

Elizabethan Seamen

F. H. Young



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Voyages of
Elizabethan Seamen

EDITED BY

EDWARD JOHN PAYNE, M.A.

FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

SECOND SERIES

GILBERT
AMADAS AND BARLOW
CAVENDISH
RALEIGH

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK

*Voyages of the Elizabethan
Seamen to America*

Select Narratives from the 'Principal Navigations' of

HAKLUYT

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SECOND SERIES

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Raleigh

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INTRODUCTION

GILBERT'S occupation of Newfoundland was intended as the first step in a scheme drawn up by himself for expelling the Spaniards from America and transferring it to the English crown. This bold project was formed and proposed for the Queen's adoption, as a defensive measure, at a critical juncture. In the latter part of 1577 Don John of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, who had formed a wild scheme for invading England, marrying Mary Stuart, deposing Elizabeth, and restoring the Pope's authority, forced the States of the Netherlands to recommence hostilities. The States were compelled to seek foreign support, and in default of obtaining it from England, would certainly have had recourse to France. To prevent this Elizabeth was compelled to come to an agreement with them, and to support them openly with men and money. In view of an impending war with Philip, Englishmen were already meditating on the best means of striking at the power of Spain; and Gilbert's project was propounded for the Queen's consideration two months before she concluded her treaty with the States.

The original draft, dated November 6, 1577, and now preserved in the Public Record Office, has been signed by Gilbert, though the signature has been incompletely defaced, probably by his own hand; and there are some indications in the preface that it was intended to be anonymous. Some have supposed it to have been really the work of Raleigh. This suggestion is contradicted by internal evidence, and we believe Gilbert to have been the author of it. Though he modestly describes himself as 'a silly (simple) member of the commonweal of England' he was then a distinguished soldier, and held the office of General Surveyor of all horses, armour, weapons, munitions, and artillery throughout England. Probably the scheme embodied ideas more or less widely entertained at the time among English military men, and Gilbert did little more than reduce these ideas to a definite form.

'It is more than time,' Gilbert writes, apparently alluding to France as well as Spain, 'to pare their nails by the stumps that are most ready prest to pluck the crown, as it were in despite of God, from your Highness' head, not only by foreign force but also by stirring up home factions.' The chief means to this end, he says, is the weakening of their navies; and this can be effected not only by open hostilities but by 'colourable means.' What these are is set forth at some length. Licence should be granted, under letters patent, 'to discover and inhabit some strange place, with special provisoes for their safeties whom policy requireth to have most annoyed, by which means the doing of the contrary shall be imputed to the executors' fault.' The writer then proceeds in greater detail:—

'To set forth, under such like colour of discovery, certain ships of war to the N(ew). L(and), which with your good licence I will undertake without your Majesty's charge. In which place they shall certainly once in the year meet in effect all the great shipping of France, Spain, and Portugal; where I would have them take and bring away, with their freights and ladings, the best of those ships, and to burn the worst; and those that they take to carry into Holland or Zeland, or as pirates to shroud themselves for a small time upon your Majesty's coasts, under the friendship of some certain Vice-admiral of this realm, who may be afterwards committed to prison, as in displeasure for the same, against whose returns six months' provision of bread, and four of drink, to be laid in some apt place, together with munition to serve for the number of 5,000 or 6,000 men; which men, with certain other ships of war being in a readiness, shall pretend to inhabit St. Lawrence island, the late discovered countries in the north, or elsewhere, and not to join with the others but in some certain remote place at sea.

'The setting forth of shipping for this service will amount to no great matter, and the return shall certainly be with great gain. For the N(ew-land). F(ish). is a principal, and rich, and everywhere vendible merchandise; and by the gain thereof shipping, victual, munition, and the transporting of 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers may be defrayed.'

The fleet of war-ships and the five or six thousand men thus equipped were to be employed in the conquest of the West Indies. Proper positions were to be seized in the islands of Cuba and St. Domingo, and military

colonies to be established in each as bases for greater operations. An essential feature of the scheme was the plunder of homeward-bound Spanish vessels, whose course lay along the shore of Florida. The resources of the West Indian islands, as Gilbert points out, were sufficient to render the intended colonies there self-supporting. The possession of the entire Newfoundland fishery would supply another and a not less important base for operations. Newfoundland lay nearer to England, and would be of material use in securing for England the North-west passage by way of the lands recently reached by Frobisher, who had just returned from his second voyage. While Gilbert's project was under discussion at the Queen's council table the London assayers were disputing over the ore Frobisher had brought back; and one effect of his voyages had been to draw increased attention to Newfoundland, which was regarded as belonging to England, though territorial possession had never been taken, and the fishery had always been open to the vessels of other nations.

Before Frobisher's discovery of the supposed mineral wealth of *Meta Incognita* in 1576 English fishermen had formed but a small fraction of the total number of 'Newlanders.' Hakluyt, wishing to prove that Englishmen had not altogether neglected the shores claimed by England in virtue of Cabot's discovery, cites no better evidence than an Act of Parliament passed in 1548 to protect fishermen going to Iceland and Newfoundland from the exactions of Admiralty officials. Perhaps these exactions had something to do with the slackness of Englishmen to take advantage of the Newfoundland fisheries. In 1574, two years before Frobisher sailed,

not more than thirty English vessels frequented the Newfoundland waters; in 1578 the number had increased to fifty.

