East part, from the track of M. d'Entrecasteaux, as described in Labillardiere's publication. Taking that and the latitude for guides, the Capes *Philip* and *Sidney* of Shortland, have been joined to the Eastern land or Cape *Oriental* of Surville, which, by the track of M. d'Entrecasteaux, appears to be more to the North than it was formerly laid down.

This position of the shores, and the views of the Eastern land which were taken from M. Surville's ship, accord with the old accounts, which describe *San Christoval* to be narrow and mountainous land.

ST<sup>A</sup> CATALINA, and ST<sup>A</sup> ANA. The Isles *De la Delivrance* answer to the *S<sup>a</sup> Catalina* and *S<sup>a</sup> Ana* of Mendana, beyond which 'in that quarter no more land was discovered.'

Placing the Cape *Sidney*, of Mr. Shortland, so much to the Eastward, renders it necessary to give extension to the whole of his survey, by which his *Mount Lammas* is carried more to the East, and additional reason given for the conjecture that it is the *Sesarga* of Mendana.

Cape PRIETO. The Cape *Prieto* may be looked for to the North West from the Mountain. According to the first accounts, that cape is so much surrounded by islands, (by *Malaita* and others, to the North and East, by *Buena-vista*, *San Jorge*, &c. to the South East and South West,) that probably it would not be visible either to M. Surville, or to Mr. Shortland, who both, though on different sides, sailed clear without the archipelago, and, in the greater part of their tracks, were too far distant from the land to distinguish and ascertain the capes and openings.

The port *De La Estrella*, and the island *Malaita*, are marked from M. Fleurieu's sytematic chart of the *Salomon Islands*.

Since

Since their voyages, it has been proved, by different passages CHAP. 16.  
which have been navigated, that the island *S<sup>a</sup> Ysabel*, at which S<sup>a</sup> Y SABEL.  
Mendana first anchored, cannot have the extent mentioned in  
the account of Figueroa; and it must be supposed either that  
the brigantine passed some openings without noticing them, or  
that the distances, 95 leagues in length, and 200 in circuit, were  
intended to include all the islands which she had at that time  
circumnavigated. One of the late penetrations was made to  
the East of Cape *Nepean*, and passing through, came out near  
the harbour which M. Surville has named *Port Praslin*, giving  
7° 18' South, for the latitude of the North West part of  
*S<sup>a</sup> Ysabel*.

The foregoing observations do not entirely agree with the  
opinions formerly held by M. Fleurieu. The subjects of differ-  
ence, however, are points merely of conjecture; and the varia-  
tions, such as the additional information obtained since those  
opinions were formed, might naturally produce. M. Fleurieu's  
reputation for geographical knowledge and penetration, are  
established upon too good a foundation to render any explana-  
tion of this nature necessary upon his account.

The islands seen to the North of the equator by Mendana,  
in his return to *New Spain*, are not entitled to any notice in the  
charts, from the account given in the relation of Figueroa. A  
small island surrounded with rocks, with the name of *San*  
*Francisco*, is placed in the chart of the track of the Galeon, in  
Commodore Anson's voyage, in 19½° North latitude, and 84° of  
longitude East from the Strait of *San Bernardino*; but this is  
not to be supposed the *San Francisco* of Mendana, as his track  
in crossing the trade wind from the *Salomon Islands*, could not  
have been so far to the East in that parallel.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Progress of the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands. The Islands San Felix and San Ambor discovered. Enterprise of John Oxnam, an Englishman, in the South Sea.*

CHAP. 17.  
1571.

City of  
MANILLA  
built.

Islands  
SAN FELIX  
and SAN  
AMBOR  
discovered,  
1574.

IN the *Philippine Islands*, the Spaniards did not remain contented with the possession of the single Island of *Zebu*. They extended their ‘*pacification*’\* to other islands, and, in 1571, established themselves in *Luconia*, under the direction of Miguél Lopez de Legaspi, who, that year, founded the city of *Manilla*, which has since been, and is at present, the capital of the Spanish settlements in the *Philippine Islands*.

In 1574, the pilot Juan Fernández, discovered two more islands in the neighbourhood of the American Continent, which were named *San Felix* and *San Ambor*. They are described by the Spanish accounts to be small, uninhabited, and uninhabitable, being without fresh water; and that they were the resort of birds, sea calves, and fish. Their latitude  $25^{\circ} 20'$  South, and their distance to the West from *Copiapo*, 154 leagues†.

\* *Grijalva*, Edad 3. cap. 20. fol. 137, col. 4. It ought to be remarked, but not as an apology for the Spaniards, though it is unfortunately true, that bad actions mutually lend countenance to each other, that the conduct of other European nations, in their treatment of the Indians, was upon a model very similar. The patent of HENRY VII. of England, to the Cabots, grants licence (*plenam ac liberam auctoritatem*) to him and his three sons, to make discoveries of countries inhabited by Gentiles and Infidels ‘and the towns, cities, castles, islands, &c. which they are able to subdue, occupy, and possess, to subdue, occupy, and possess them accordingly, (*quæ subjugari, occupari, possideri possint, subjugare, occupare, &c.*) as our lieutenants and governors.’ *Hakluyt’s Collection of Voyages, Navigations, &c.* Vol. III. p. 4.

† *Viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes, por el Cap. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa en los años 1579, 1580*, p. 50. Captain Colnet, who visited them in 1793, has laid down their positions,

*San Felix*, in  $26^{\circ} 14'$  South, and longitude  $79^{\circ} 24'$  West from Greenwich;

*San Ambor* —  $26^{\circ} 17'$  South, — — — }  $79^{\circ} 10'$

By the Spanish charts they are placed three miles more to the South, and  $0^{\circ} 42'$  of longitude more to the West, than by Captain Colnet.

The

The English at this time first began to project enterprises in the South Sea. England and Spain were not in a state of open war; but the circumstances and events of the reigns of PHILIP the II. and of Queen ELIZABETH, were such as did not fail to produce a strong degree of animosity between the two nations; which neither would be at the pains to conceal. Acts of aggression were committed by individuals of both, and connived at, sometimes encouraged, by the Sovereigns. During a great part of Queen ELIZABETH's reign, the two countries may be said to have been in a state of open (though not declared) enmity, and of private warfare. CHAP. 17.

With these dispositions, a number of English adventurers entered into schemes for enriching themselves at the expense of the Spanish settlements in America; in revenge, it is said, for injuries done either to themselves, or to some of their countrymen, by the Spaniards in that part of the world. John Oxnam, or Oxenham, of *Plymouth*, was the first Englishman who extended these schemes to cruising against the Spaniards in the South Sea. He had accompanied Captain (afterwards Sir Francis) Drake, in 1572-3, on an expedition to the West Indies, in which that commander left his ship on the North side of *Darien*, and, being joined by the Indians who inhabited that part of the country, marched across the isthmus with the intention of intercepting the Spanish treasure that was expected to have been sent upon mules from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*. The drunkenness of one of the English seamen prevented this attempt from succeeding\*.

In the account of Captain Drake's journey across the isthmus, there is the following passage: 'it gave a special encouragement unto us all; that we understood there was a great tree about

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\* *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, p. 58.

' the

CHAP. 17. ' the midway, from whence we might at once discern the North  
 ' Sea from whence we came, and the South Sea whither we were  
 ' going.

' The fourth day following, [this was the eighth day of their  
 ' journey,] we came to the height of the desired hill, (lying East  
 ' and West, like a ridge between the two seas,) about ten of  
 ' the clock; where the chieftest of the Symerons\* took our  
 ' Captain by the hand, and prayed him to follow him. Here  
 ' was that goodly and great high tree, in which they had cut  
 ' and made divers steps to ascend near to the top, where they  
 ' had made a convenient bower, wherein ten or twelve men  
 ' might easily sit; and from thence we might see the Atlantic  
 ' Ocean we came from, and the South Atlantic so much de-  
 ' sired. South and North of this tree, they had felled certain  
 ' trees, that the prospect might be the clearer.

' After our Captain had ascended to this bower, with the  
 ' chief Symeron, and having, as it pleased God at this time by  
 ' reason of the breeze, a very fair day, had seen that sea of  
 ' which he had heard such golden reports; he besought Almighty  
 ' God of his goodness, to give him life and leave to sail once in  
 ' an English ship in that sea. And then calling up all the rest  
 ' of our men, acquainted John Oxnam especially with this his  
 ' petition and purpose, if it would please God to grant him  
 ' that happiness: who, understanding it, presently protested,  
 ' that unless our Captain did beat him from his company, he  
 ' would follow him by God's grace†

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\* The name by which the independent Indians who then inhabited the *Isthmus of Darien* were called. They were people who had fled from the dominion of the Spaniards; and living on that account in a state of continual warfare with their former masters, they willingly joined themselves with the English. The hill up which Drake was conducted, might probably be the same from whence *Nunnez de Balboa* first saw the South Sea.

† *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, p. 54; Quarto Edit. 1653. London.



To both was granted the desired boon of sailing upon the *South Sea*; but they went by different routes, at different times, and their enterprises finished with different success CHAP. 17.

The following testimony is borne to the ability and fidelity with which Oxnam served under Drake. There was occasion to send a party of men on shore, for a purpose which the people would not consent that their Captain (Drake) should undertake. The relation says, 'John Oxnam and Thomas Sherwell were put in trust for our service, to the great content of the whole company, who conceived greatest hope of them next our Captain, whom by no means they would condescend to suffer to adventure again this time\*.'

Drake's return to England from the voyage just noticed, was in August 1573. In 1575, Oxnam was again in the West Indies, having under his command a ship of 120 tons burthen, and 70 men. The history here given of his adventure, is extracted from *An Account of the West Indies, and the South Sea*, written by Lopez Vaz, a Portuguese, which, with its author, fell into the hands of the English, in *Rio de la Plata*, in 1586, Portugal at that time being a part of the Spanish monarchy, and at war with England. An abridged translation of the work of Lopez Vaz, is in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 778. 1575.

Oxnam went among the Symerons, (the Indians before described,) who were equally well disposed to the English as on the former occasion. When he was informed that a new regulation had been made by the Spaniards, and that the treasure was now always conducted by a strong guard of soldiers, he determined on an enterprise equally bold and extraordinary.

He landed his men in the same place where Captain Drake had before landed, and laying his ship ashore, covered her with Oxnam crosses the Isthmus of DARIEN.

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\* *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, p. 81.

CHAP. 17. <sup>1575.</sup> boughs of trees, and buried all his guns in the ground, except two small pieces of ordnance, which he took with him, besides muskets, and a sufficient store of provisions and necessaries.

Builds a  
vessel,  
and  
launches  
into the  
SOUTH SEA.

Returns to  
the Isthmus.

Thus furnished, without leaving one man in the ship, he departed for the other-sea, accompanied by a number of the Indians. When they had marched 12 leagues, they arrived at a river which ran into the *South Sea*. In a wood by the side of this river, Ornam cut timber, and built a pinnace, which was 45 feet long by the keel. When the pinnace was finished, he embarked with his people, and fell down the river into the *South Sea*\*, taking six Indians with him for guides. They sailed to the *Pearl Islands*, and remained near them ten days, at the end of which time they captured a small bark from *Quito* in *Peru*, in which were 60,000 *pesos* of gold†, and a quantity of wine and bread. Shortly after, they made prize of a vessel from *Lima*, with 100,000 *pesos* of silver in bars. These riches were all taken into the pinnace, and they went to a small town on one of the *Pearl Islands*, inhabited by Indians, from whom it was hoped pearls would be obtained; but the Indians had not many. From the *Pearl Islands*, they went towards the main land, and after dismissing the two prizes, the pinnace re-entered the river from which she had sailed. Some of the Indians at the *Pearl Islands*, as soon as the Englishmen had departed, hastened in their canoes to *Panamá*, to give notice of what had passed.

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\* We read of an inhabitant of Britain, who embarked on the *South Sea*, before this expedition of Ornam; but it was only as a passenger, and in a Spanish vessel. This was *John Chilton* in the year 1572, who sailed from *Panama* to *Peru*.

It is probable that other Britons were on the *South Sea* before *Chilton*, as it appears that a North Briton, *Thomas Blake*, settled in the city of *Mexico*, so early as the year 1536. *Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 450. and 458.

† The peso of gold was 16 Spanish rials, nearly equal to eight shillings English: the peso of silver was half of that value.

The Governor of that place, within two days after receiving the intelligence, sent four barks in search of the English, with 100 soldiers, and a number of Indians, under the command of Juan de Ortega. Ortega went first to the *Pearl Islands*, and was there informed what course the Englishmen had taken; and continuing his pursuit, he met the vessels that had been captured and dismissed. By them he was directed to the river. When he came to the entrance, he was at a loss which way to take, as the river fell into the sea by three different mouths. Whilst he was deliberating, a quantity of feathers of fowls were observed floating out of one of the lesser branches; and that way Ortega entered. The fourth day, according to the account, of his advancing up the river, the pinnace of the Englishmen was descried lying upon the sand, with only six men near her, one of whom was killed by the Spaniards, and the others fled. The pinnace was searched; but there was nothing in her except provisions. Leaving twenty of his people to take care of the barks, Juan de Ortega landed with 80 men, armed with musquetry. When they had marched half a league from the river, they found a place that was covered with boughs of trees, where the Englishmen had hid all their booty, which the Spaniards dug up, and with it returned to their barks, well satisfied with their success, and not intending to trouble themselves farther about the English. But Oxnana, with all his men, and 200 Symerons, eager to recover the treasure, followed the Spaniards to the river's side, and attacked them with more impetuosity than good management. Ortega disposed his men advantageously among the bushes; and the English were repulsed with the loss of eleven men killed, and seven taken prisoners; whilst, on the part of the Spaniards, only two were killed, and a few wounded. The prisoners were questioned,

how

CHAP. 17.

1575.

Is pursued  
by the  
Spaniards

CHAP. 17. <sup>1575.</sup> how it happened that they had not departed with their treasure, having been fifteen days unmolested. They answered, that their Captain had commanded his men to carry all the gold and silver to the place where the ship *yats*, had promised them a share; but the seamen demanded an immediate division; upon which the Captain, being offended at their distrust, would not suffer them to carry it; but said he would get Indians to undertake the business. The delay occasioned by these disagreements, gave time for the Spaniards to overtake them. Oxnam received the first notice of their approach by the men who fled from the pinnace. He then came to an agreement with his people, and got the Indians to join with him; but in the attack, having lost several of his best men, he purposed to return to his ship.

The Spanish Captain, with his prisoners and the treasure, returned to *Panama*, the Governor of which place immediately dispatched messengers to *Nombre de Dios*, with intelligence where the English ship lay concealed; in consequence of which, before Oxnam arrived at the place, his ship, ordnance, and stores, were taken.

In this desitute condition the Englishmen lived some time among the Indians; and had begun to build canoes on the North side of the Isthmus, as the means by which they might escape from their present situation; but having lost all their tools, their work was advancing very slowly, when 150 Spaniards, sent by order of the Viceroy of *Peru*, came upon them, and put an end to their occupation. Fifteen, who were sick, were at that time taken prisoners; and, in the end, they all fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and were carried to *Panama*. Oxnam was questioned whether he had the Queen's commission, or a license from any other Prince or State? To which he replied, that he had no commission; but that  
he

he acted upon his own authority, and at his own risk. CHAP. 17.  
Upon this answer, Oxnam and his men were all condemned 1575.  
to death; and the whole, except five boys, were executed.  
Thus unfortunately did the first exploit of the English in the  
*South Sea* terminate. Of Oxnam, their leader, it has been  
remarked, that if the same spirit of enterprise and resolution  
had been exerted by him in a legal cause, he would have  
been entitled to lasting praise.



## C H A P. XVIII.

*Reports concerning the Discovery of a Southern Continent.*

CHAP. 18.  
1576.

ABOUT this period, a discovery is attributed to Juan Fernandez of greater importance than any of those formerly made by him; but the accounts that appear concerning it, are brief and obscure. The recent enterprises of other Europeans in the South Sea, must have rendered the Spaniards more than usually circumspect in preventing all knowledge concerning their possessions and discoveries in that part of the world from being made public: and it is supposed, that the apprehension of more serious attempts being meditated, was the reason that the farther prosecution of the discovery and establishment of the *Salomon Islands* was for the present suspended.

Concerning the discovery just alluded to of Juan Fernandez, there appear, in a memorial written by Doctor Juan Luis Arias, the following short notices, which exhibit a curious mixture of the probable and the fabulous. No date is affixed to the memorial: but it was written after the English had settled in the *Bermudas* (which was in 1609), and that event is mentioned as an incitement to the Spanish monarch to form establishments at the islands discovered in the *Pacific Ocean*, lest the English or Dutch should take possession of them, and introduce among the natives the venom of their heresy.

Arias says, ‘ The pilot Juan Fernandez sailed from the coast of *Chili*, a little more or less than 40 degrees, in a small ship, with certain of his companions; and navigating upon courses between the West and South West, arrived in a month’s time at a coast, which, as far as they could judge, appeared to be continent (*tierra firme*), the land fertile and pleasant, inhabited

' habited by white people, well made, of our own stature, dressed  
 ' with very good woven cloth (*muy buenas telas*), and so peaceable  
 ' and kind, that by every way in which they could make themselves  
 ' understood, they offered the Spaniards entertainment of the fruits  
 ' and riches of their country, which appeared to be in all parts  
 ' good and fruitful. But having gone so lightly equipped, they  
 ' were fully content for this time, with having discovered the coast  
 ' of this great continent (*gran tierra firme*) so much desired;  
 ' and they sailed to *Chili* with the intention of again returning  
 ' to the same land, better provided; and determining, till that  
 ' could be done, to keep the discovery secret. But the matter  
 ' was delayed from day to day, till Juan Fernandez died: and,  
 ' with his death, this important business fell into oblivion. But  
 ' it is to be noticed, that many have reported this discovery of  
 ' Juan Fernandez in the following manner, affirming that they  
 ' heard it from himself. That is to say, that steering to the  
 ' West from *Lima*, being bound to *Chili*, and having departed  
 ' from the coast to a certain longitude, which in proper season  
 ' would be declared, and afterwards steering nearly on a South  
 ' course, he discovered the aforesaid coast of the Southern con-  
 ' tinent, in a latitude which likewise, when convenient, would  
 ' be made known; from whence he made his voyage to *Chili*.'

[It is to be remarked that the most material point in which  
 these accounts differ, is respecting the outset, which in one is  
 stated to be from the coast of *Chili*, and in the other, from *Lima*.  
 Both agree that from the discovered land, Juan Fernandez sailed  
 to *Chili*; and, except in the first particular, the two accounts  
 serve to illustrate each other]. Juan Luis Arias continues;

\* ' Other relations, well worthy belief, place the discovery as  
 ' at first stated; but whether it be in this or in the other manner,  
 ' or that there were two different discoveries, it is a thing certain  
 ' that the coast of the Southern continent was discovered; for  
 ' this has been testified by persons of great credit and authority,  
 ' to

CHAP. 18. ' to whom the said Juan Fernandez communicated the account,  
 ' with the abovementioned descriptions and circumstances of the  
 ' coast and of the inhabitants. And one of these witnesses who  
 ' has affirmed this to your Majesty, and who heard it from the  
 ' said pilot, and saw the description which he drew of the coast;  
 ' was the Macsse de Campo, Cortes, a man of well known credit,  
 ' and who had been employed in *Chili* near 60 years.—On the  
 ' coast of this land were seen the mouths of very large rivers.'

Some particulars in the foregoing accounts, oppose their being wholly rejected. The mode of navigating described in the relation, is exactly conformable to what would naturally be practised on such an occasion, and with such views. When Juan Fernandez first made the experiment of a new route from *Lima* to *Chili*, it may be supposed he did not go farther from the coast than was necessary for getting to the Southward. Increasing confidence in the new navigation, with the hope of making discoveries, appear to have afterwards encouraged him to venture to greater distances. In such cases, he would of course sail as far as he intended to go Westward, within the limit of the trade wind, and afterwards steer to the South to put himself in the way of variable winds.

The only land at present known, that in any respect answers to the description of the *Tierre Firme* of Juan Fernandez, is *New Zealand*; but the distance from the American continent, (above 100 degrees of longitude,) though it does not exceed the powers of a good vessel with favourable winds, is full great for a month's sailing; yet it is not sufficient to be conclusive against the possibility of that country having been seen by Juan Fernandez.

It is necessary to remark that Juan Luis Arias, the writer of the memorial from which the report is extracted, was not a man possessed of much geographical knowledge, or who had made enquiry on the subject. In speaking of the discoveries of Mendana, he has confounded dates, names, and situations. He  
 says,

says, Mendana, besides the *Salomon Islands*, discovered in the year 1565 the island of *San Christoval*; its middle, in latitude from seven to eight degrees\*. Respecting the Continent of Juan Fernández, Añas speaks only from reports, which are yet more liable to variation. Nevertheless, the authorities on which he gives them, as well as the circumstances, are such as must be supposed to have some foundation in facts.

Another observation to be made on this subject is, that there remain intermediate spaces, not traversed by any track at present known, capable of comprehending lands much larger than *New Zealand*.

The belief of the existence of a Southern continent had gained great strength. A writer of that time, speaking of the land of *Guadalcanar*, says, 'yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but think it may be part of that continent which extends to the *Strait of Magalhanes*.' The geographers of the same period, likewise, were not less prepossessed with similar ideas, and have represented the *Tierra del Fuego*, as part of a great continent extending both Eastward and Westward to *New Guinea*, and round the South Pole, occupying nearly all the space which had not been cut off by the tracks of European navigators; and this ideal continent they have not left destitute of its capes and gulfs.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Voyage of Francis Drake round the World.*

CHAP. 19.

1577.

IN 1577, was undertaken the celebrated voyage of Francis Drake into the South Sea. England and Spain still preserved the appearance of peace with each other, and the justice of Drake's undertaking has accordingly been a subject of much question. Arguments, indeed, may more readily be found in its exculpation than in its defence. Drake had himself first received injury from the Spaniards, he being one of those who accompanied Sir John Hawkins to *St. Juan de Ulloa*, in 1567-8. It is true that he had afterwards made himself some amends by reprisals upon the Spaniards: but he had seen the South Sea, and the golden dreams which that sight presented to his imagination, were a stimulant not easily to be resisted by a man of his enterprising and adventurous spirit.

Drake did not embark on this expedition without encouragement from his superiors. In a relation, entitled, *The World Encompassed*, it is affirmed that he had a commission from Queen ELIZABETH, his sovereign, and likewise that she delivered to him a sword, with this remarkable speech, "We do account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us." That he had a written commission, is not very probable: but there is reason to believe that she favoured and promoted his undertaking. Sir Christopher Hatton, who was vice-chamberlain, and a privy counsellor, introduced him to her Majesty\*; and, it is said, he communicated to her the plan of his voyage, and that

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\* Stowe's *Annals*, p. 807.



it received her approbation. By this, and the countenance publicly shown to him afterwards, whatever blame may be imputed to the expedition, the Sovereign shared equally with Drake. CHAP. 19.  
1577.

The vessels employed in this expedition were the property of private individuals, his friends, with whose assistance he equipped the following light squadron:

The Pelican, which was the Admiral's ship, burthen 100 tons.

The Elizabeth, of 80 tons, Captain John Winter.

The Marigold, a bark of 30 tons, Captain John Thomas.

The Swan, a fly-boat of 50 tons, Captain John Chester.

The Christopher, a pinnace of 15 tons, Captain Thomas Moone.

These vessels carried 164 men, and were furnished with provisions, arms, and stores for a long voyage, and with the frames of four pinnaces in separate pieces, to be put together as occasion might require. During the out-fit, pains were taken to conceal their destination; and, to prevent suspicions, it was publicly given out that they were bound for Alexandria\*.

The smallness of this force for an enterprise of such magnitude, is not so extraordinary as that a navigation, which, on account of its difficulties and dangers, had been many years discontinued, should be undertaken in vessels so diminutive.

On the 15th of November, 1577, this fleet sailed from *Plymouth* with a fair wind; but the next morning, being off the *Lizard*, the wind came from the South-West, and they put into *Falmouth*, where a violent gale obliged the Pelican and the Marigold to cut away their main-masts, on which account they returned to *Plymouth*; and, having repaired the damages sustained in the gale, they set sail a second time, December the 13th.

Sails from  
ENGLAND,  
Dec. 13th.

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\* Relation in *Hakluyt's* Collection, Vol. III. p. 730.

CHAP. 19.

1577.

December.

When they were out of sight of land, the General\* first gave occasion to his people to conjecture the route intended, by appointing for the place of rendezvous, in case any vessel should be separated from the fleet, the island *Mogadore*, on the coast of *Barbary*.

December 25th, they made Cape *Cantin*, on the coast of *Barbary*, and, on the 27th, they anchored between the island *Mogadore* and the main land, having first sent a boat before them to sound the depth, which was five fathoms close to the rocks†.

The island *Mogadore* is of moderate height, and about a league in circuit. It is an English mile distant from the main land, the space between forming a good harbour. The best entrance is to the North, for the South channel is dangerous, having but eight feet at low water, and is full of rocks‡.

The island was not inhabited; but the arrival of the ships was soon perceived by the Moors on the main land, many of whom came down to the nearest part of the shore. A white flag was waved to them, and, in return, they made signs that they desired to be taken on board. The General sent a boat to them, and in her, one of his people, who had formerly been a captive in the country, and understood a little of the language. Two Moors, who appeared to be above the common rank, returned with the boat to the Admiral, one Englishman being left on shore as a pledge for their safety. They were well entertained and feasted by the General, who made them presents of some linen, shoes,

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\* In the early relations of this voyage, the commander in chief is constantly called the General, or the Captain General; and his ship is called the Admiral; in which particulars, the custom of the English and Spanish marine was the same.

† Voyage of Mr. *John Winter*, by *Edw. Cliffe*, Mariner. *Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 748.

‡ *Ibid.*

and a javelin. They promised that the next day they would bring merchandise of the country to exchange for that which was in the ships. When they returned to the shore, the Englishman, who had been left as a hostage, was quietly restored.

CHAP. 19.  
1577.  
December.  
MOGADORE

The next day, at the time appointed, the Moors came again to the sea side, and with them camels, which seemed to be laden with wares. They called for a boat, and one was immediately sent. As soon as she arrived at the landing place, which was among rocks, a seaman, named John Fry, leaped on shore, intending to become a hostage as on the preceding day: but he was immediately seized by the Moors, who laid him on a horse, and carried him away, whilst the boat's crew, seeing a number of armed men start up from behind the rocks, found it necessary to consult their own security by returning to the ships.

When the General was informed of this outrage and breach of faith, he landed with a party of his people, and marched a small distance into the country, in the hope of being able to redeem his man, or to obtain some satisfaction; but the Moors kept at a distance, and neither offered to resist his progress, nor would they approach to treat with him; and he was obliged to return to the ships without having intercourse of any kind with the natives.

In this port, one of the pinnaces which had been brought from England in pieces, was set up; and when finished, which was on the last day of December, the fleet left *Mogadore*, sailing out at the Northern passage, by which they had entered.

The occasion of the violence committed by the Moors, was a desire of their King\* to be informed with certainty what ships

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\* This was the famous *Muley Moloch*, who overthrew *SEBASTIAN*, King of Portugal, in 1578.



CHAP. 19. these were, and to obtain intelligence concerning the Portuguese, from whom an invasion was then expected, (and which in fact did happen in the course of the year following). Fry was taken to the King's presence; and when he had given an account of the fleet and its destination, he was dismissed; and the King gave orders for his being conducted back to the ships with offers of friendship and assistance to the General. But before Fry arrived, the fleet had departed. He was not long afterwards sent to his own country, in an English merchant ship.

At the port of *Mogadore*, the ships took on board a supply of wood. Whether or not they found water is not mentioned. At the South side of the island, were three hollow rocks, under which were 'great store of very wholesome, but ugly fish to look at\*.'

1578. The fleet continued to the South, keeping near the coast of  
January. Africa. In their run to Cape *Blanco*, they fell in with, and captured three Spanish fishing boats, called caunters, and two caravels: and on their arrival at that Cape, January 17th, they took a Spanish ship, which was lying there at anchor, with only two men on board.

Cape  
BLANCO.

They remained five days at Cape *Blanco*, where they caught plenty of good fish. Fresh water appears to have been very scarce in the neighbourhood of the Cape at this season. It is related, that one day some natives came down from the mountains with leathern bags, bringing with them ambergrease and other gums, with which they wanted to purchase fresh water from the English: but the General, compassionating the misery

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\* *The World Encompassed*, p. 4. Edit. 1652. The latitude of *Mogadore* in *The World Encompassed*, is given 31° 40' North. In *Cliffe's Account*, it is 31° 30' North; and the course from Cape *Cantin* to *Mogadore*, South South West, 18 leagues: but whether it is the true course, or the course by compass, is not specified.

of their condition, gave them water whenever they asked for it, and likewise food, without allowing them to make any return.

CHAP. 19.  
1578.  
January.

Four of the prizes were released here, after taking out of them such necessaries as were wanted for the fleet. A caravel, bound to *St. Jago* for salt, was afterwards dismissed. One of the caunters of about 40 tons burthen was retained, in lieu of which was given to the owner, the Christopher pinnace.

January 22d, they sailed from Cape *Blanco*. On the 28th, they anchored near the West side of the Island *Mayo*; and some of the people were sent on shore in hopes of finding fresh water; but the inhabitants, most of whom were the servants of the Portuguese in the island *St. Jago*, salted the wells near the landing place, and fled from their houses. A party of the English marched through the islands, and found fruits and good water; but too far from the sea side for the ships to be supplied.

Island  
Mayo.

On the 30th, the fleet sailed from *Mayo*, and in passing by the South West part of the island *St. Jago*, they made prize of a Portuguese ship, bound to *Brasil*, laden with wine, clothes, and other commodities, and having on board many passengers. The charge of this prize was committed to Mr. Thomas Doughtie, with 28 men under him; but he was soon after removed on a complaint of his having received, and kept to his own use, some things which had been presented to him by some of the Portuguese prisoners\*; and Mr. Thomas Drake, the General's brother, was made Captain of the prize.

They next sailed to the island *Brava*, which is thus described in the relations of the voyage: 'About two leagues from the island of *Fogo*, lieth a most sweet and pleasant island. The

Island  
Brava.

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\* Manuscript relation of *Francis Fletcher*, minister. In the *British Museum*.



CHAP. 19. 1578. ' trees thereon are always green, and the soil almost full of trees ;  
 ' so that it is a storehouse of many fruits and commodities, as  
 ' figs always ripe, cocos, plantains, oranges, lemons, cotton, &c.  
 ' From the banks into the sea do run in many places the silver  
 ' streams of sweet and wholesome water, which with boats may  
 ' easily be taken in. But there is no convenient place or road  
 ' for ships, nor anchoring ground to be had, the sea being above  
 ' 120 fathoms in depth close to the shore.'

Whilst the fleet was near *Brava*, the General dismissed all the prisoners taken in the Portuguese ship, except the master, Nuno da Silva, who was detained, because it was discovered that he was a good pilot for the coast of *Brasil*\*. To the rest of the Portuguese, the General gave the pinnace, which had been set up at *Mogadore*, with a butt of wine, provisions, and their wearing apparel.

February. They took on board a small supply of water at *Brava*, and made sail from the island on February 2d. In their passage across the equinoctial, the rains supplied them with more water.

March. On March the 28th, the ' Portugal prize' was separated from the rest of the fleet, and was missing all that day ; but the next day she was again seen, and rejoined company to their great satisfaction ; for the wine and provisions with which she was laden, were the most valuable part of their stores.

April. April the 5th, they made the coast of *Brasil*, in 31½° South, and, on the 14th, anchored within the entrance of the river *De la Plata*, the General having appointed that river to be the next place of rendezvous in cases of separation, after leaving the *Cape de Verd* Islands : and here the caunter, which had been separated a week before, rejoined them.

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\* Relation of a voyage made by Nuno da Silva. Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 743.

The fleet afterwards removed to an anchorage 18 leagues within the river, where they killed seals which resorted to the rocks in great numbers. 'These were good and acceptable meat, both as food for the present, and as a supply of provisions for the future\*.'

CHAP. 19.  
1578.

April 20th, they sailed yet farther up the river, till they found but three fathoms depth, where the ships rode in fresh water.

The 27th, the fleet departed from the river *De la Plata*, pursuing their course towards the South. That same night the Swan parted company. On May the 8th, the caunter was once more separated.

May.

May the 19th in the afternoon, the rest of the fleet being near the coast in latitude 47° South, they saw a bay within a headland, which appeared like a commodious port; but as there were many rocks near the entrance, the General did not think proper to stand in with the ships without a previous examination; he therefore anchored at three leagues distance from the land, and the next morning went, for that purpose, himself in a boat. As he approached the shore, a native made his appearance by the sea side, singing and dancing to the noise of a rattle which he shook in his hand, and, by his manner, seeming to invite them to land. But suddenly a thick fog came on, and the weather became tempestuous. The General, though he was three leagues from his ships, thought it necessary to return immediately without staying to land; the fog however thickened, and the ships could no longer be seen. In this perplexity, Captain Thomas, in the *Marigold*, anxious for the General's safety, ventured to stand with his vessel into the bay; and the General went on board of her, and came to an anchor

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\* *World Encompassed*, p. 16.

CHAP. 10. in a secure situation. The other ships which had been left at  
 1578. anchor without, by the increase of the storm, were obliged to  
 May. get under sail and stand out to sea.

The next day (the 14th) the weather being fair, and the fleet not being in sight, the General went on shore, and caused fires to be made, which might serve as signals to the dispersed ships; and soon after, they were all assembled, except the Swan, and the Portuguese prize, which had been named the Mary.

Some natives were seen, to whom signals were made by waving a white cloth. They answered by gestures and by speech; but kept at a distance.

Near the rocks were found, in plates constructed for the purpose, above 50 ostriches, besides other\* birds, dried, or drying, for provisions for the inhabitants. The thighs of the ostriches were equal in size 'to reasonable legs of mutton\*.' These provisions, with a bag containing small stones of various colours, the General took on board. Cliffe relates, that they were placed as if designed by the natives for a present to the Europeans. It is probable, however, that something was left in lieu of them by way of compensation, as the natives afterwards became familiar and friendly.

The ostriches do not fly; but, with the help of their wings, run swiftly, taking such large strides that no man can overtake them. The natives decoy them with plumes of feathers fixed on the end of a staff, the fore part being made to resemble the head and neck of an ostrich, behind which they hide themselves, and move towards their intended prey, till they have driven or allured them within some neck of land near to the sea side, across which they spread large and strong nets to prevent their return, and then set dogs upon them†.

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\* *The World Encompassed*, p. 19.

† *Ibid.*

This place was not found convenient for the ships, and May 15th, they departed. On the 17th, a good port was found in 47° 1 South latitude, in which the fleet anchored. Immediately after giving orders for the dispatch of the necessary business of the fleet, the General sent out the Elizabeth, Captain Winter, to search to the Southward for the two missing ships, the Swan and the Mary; and he sailed himself, 'in the Admiral', for the same purpose to the Northward. He met with the Swan the same day, and brought her into harbour. As separations had been so frequent, he determined to lessen the number of ships, that their force might be more compact, and the more easily be kept together. Every thing, therefore, that could be of service to the other ships, was taken out of the Swan, and she was broken up for fire wood.

The ships had been some days in this port before any natives were seen. One day some of the English being upon a small island, from whence to the main land there was, at low water, a dry passage, a number of the natives showed themselves upon the part of the main land nearest to the island, who called out, danced, and made other signs inviting communication. It being then high water, the General sent a boat to them, furnished with bells, cutlery, and such things as he thought would be most acceptable.

As the boat approached, the natives assembled together upon a hill at a distance from the water's side, and sent down two of their company, who descended swiftly and gracefully; but they stopped short before they arrived at the English. To remove as much as possible all cause of apprehension, some things were tied to a pole, which was struck in the ground at a small distance from the landing place, and left for them. The Indians came and took the things, and put in their stead some carved bones, and feathers, which they wore about their heads. Many of the natives afterwards came and trafficked with the

CHAP. 19.

1578.  
May.  
Seal Bay.

English; but they would not at this time receive any thing by hand, or in any other manner than by its being placed on the ground for them, which they expressed by the word *toyt*: *zussus* signified to exchange, and their dislike of any thing was expressed by the word *coroh*. They gave, in exchange for the English wares, their arrows, which were made of reeds pointed with flints, and such feathers and bones as have been before mentioned.

These people had no other covering than a skin, which, when they were sitting or lying in the cold, was thrown about their shoulders; but when they were in motion, it was disposed round their loins like a girdle. They painted themselves all over; and in the manner of doing, it, indulged in a variety of fancies. Some had one shoulder made white, and the other black; and similar contrasts were exhibited with their sides and legs. In the black parts were drawn white moons, and in the white part, black suns: but it was supposed that the custom of painting themselves was not so much for the sake of decoration, as to serve for protection against the cold. Dr. Johnson, in this part of his Life of Sir Francis Drake, says, ‘ It is observable ‘ that most nations, amongst whom the use of clothes is ‘ un- ‘ known, paint their bodies. Such was the practice of the first ‘ inhabitants of our own country. From this custom did our ‘ earliest enemies, the Picts, owe their denomination. As it is ‘ not probable that caprice or fancy should be uniform, there ‘ must be, doubtless, some reason for a practice so general and ‘ prevailing in distant parts of the world, which have no com- ‘ munication with each other. The original end of painting ‘ their bodies was, probably, to exclude the cold; an end, ‘ which if we believe some relations, is so effectually produced ‘ by it, that the men thus painted never shiver at the most ‘ piercing blasts. But doubtless any people so hardened by ‘ continual severities, would, even without paint, be less sensible



‘ of the cold than the civilized inhabitants of the same climate. CHAP. 19.  
 ‘ However, this practice may contribute, in some degree, to 1578.  
 ‘ defend them from the injuries of winter, and, in those climates May.  
 ‘ where little evaporates by the pores, may be used with no SEAL BAY.  
 ‘ great inconvenience ; but in hot countries, where perspiration  
 ‘ in greater degree is necessary, the natives only use unction to  
 ‘ preserve them from the other extreme of weather : so well do  
 ‘ either reason or experience supply the place of science in sa-  
 ‘ vage countries \*.’

The voyagers themselves disagree in their descriptions of the natives seen in this port. Cliffe says, they were people of mean stature, well limbed, but very sly. He relates, that one of them, as the General stooped, snatched off his hat, which was of scarlet, with a gold band, and ran away with it ; and that the General would not suffer his people to hurt any of them by way of resenting the injury. Mr. Fletcher, on the contrary, writes, that the people seen at this place were of large stature ; that the hat was a gift from the General, and that the Indian, proud of the gift, wore it every day. In other particulars, they are described as being well made, handsome, strong ; swift of foot, and very active. The number of men who frequented the port amounted to about fifty. No canoes were seen among them. They fed on seals and other flesh, which they ate nearly raw. ‘ They would cast bits of 6lbs. weight each into the flame, till  
 ‘ it were a little scorched, and then tear it in pieces with their  
 ‘ teeth, like lions, both men and women†.’

Their dispositions were cheerful, and they were much addicted to merriment. The sound of the trumpet delighted them, and they danced with the English seamen. Mr. Fletcher relates the following anecdote. ‘ One of the giants, standing with our

\* *Works of Saml Johnson, L. L. D.* vol. xii. p. 111. 8vo. Edt. 1792.

† Manuscript of Mr. Francis Fletcher, in the *British Museum*.

CHAP. 19.

1578.

May.

SEAL BAY

‘ men, taking their morning’s draught, showed himself so familiar, that he also would do as they did, and taking a glass in his hand (being strong Canary wine) it came no sooner to his lips, than it took him by the nose, and so suddenly entered his head, that he was so drunk, or at least so overcome, that he fell on his bottom, not able to stand, yet he held the glass fast in his hand, without spilling any of the wine, and when he came to himself, he tried again, and tasting, by degrees got to the bottom ; from which time he took such a liking to the wine, that having learnt the name, he would every morning come down the mountains with a mighty cry of Wine, Wine, Wine ; continuing the same till he arrived at the tent.’

This port was named *Seal Bay*. ‘ In the inner, or Southernmost part, there was a river of fresh water, and several islands, where the ships found a plentiful supply of provisions, such as seals, penguins, and birds.

June.

June the 3d, the fleet sailed from *Seal Bay*. The 12th, they anchored in a small bay, where they unloaded the caunter, and abandoned her, letting her drift to sea.

The 14th, they weighed, and on the 17th anchored in another bay in 50° 20’ South ; but they put to sea the day following, keeping a constant look-out for their Portuguese prize. On the 19th, they had the good fortune to meet her ; and on the 20th, their whole force being joined, they anchored in Port *San Julian*, which the account, in *The World Encompassed*, places in latitude 49° 30’ South.

PORT SAN  
JULIAN.

As soon as the ships were secured, the General, with his brother Thomas Drake, Captain Thomas, Robert Winter, Oliver, the Master Gunner, and two others, went in a boat to search for a convenient watering place, and to discover what provisions the port could furnish. At a place where they landed, two of the natives, men of large stature (Patagonians) came to them, and appeared pleased with their arrival. The General made them

them several small presents, which they received with marks of satisfaction; and in a short time were perfectly familiar. Oliver, the gunner, shot an arrow out of an English bow, to show them how far it would carry. The natives tried with their bows, but could not reach to the same distance, and were much pleased at seeing Oliver shoot. Some time after, another of the natives came, 'but of a sower sort.' He disliked the intimacy which had grown between his countrymen and the strangers; and appeared very angry, making signs to the English that they should depart\*. Mr. Robert Winter, partly in sport, and partly that the native who last arrived might see a specimen of English dexterity, tried to shoot an arrow at full length, as Mr. Oliver had done before; but the string of his bow broke. As he was busied in fixing the string again, the natives, without the English having any previous apprehension that they were meditating mischief, shot their arrows at him, and wounded him first in the shoulder, and afterwards one of their arrows pierced his lungs, but he did not fall. The Gunner took aim at them with his calliver; but it missed fire, and he was slain outright by an arrow.

The General immediately gave directions to those that were on shore with him, to cover themselves with their targets, and under that defence to approach the enemy (whose numbers increased), but not in a regular line, and that they should break the arrows that were shot at them, lest the Indians should pick them up to use again; for he had observed that they had but small store of arrows. At the same time, he took the piece which had just missed fire, and with it shot at the man who had killed the gunner, and who was the same that had began this quarrel. He aimed so well that he shot the Indian in the

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\* Narrative by Edward Cliffe.

CHAP. 19.

1578.

June.

Port SAN  
JULIAN.

belly, who, with the pain, roared so hideously that his companions were terrified and fled, though many more of their countrymen appeared in the woods advancing to their assistance. The General, on account of the wounded man, Robert Winter, hastened to the ship, that he might have speedy succour; nevertheless, Mr. Winter lived but two days. The gunner's body, which had been left on shore, was sent for the next day, and was found stripped of the upper garment, with an English arrow sticking in his right eye.

The writer of *The World Encompassed*, speaking of the size of these people, supposes the name given them to have been *Pentagones*, to denote a stature of 'five cubits, viz. seven feet and a 'half:' and remarks, 'that it described the full height, if not 'somewhat more, of the highest of them.'

It is remarkable after such an affray, and may be received as a proof that the dispositions of the Patagonians were not in general mischievous and revengeful, that they attempted no farther injury, nor offered any kind of molestation to the English, who, during the remainder of their stay in this port, a space of nearly two months, suffered no interruption on shore in their watering, wooding, or other avocations.

A greater evil than that which has been just related, we are told was ready to break forth at Port San Julian, which, says *The World Encompassed*, if it had not been detected and prevented in time, would have extended itself not only to the violent shedding of innocent blood, by the murder of the General and his most faithful friends, but to the overthrow of the whole expedition.

Mr. Thomas Doughtie was accused of plotting to the above effect. In all the English relations published, this business is mentioned in terms so general and so barren of circumstance, that the specific act on which the charge was grounded does not appear: and though the propriety of the proceedings has

has been much canvassed, no settled opinion has been established.

CHAP. 19.

1578.  
PORT SAN  
JULIAN.

The relation in *The World Encompassed*, proceeds to state, that these plots were laid before they left England; and that the model of them was shown to the General at *Plymouth*: but he would not credit 'that a person whom he so dearly loved ' would conceive such evil purposes against him; till at length, ' perceiving that the manifold practices grew daily more and ' more, and that lenity and favour did little good, he thought ' it high time to call these practices into question: and therefore, ' setting good watch over him, and assembling all his ' captains, and gentlemen of his company together, he ' propounded to them the good parts which were in the gentleman, ' the great good will and inward affection, more than brotherly, ' which he had ever, since his first acquaintance, borne him, ' not omitting the respect which was had of him, among no ' mean personages in England; and afterwards delivered the ' letters which were written to him, with the particulars from ' time to time, which had been observed, not so much by himself, ' as by his good friends; not only at sea, but even at *Plymouth*; ' not bare words, but writings; not writings alone, but actions, ' tending to the overthrow of the service in hand, and making ' away of his person.

' Proofs were required and alleged; so many, and so evident, ' that the gentleman himself, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and unkind dealing, acknowledged himself to have ' deserved death, yea many deaths; for that he conspired, ' not only the overthrow of the action, but of the principal ' actor also.'

When the evidence had been fully discussed, ' they all, above ' 40 in number, the chiefest in place and judgement in the ' whole fleet, with their own hands, under seal, adjudged that, ' he had deserved death; and that it stood by no means with ' their



CHAP. 10. ' their safety to let him live; and, therefore, they remitted the  
 1578. ' manner thereof, with the rest of the circumstances, to the  
 Port SAN ' General.'  
 JULIAN.

After this verdict was returned, the General gave to the condemned party, the choice, ' Whether he would be executed in, ' this island? Or be set upon land on the main? Or return into ' England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of her ' Majesties counsel?'

Mr. Doughtie chose the first, giving as his reasons, that he would not endanger his soul, by consenting to be left among savage infidels; and as for returning to England, if any could be found to accompany him on so disgraceful an errand, yet the shame of the return would be more grievous than death; and therefore ' he preferred ending his life on the island, desiring ' only that he and the General might once more receive the holy ' communion together before his death, and that he might not ' die other than the death of a gentleman.'

No reasons could persuade Mr. Doughtie to alter his choice: seeing he remained resolute in his determination, his last requests were granted; and ' the next convenient day a commu- ' nion was celebrated by Mr. Francis Fletcher, pastor of the ' fleet. The General himself communicated in the sacred ordi- ' nance with Mr. Doughtie, after which they dined at the same ' table together, as chearfully in sobriety as ever in their lives ' they had done; and taking their leave, by drinking to each ' other, as if some short journey only had been in hand\*.'

After dinner, all things being ready prepared, by a provost martial appointed for the occasion, Mr. Doughtie, ' without ' any delaying of the time, came forth, and knelt down; and, desiring all the bye-standers to pray for him, he laid his head on the block, and bid the executioner perform his office.

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\* *World Encompassed*, page 32.

Such is the account given of the transaction in *The World Encompassed*; where it is detailed at sufficient length to have afforded more information.

CHAP. 19.  
1578.  
PORT SAN  
JULIAN.

Lopez Vaz, 'in his discourse on the Western Indies, mentions that he learnt from Nuno da Silva, the Portuguese pilot, that at Port *San Julian*, a gentleman was put to death because he would have returned home\*.

The narrative, entitled, *The Famous Voyage*, contains only the following short remark concerning this affair. 'At Port *San Julian*, our General began to enquire diligently into the actions of Mr. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but rather tending to contention or mutiny; or some other disorder.'

Cliffe, yet more summarily relates, 'the last of June, Mr. T. Doughtie was accused and convicted of certain articles, and by Mr. Drake condemned.'

The manuscript relation of Mr. Francis Fletcher, differs materially from the foregoing representations. Nothing appears in it of any choice given to Mr. Doughtie, between death and living upon any terms: and, so far from confessing guilt, Mr. Fletcher relates, that 'he utterly denied the truth of the charges against him upon his salvation, at the time of his communicating the sacrament; and at the hour and moment of his death.'

Mr. Fletcher, after remarking upon the circumstances of his former disgrace, adds, 'but now more dangerous matter is laid to his charge, and by the same persons, (John Brewer, Edward Bright, and others of their friends,) namely, for words spoken by him to them, being in England, in the General's garden at *Plymouth*, long before our departure, which had

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\* *Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 791.

CHAP. 19. <sup>1578.</sup> <sup>Port SAN JULIAN.</sup> ' been their part or duty to have discovered them at the time, and not to have concealed them for a time and place not so fitting. How true it was wherewith they charged him upon their oath, I know not; but he utterly denied it, affirming that he was innocent of such things whereof he was accused; judged, and suffered death for.'

It is evident that Mr. Fletcher speaks of Mr. Doughtie in terms of more than common regard; and, in giving his character, has described him as a man of extraordinary endowments.

The account of this transaction, as far as the circumstances are known, has been given at some length, as it forms one of the principal objections which have been made to the conduct of the commander in this expedition. Such imperfect statements, however, are not calculated to fix opinion; and the subject perhaps cannot be better closed than by the reflections which they produced in the mind of Dr. Johnson. 'How far it is probable that Drake, after having been acquainted with this man's designs, should admit him into his fleet, and afterwards caress, respect, and trust him; or that Doughtie, who is represented as a man of eminent abilities, should engage in so long and hazardous a voyage, with no other view than that of defeating it; is left to the determination of the reader. What designs he could have formed with any hope of success, or to what actions worthy of death he could have proceeded without accomplices, for none are mentioned, is equally difficult to imagine. Nor, on the other hand, though the obscurity of the account, and the remote place chosen for the discovery of this wicked project, seem to give some reason for suspicion, does there appear any temptation from either hope, fear, or interest, that might induce Drake, or any commander in his state, to put to death an innocent man upon false pretences.'

The bodies of Mr. Doughtie, and of those who had been killed by the Patagonians, were buried on an island in the harbour; and upon their graves, says Mr. Fletcher, I set up a stone, whereon I engraved their names, and the day, month, and year of their burial.

CHAP. 19.  
1578.  
Port SAN  
JULIAN.

That Drake should take shelter during the winter season, in the same port where Magalhanes had wintered so many years before, and, like him, should there execute one of his officers upon a charge of mutiny, are circumstances of coincidence which have not escaped notice in the early accounts.

The Portuguese prize, the *Mary*, being leaky and troublesome was unloaded and broken up, and the fleet reduced to the number of three; the *Pelican*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Marigold*. Having completed their watering, wooding, and repairs, on August the 17th, they sailed from Port *San Julian*.

August.

August the 20th, they made Cape *Virgenes*, which at the distance of four leagues, was remarkable for its high and steep gray cliffs, full of black spots. Here the General changed the name of his ship, out of respect, it is said, to his friend Sir Christopher Hatton, calling her, instead of the *Pelican*, the *Golden Hind*.

August 24th, the ships anchored, 30 leagues, by their account, within the entrance of the Strait, near three islands 'laying triangle-wise.' To the largest of them was given the name *Elizabeth Island*. They remained by these islands one day, and killed a great number of [penguins] 'a kind of fowl, whose flesh is not far unlike a fat goose here in England. They have no wings, but short pinnions, which serve their turn in swimming\*.'

In the  
Strait.

In the passage through the Strait, the ships were frequently

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\* Narrative of Edward Cliffe.

CHAP. 19. obliged to anchor, and sometimes in separate places. The land  
 1578. on both sides is described as mountainous, with high frozen  
 In the peaks; but the low and plain-grounds, as fruitful. The tides  
 Strait. were observed to rise and fall above five fathoms perpendicular\*. When they approached the Western entrance, a number of channels were observed towards the South, upon which account the ships anchored near an island, and the General went with some of his officers in a boat, to discover the best passage. As they returned, they met a canoe, in which were Indians of small stature, but well made†. This canoe was made of the bark of trees, and had a semicircular high prow and stern. The body was handsomely moulded, and the workmanship excellent. It had no other closing up or caulking of the seams, than their being stitched with thongs made of the skin of seals, or some other animal, and yet were so close that scarcely any water entered the canoe. The tools which they used, were knives made of muscle shells (which in the strait are of an extraordinary size, some of them 20 inches in length). The thin brittle edge of the shell is broken off, and a new edge made, by rubbing or grinding upon stones, which is so sharp and well tempered, that it will cut the hardest wood, and even the bones of which they make fishgigs. They had a house on the island, which was simply a few poles covered with the skins of beasts. The vessels in which they kept water, and their drinking cups, were made of the bark of trees, of good shape and workmanship.

In the Western part of the strait, the ships were near the South shore, and the number of openings with the broken land

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\* *World Encompassed*, p. 35.

† *Drake* appears to be the first voyager who met with small people in the Strait. If he had not seen likewise the Patagonians, his account would have raised great doubts of the veracity of the Spanish relations. The size of the people now met with, is not otherwise particularised than by the term 'of mean stature.'



there seen, are described in the relations 'to be no strait at all, but all islands\*.' By their observations, which are not, more than others of that age, to be commended for their accuracy, 'the entrance of the Strait was in 52° South, the middle in 53° 15' South, and the going out in 52° 30' South.

CHAP. 19.  
1578.  
September.

September the 6th, they cleared the Strait, and entered the South Sea, 17 days after making Cape De las Virgenes. It was the intention of the General to have steered to the North, to get as speedily as he could out of 'the nipping cold.' The winter they had passed, however, had been thus far mild; the temperature of the air appearing to them like that of England.

Three ships  
pass the  
Strait.

The second day after they were out of the Strait, they had sailed to the North West about 70 leagues†, when a gale of wind came on from the North East, which blew with such violence and constancy, that for more than a fortnight the ships could carry no sail, and were driven to the West South West, till they were in 57° South latitude, and 'above 200 leagues in 'longitude'‡ to the West of the Strait. This wind, to a ship intending to cross the Pacific Ocean, might have been esteemed favourable; but Drake's plan was to get to the North, without departing from the American coast.

September 15th, at 6 P. M. the moon was partially eclipsed, and continued in that state for an hour. On the 24th, the wind became favourable, and they made sail steering to the North East, on which course they continued seven days§, when they came in sight of land; but the weather would not permit them to anchor.

\* *World Encompassed*, p. 39.

† *Cliffe*, and *Nuno da Silva*.

‡ *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake*. Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 734. See also the *Relation by Nuno da Silva*.

§ *Relation by Nuno da Silva*, in *Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 744.

CHAP. 19. On the night of the 30th, having made the land, the wind  
 1578. blew strong, and the Marigold, Captain John Thomas, was  
 September. obliged to bear away before the gale (the direction of the wind  
 The at the time is not mentioned); and was separated from the other  
 MARIGOLD separated. two ships.

October. On the 7th of October, towards night, the Admiral and the Elizabeth, under low sail, stood into a bay, near the Western entrance of the Strait, a small distance to the North of a Cape they had before passed\*, where they hoped to have found shelter from the bad weather; but a few hours after coming to an anchor, the cable of the Admiral broke, and she drove out to sea, and was thus separated from the Elizabeth, which ship remained in the port, without making any attempt then or afterwards to follow the Admiral. On the contrary, the next day, October the 8th, taking advantage of his absence, Captain Winter re-entered the Strait.

The other  
two ships  
separated.

Cliffe relates, 'the 7th of October, falling into a dangerous bay full of rocks, we there lost company of Mr. Drake the same night. The next day, very hardly escaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the *Streights* again, where we anchored in an open bay for the space of two days, and made great fires on the shore, to the end that if Mr. Drake put into the *Streights* again, he might find us. We afterwards went into a sound, and staid three weeks, naming it *The Port of Health*; for there our men, being the most part of them before very sickly, did recover. Here we found great muscles, some 20 inches long, pleasant meat, and many of them full of seed pearls.

'We came out of this harbour the first of November, giving over our voyage by Mr. Winter's compulsion, full sore against the mariners' minds.'

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\* *World Encompassed*, pp. 38 and 40.

To return to the General's ship—

CHAP. 19.

1578.  
October.

Driven from 'the bay of parting of friends,' into the open sea, and separated from all the other ships by a continuance of the tempestuous weather, she was carried back again into 55° South, 'in which height they ran in among the islands before mentioned, lying to the Southward of America, through which they had passed from one sea to the other\*,' (i. e. the land of *Tierra del Fuego*,) and there anchored. They remained in quietness two days, and found wholesome herbs and good fresh water.

The winds, however, returning to 'their old wont,' they were once more forced from their anchorage, and their shallop, which had been put out for necessary purposes, lost sight of the ship. In the shallop were eight men, who had provisions only for one day; but they had the good fortune on the third, to regain the shore, where they subsisted upon fish and roots; and within a fortnight after their separation from the ship, they re-entered the Strait †. What afterwards became of them will in the sequel be related.

The General's ship was driven farther to the Southward, and ran in again among the islands: and 'at length,' says *The World Encompassed*, 'fell in with the uttermost part of land towards the South Pole; which uttermost cape or head-land of all these islands, stands near in the 56th degree, without which there is no main nor island to be seen to the Southwards; but the Atlantic Ocean and the South Sea meet in a large and free scope‡.'

Southern-  
most part of  
T. DEL  
FUEGO dis-  
covered.

On the 28th of October, the storm, which with small intermissions had continued 51 days, ceased, and at this Southern

\* *World Encompassed*, p. 41.

† *Purchas, his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. p. 1188.

‡ *World Encompassed*, p. 44.

CHAP. 19. extremity of the land they found an anchoring place, at which  
 1578. they remained two days.

October.

The circumstances here related from *The World Encompassed*, are corroborated by the other accounts, from which it appears, that this anchoring place was at the island, the South part of which has since been named *Cape Horn*.

Nuno da Silva says, being under 57 degrees, they entered into a haven of an island, and anchored about the length of a cannon shot from the land, in 20 fathoms.

Mr. Fletcher relates, 'myself being landed, did, with my boy, travel to the Southernmost point of the island to the sea on that side, where I found the island to be more Southerly, three parts of a degree, than any of the rest of the islands.'

Among these islands, families of natives were frequently seen passing in canoes from one to another; the children wrapped in skins hanging at their mother's back. To all the islands which lay without, and to the South of, the Strait, the General gave the name of the *Elizabethides*.

It has been necessary to trace minutely the navigation of Drake immediately after his entrance into the *South Sea*; in order to examine upon what foundation an idea was for so great a length of time entertained of his having discovered lands to the westward of *Tierra del Fuego*\*. This belief seems to have been created by the uncouth and unconnected manner in which the author of *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake to the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth*, has drawn up his narrative. But whether the accounts are examined separately, or taken in the aggregate, they furnish clear evidence for the establishment of two points. One, that no

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\* Islands are laid down to the West of *Tierra del Fuego*, with the name *Elizabethides*, in some of our best modern geographical grammars.

land was seen by Drake to the Westward of *Tierra del Fuego* in that parallel; the other, that he was the discoverer of the land which is now named *Cape Horn*, from accidental circumstances, similar to those which occasioned the discovery of the land afterwards named *Staten Island*, by one of the ships of Loyasa's fleet \*.

The discovery of Drake made the first reduction of the *Terra Incognita*; but the *Tierra del Fuego* was still retained as forming a part of it, in the charts. Mr. Fletcher, however, in his journal, says, 'We altered the name from *Terra Incognita* to *Terra nunc bene Cognita*.'

On the 30th of October, the wind coming fair from the South, the General weighed anchor, 'departing hence from the Southernmost part of the world known, or like to be known†. They sailed first to the North West. The next day, they took in provisions of birds at two islands, and continued from thence steering to the North West. Afterwards, to keep in with the land, they steered to the North, and sometimes to the East of North‡. November.

They coasted the American shore, till they arrived at the island *Mocha*, where they anchored November the 25th. Island Mocha.

In the evening, the General went on shore. The island appeared well stored with maize (Indian corn); with sheep, and other cattle. The inhabitants, who were Indians, came to the boat, and presented the General with two fat sheep, and some fruits, for which he made a suitable return. The Indians having appeared so friendly, the General went again the next morning, taking some empty casks in the boat, a convenient place for

\* Vide pages 133, 134, preceding.

† *Manuscript Journal of Mr. Francis Fletcher*, in the *British Museum*.

‡ *The World Encompassed*. The direction in which they sailed from the Southern harbour, is additional confirmation of the preceding account.



CHAP. 19.  
1578.  
November.  
MOCHA.

filling water having been pointed out by them. Two of the seamen landed with the casks: but they had scarcely left the boat, when they were suddenly attacked and slain by the natives, who had treacherously prepared an ambush for the rest of the English. They afterwards shot their arrows, and with such effect, that every one in the English boat was wounded, the General in the face under the right eye. It was with some difficulty they got clear from this unexpected attack, the Indians pursuing their advantage so closely, that they seized and took away four of the boat's oars.

The English relator, who possessed a full share of the opinions and prejudices entertained at that time by his countrymen against the Spaniards, ascribes this attack of the natives to their hatred of that nation. He mentions, that one of the English, asking for water, used the word *agua*, which made the natives suppose them to be Spaniards\*. Drake, probably believing this to be the case, did not seek to revenge the injury he had received from the natives, but sailed the same day. All the wounded men fortunately recovered, though they had lost their principal surgeon.

They made diligent search as they sailed along the coast for the missing ships, the General having appointed, in case of separation, that the ships should endeavour to rejoin each other on the coast of *Peru*, in or near the latitude of 30 degrees South.

November the 30th, they anchored in a bay 'in 32°, or 'thereabouts,' where the country did not at first appear to be inhabited; but cattle were seen, supposed to be wild. A boat was sent to examine the place. In returning, she met a canoe, in which was an Indian fishing, who was taken to the General.

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\* *World Encompassed*, p. 48.

This Indian had long hair upon his head, but no beard, and was dressed in a white garment that reached to his knees. He seemed gentle and tractable. The General gave him some linen, a butcher's chopping knife, and other things; and made him comprehend that the ship wanted provisions, and would pay for any that should be brought. He was then released, and went on shore in his canoe; the ship's boat being sent at the same time. His treatment on board the ship, and the sight of the gifts he had received, gave so much content to the natives, that they brought down to the sea side a fat hog, some poultry, and other provisions, which they carried to the ship in one of their canoes; and an Indian, who was supposed to be the principal person among them, 'having sent back his horse\*,' went on board in the ship's boat. From this Indian, who spoke the Spanish language, they learnt that they had passed the port of *Valparaiso*, six leagues, and that a Spanish ship was then lying there at anchor. He undertook to pilot the English to *Valparaiso*; but it does not appear that he knew, or suspected, they were enemies to the Spaniards.

December 4th, with their Indian pilot on board, they sailed; and called the bay they left, *Philip's Bay*, in compliment to their conductor, whose name was Felipe. The next day they arrived at *Valparaiso Bay*, where they found at anchor, a ship named (in the English accounts) *The Captain of Moriall*, or *The Grand Captain of the South, Admiral to the Islands of Solomon*†. They made prize of this ship, and found in her 1770 *botijas*, or jars full of *Chili* wine; 60,000 † pesos of gold, with some jewels, and other merchandize. The Spaniards of the

CHAP. 19.  
1578.  
November.

VALPA-  
RAISO.

\* *The World Encompassed*.

† *World Encompassed*, p. 51. It is probable that by these titles *Alvaro de Mendana* was designed.

‡ *Lopez Vaz*.

CHAP. 19.  
1578.  
December.

town, who were not more than nine families, abandoned the place; and it was rifled by the English seamen, who took the ornaments out of the church, which however consisted only of a silver chalice, two cruets, and an altar cloth. These things the General caused to be delivered to Mr. Fletcher, the minister. Wine, bread, bacon, and other provisions, were found in the warehouses, from whence the ship was well furnished; and, on the 8th, they sailed from *Valparaiso*, taking their prize with them, and one of her men, who was a Greek by birth, and went by the name of Juan Griego, to serve as a pilot to *Lima*. The rest of her people the General set on shore. Felipe, the Indian pilot, was rewarded for his services, and landed at the part of the coast most convenient to him.

They continued to search for the missing ships as they sailed along the coast. The General's ship was too large to examine close to the shore, and a boat was not of sufficient strength to defend herself if attacked by the enemy: it was therefore determined to set up a pinnace, which might with safety look into every bay and creek, to try if they could again meet their countrymen. With this intention, on December the 19th, they anchored opposite the mouth of the river *Coquimbo*, in six fathoms, about a cannon shot distance from the entrance. Not far to the North, was a town named *Cyppo*\*, where the Spaniards had a considerable force, of which the English were not apprized. The General sent 14 men to the shore to get water. They had filled six pipes, when they perceived a large body of Spanish horsemen, accompanied by Indians on foot, approaching them. The English had kept so good a watch, that they had full time to retreat to a rock in the water, and thence into their boat, which conveyed them out of the reach of the enemy. One man, how-

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\* Not in the charts by that name; but, the Spanish names are very incorrectly given in the old English relations of this voyage.

ever, Richard Minivy, was so obstinate and fool-hardy, that he resisted every endeavour to make him retreat with the rest, and when the Spaniards came near, he killed one of their horses with a halberd, and was himself run through with a spear. The Spaniards laid the dead body upon a horse, and it was taken to their town.

This place not suiting their purpose, 'nor the entertainment being such as they desired\*,' the General weighed anchor, and the next day, December 20th, anchored in a bay in 27° 5' South, where the pinnace was set up; and as soon as she was completed, the General embarked in her, leaving his ship at anchor, and sailed back towards the South, to make search for his scattered ships. After one day's trial, finding no progress could be made in that direction, being opposed by the wind, he rejoined the ship. At this anchorage, a great quantity of fish was caught, of a kind like that called the gurnet in the English seas.

They remained in this bay till January the 19th, and then proceeded slowly along the coast. On the 22d, at an island near the coast, a small distance to the North of a mountain called *Morro moreno* (the brown mountain), they found four Indians fishing, who shewed them a place on the main land, where there was fresh water; but it was at a distance from the sea-side, and the water not in great quantity.

Farther to the North, they landed at a place called *Tarapaca*, and whilst they were looking for water, they found a Spaniard lying asleep, and near him 13 bars of silver, worth 4000 Spanish ducats, which they took. A small distance from the same place, they again landed, and met a Spaniard and an Indian driving eight Peruvian sheep, which are the beasts of burthen

\* *The World Encompassed.*

CHAP. 19. of that country, each laden with an hundred pounds weight  
 1579. of silver. The sheep and treasure the English conducted to  
 January. their boat.

These seizures are related in the *World Encompassed*, in a style of exulting jocularly. The sleeping Spaniard they 'freed from his charge, and left him to take the other part of his nap in more security:' and afterwards, they 'could not bear to see a gentleman Spaniard perform the office of carrier; therefore, without intreaty, offered their service.' The following passage in the same relation, shows the extravagant ideas entertained by its author of the riches of *Spanish America*. 'Hereabout, as also all along, and up the country throughout the province of *Cuzco*, the common ground wheresoever it be taken up, in every hundred pound weight of earth, yieldeth 25 shillings of pure silver, after the rate of a crown an ounce.'

Peruvian  
sheep.

From this part of the coast, many Indians went off to the ship, in canoes, which were frames covered with the skins of seals, who exchanged fish for knives and glasses; and at an Indian town, where two Spaniards resided as governors, the English obtained, in the way of traffic, some Peruvian sheep. These animals are described to be about the size of small cows, having strength more than proportioned to their stature. One of them bore the weight of three stout men and a boy, without appearing oppressed. They have necks like camels, and heads that have some resemblance to those of other sheep. Their wool is fine, and their flesh good. They supply the place of horses, and travel with heavy burthens over mountains, which no carriage or other animal laden can pass\*.

February.  
ARICA.

February the 7th, they arrived at *Arica*, where two Spanish ships were lying at anchor; from one of which they took aboard

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\* *The World Encompassed*, p. 56.



forty bars of silver ' of the bigness and fashion of brickbats,' in weight about 20 lbs. each; and from the other 200 jars of wine.

CHAP. 19.

1579.  
February.

The town of *Arica* is situated in a pleasant valley abounding with all good things, the soil being the most fruitful of any that was seen along the coast\*.

The next morning they sailed in pursuit of a ship which they were informed was not far before them, and richly laden. They took with them one of their prizes, and a negro of her crew. The General sailed in the pinnace close to the shore, and the ships kept on their course a league without him.

At *Arequipa* they found the ship, the object of their chase, AREQUIPA, laying at anchor; but she had received notice of Drake's being on the coast time enough to land 800 bars of silver belonging to the king of Spain. This vessel, and two others of their prizes, they discharged here, by first setting all their sails, and then committing them, without any person on board, to the guidance of the elements.

They sailed on for *Callao*, the port for *Lima*, and in their route met a vessel laden with linens, of which they took a part. When the English first made their appearance at *Valparaiso*, messengers had been dispatched from that place to spread the alarm along the coast; but the great distance of *Lima*, and the difficulty of the roads, gave opportunity to Drake, slow as his progress had been to the North, to give the first notice of his own arrival at *Callao*.

CALLAO.

He arrived there on February 15th, when it was near night. Seventeen vessels were lying in the road, 12 of which were moored, and had all their sails on shore. These were examined by the Englishmen, who took out of them a chest of silver, some

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\* *The World Encompassed* gives for the latitude of *Arica* 26° South, which is above a degree and a half more South than its position in the present charts.

silks,

CHAP. 19. silks, and linens: In boarding a ship from *Panama*, one English-  
 1579. man was killed. The General made enquiry of the prisoners  
 February. taken in the vessels, what ships had lately sailed for *Panama*;  
 for to that city gold and silver was sent by sea from every other  
 port on the coast. By these enquiries, he gained intelligence  
 that a ship called the *Cacafuego* had left *Callao* the 2d of Fe-  
 bruary, laden with treasure for *Panama*.

As the coasting navigation of the Spanish vessels in these seas was seldom very expeditiously performed, it being usual for them to stop and transact business at the different ports which lay in their route, the General determined to endeavour to overtake this ship before she should reach her intended place of destination. Previous however to leaving *Callao*, he cut the cables of all the ships in the port, leaving them to drive as the winds should direct; and the masts of the two largest ships he ordered to be cut away. He then departed towards the North under full sail, and when the wind failed, the ship was towed by the boats.

The damage done by Drake to the shipping along the coast, appears not to have been the effect of wantonness, but of provident foresight; and committed upon motives of self defence, to disable them from being used in pursuit of him. The circumstance of cutting away the masts of the largest ships is related by Nuno da Silva, who was under no temptation to favour the English. The precautions thus taken, and the expeditious manner of pursuit practised by the English, proved fortunate for them in more than one respect. The lightness of the winds, notwithstanding all their diligence, rendered the first of their progress from *Callao* very slow; and they were yet in sight of the port, when the Viceroy of *Peru*, Don Francisco de Toledo, arrived there, who gave immediate directions for the equipment of two ships\*, in each of which 200 armed men were

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\* Lopez Taz, and the Relation of Nuno da Silva.

embarked;

embarked; and they left the port of *Callao* in pursuit of Drake, intending to board his ship if they could come up with her; for they were unprovided with artillery. The same night that they quitted the port, a fresh breeze sprung up, of which the English made all the advantage in their power, and they looked forward too eagerly to be overtaken. The Spaniards, who were no better furnished with provisions than with cannon, were not qualified for pursuit, and returned to *Callao*. The Viceroy, as speedily afterwards as he could, sent out a force more properly equipped, under the command of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa\*; but this could not be done time enough to interrupt the proceedings of the enemy.

CHAP. 19.  
1579.  
February.

In the way to *Payta*, the English met a small vessel, from which some ornaments of silver were taken, and she was dismissed. On February the 20th, they passed the port of *Payta*. The pinnace boarded a vessel at anchor there, from which she took some provisions; and, what was of more consequence to their purpose, learnt, that the ship they were in quest of, had sailed from *Payta* only two days before.

They afterwards met two other vessels; from one they took a negro; the other was a ship bound to *Panama*, in which they found about 80 lbs. weight of gold, a gold crucifix set with emeralds, and some silver; besides which, she had a cargo of cordage, and ships' stores. The crew and passengers were sent away in a boat for the land: the ship was kept till the next day, when the English, having taken out of her such things as they wanted, left her to drive in the sea.

February 24th, they crossed the equinoctial line, impatient to come up with the object of their pursuit, and the General

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\* The same Sarmiento who sailed with *Mendana* on the Discovery of the *Salomon Islands*.

CHAP. 19. promised to reward him, whose fortune it should first be to describe her, with a golden chain.

1579.  
March.

March 1st, they made Cape. *San Francisco*\*; and the same day, at three in the afternoon, a sail was seen about four leagues before them, which proved to be the ship they were in search of. It is said she was first seen by John Drake†, from the top of the mast. The Spanish Captain, Juan de Anton, having no suspicion that an enemy was so near him, stood towards the strange ship, supposing her to be one of those that traded along the coast. When they were near each other, Drake hailed them to strike, which the Spaniard refused to do, till after one of his masts was shot away, and himself wounded with an arrow‡.

As soon as possession was taken of the Spanish ship, Drake made sail with his prize, steering a direct course from the land, all that night, and all the next day and night; when, thinking they were at a safe distance from the coast, they stopped, and lay by their prize four days, taking out her cargo, and loading their own ship. The treasure found in this Spanish vessel consisted of 13 chests of vials of plate, 80 lbs. weight of gold; 26 tons of uncoined silver; and a quantity of jewels and precious stones. The value of the whole was estimated at 360,000 *Pesos*§; of which, 300 bars of the silver belonged to the King of Spain, the rest was the property of private merchants.

The English having removed this treasure to their own ship, 'which now might well be called the *Golden Hind*,' on the 7th,

\* In 0° 40' North latitude.

† *The Famous Voyage*, &c. A brother of Francis Drake, of the name of John, lost his life in the expedition to the *Isthmus of Darien*, in 1572. Whether the John Drake, who sailed in the present voyage, was related to the General, is not mentioned.

‡ Relation of a voyage by Nuno da Silva. *Hakluyt*, Vol. III. p. 747.

§ The *Pesos de Oro* must have been here meant (See note †, page 296), as the uncoined silver, at five shillings per ounce, would be worth £. 212,000.

made sail, and the Spanish ship was allowed to proceed on her voyage to *Panama*, little compensated for the loss of her cargo by the witticisms which were liberally bestowed by the captors.

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To make farther search for their associates from whom they had been so long separated, seemed vain, and they had no other motive for protracting their stay in this part of the world: on the contrary, it would have been highly imprudent in them, after the purpose of their voyage was so fully satisfied, to have remained longer in the seas where they had committed so much mischief and depredation. Their wishes naturally tended homewards, and the route, which first presented itself, was to return by the way they came. But besides that the time of the year was unfavourable for a passage round the South of America, there was reason to apprehend that the Spaniards would station ships to wait there, in the hope of intercepting them.

The plan which the General determined upon, and which is not less creditable to his abilities than to his spirit for enterprise, was, to attempt the discovery of a passage by the Northern parts of America, from the *Pacific* to the *Atlantic* Ocean. The relation, entitled *The World Encompassed*, says, 'All of us willingly hearkened and consented to our General's advice; which was, first to seek out some convenient place to trim our ship and store ourselves with wood and water, and such provisions as we could get; and thenceforward to hasten on our intended journey, for the discovery of the said passage, through which we might with joy return to our longed homes.'

Drake accordingly steered for the land of *Nicaragua*. On the 16th, they made the coast near a small island named *Canno*, two leagues distant from the main land, in a small bay of

Island  
CANNO.



CHAP. 19. which they anchored in five fathoms, close to the shore\*, and  
 1579. near a fresh water river. This place was chosen to refit the  
 March. ship.

On the 20th, the pinnace was sent in chace of a Spanish vessel that was passing close by the island, and brought her in. She was laden with *sarsaparella*, butter, honey, and various other things. The General ordered the *sarsaparella* to be landed, and the vessel was made to serve as a warehouse to lodge the stores of the English ship, which was laid on shore, and her bottom examined.

The island *Canno* supplied them with wood and fish. There were alligators and monkies on the island. Whilst the ship remained near it, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt.

March the 24th, the repairs, wooding, and watering, being completed, they sailed to the Westward, with their last prize in company, which they kept with them two days longer; and detained some of her crew to serve as pilots. Among the papers of this vessel, were letters from the King of Spain to the Governor of the *Philippine* Islands, and 'the sea cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselves in their course†.

\* *Nuno da Silva*. *The World Encompassed* says, 'we settled ourselves in a fresh river between the main land and the island of *Caines*.' In *William Funnell's* account of that coast (see *Dampier's Voyages*, Vol. IV. p. 89), the island *Canno* is described to be in latitude 10° North, and about 15 leagues distant, in a direction nearly South East by East, from the *Gulf of Nicoya*: it is a league in circuit; and there is good anchorage, with a watering place on the North East side. In *D. Antonio de Ulloa's* Chart, *Canno* is placed twice that distance from the *Gulf of Nicoya*, and in latitude about 8°  $\frac{1}{4}$  North.

† *Relation by Nuno da Silva*. Whether these sea cards were charts of those seas, or only the cards of steering compasses, is not explained.

April