The English Newlanders were still far outnumbered by the French and Spanish, and formed only one-seventh of the whole fleet¹. The reason assigned for this disproportion is that the Iceland waters were more conveniently situated for English sailors, and that England had carried on a flourishing trade with Iceland long before Cabot sailed for Newfoundland². A more definite reason is given for the increase after 1576. The Newfoundland fishing trade had previously been chiefly in the hands of Bristol men. It was now commonly reported among the fishermen of Devon and Cornwall that their neighbours of Bristol were making vast profits in Newfoundland, and that these were partly due to some other source than the sea, in other words, to the discovery of metal ore; and Cornish and Devonshire

¹ The numbers are as follows:—

	Ships.	Tonnage.
French and Breton	150	7,000
Spanish (besides 50 sail engaged in whale fishing)	100	5,000 to 6,000
Portuguese	50	3,000
English (four years previously only 30)	50	3,000

The best ships, both in construction and in 'furniture of munition' or armament, were the English and Spanish; next came the French, the Portuguese last.

² As an illustration of this it may be mentioned that the roll on which Cabot's patent is filed ('French Roll,' 11 Henry VII, m. 23, in the Public Record Office) includes two licences to English shipowners to trade to Iceland—one to John Beryf the elder of Brightlingsea, another to John Waynflete of Southwold. Beryf was apparently the father of the shipowner of the same name who by his will dated in 1521 charged a legacy of £40 to Brightlingsea church on his ships the *Barbara* and the *Maryflower* 'if God send them well home.'

men now ventured across the Atlantic in great numbers. That gold existed in the mountains of Florida was universally believed. Frobisher had found it in *Meta Incognita*. Had either gold or silver now been discovered in Newfoundland? If so, the time was come for action, for the Spaniards were to the English as four to one in Newfoundland waters, and the French were nearly as strong. Should either nation obtain a footing on the soil of the island, and erect fortifications, it might prove difficult to dislodge them.

Gilbert's 'Discourse to the Queen' throws a sidelight on the treaty made by Elizabeth with the Dutch States in January, 1578. Probably the forty vessels of war to be furnished by the Netherlanders for service under the Queen's captains were intended for some such service as is contemplated in Gilbert's proposals. The Machiavellian suggestion of 'special provisoes,' ostensibly preventing adventurers from attacking the Spaniards or the French under pretence of discovering and inhabiting strange lands, has a prominent place in the letters patent granted to him in June, 1578. If Gilbert, it is provided, his heirs or assigns, shall rob or spoil the subjects of any prince in league and amity with England, he or they shall within a limited time make restitution and satisfaction on penalty of being outlawed. What followed shows how little was meant by all this. At the end of the summer, Gilbert collected a fleet of eleven vessels manned by 500 men, most of them being desperadoes who had joined him with the sole idea of participating in Spanish plunder. By the middle of September he was for his own part ready to sail. But the crews proved an unruly mob, and their

captains appear to have been divided in opinion as to the course to be pursued. While the men were brawling and roystering in the streets of Plymouth, the captains were wrangling with him over the scheme of the expedition. Gilbert probably adhered in opinion to his original plan of proceeding straight to Newfoundland, though he was compelled to abandon it and sail for the West Indies. Four of his captains deserted him with their ships and crews, and those who remained seem to have induced him to change his plan, though Newfoundland was still the pretended object of the voyage. With the view, perhaps, of giving further colour to this pretence, Gilbert, shortly before sailing, directed the elder Hakluyt to make inquiries about Newfoundland of one Anthony Parkhurst, a Bristol shipowner, who was known to have made several voyages thither. It may, however, be that Gilbert still had hopes of taking Newfoundland in the course of his voyage home, and looked forward to making practical use of the information to be obtained from Parkhurst.

Pursuant to Gilbert's instructions, Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple (his namesake, the preacher, was still residing at Oxford) dispatched a messenger to Parkhurst with a letter of inquiry, instructing him to induce Parkhurst to 'write at large' in reply to it. The purport of the questions may be inferred from Parkhurst's answer¹. What was the nature of the soil and climate of Newfoundland, and what were its natural

¹ 'A Letter written to Master Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, containing a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by Master Anthony Parkhurst, Gentleman, the 13th day of November, 1578.' (Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 132-4.)

productions—the timber and fruit trees, fish, birds, game? How were the fish taken, and how many fishermen of different nations frequented it? What were the meetest parts to inhabit or colonize, especially with reference to convenience for erecting forts so as to make the English lords of the whole fishing in a small time, and sending from thence wood and coal, with all necessaries, to Labrador, lately discovered (i.e. the mines of *Meta Incognita*)? What minerals might be gotten in Newfoundland itself? Would Parkhurst undertake an expedition under commission from Gilbert, and make a true and perfect discovery of the Newfoundland waters, including the river of Canada and the firm land of Cape Breton? Parkhurst was ready and willing to do so. There was copper and iron, he assures Hakluyt, for he had brought home of the ore of both sorts. Of the precious metals he gives no hopes, but suggests that they may possibly exist at no great distance to the southward, and that here also would be found good fishing grounds. Parkhurst applauds, rather than encourages Hakluyt's idea of converting the Indians to Christianity. Yet he trusts that the time will come when the people of those parts will be redeemed from out of the captivity of that spiritual Pharaoh, the devil. The phrase is interesting, for it is evidently echoed in Hayes's narrative (p. 7).

Whether Parkhurst's letter, which is dated November 13, 1578, reached Gilbert before the latter sailed from Plymouth, on the 19th of the same month, is not clear. In any case it made no difference to the conduct of the expedition, which sailed by the southern route, evidently with the object of striking a blow at the West Indies.

All that is known of the result is that one of the ships, of which Miles Morgan was captain (see p. 12), was lost in an encounter with the Spaniards, and that Gilbert returned in the following year, having done little or nothing to effect his purpose. Whatever his operations may have been, there was every reason for throwing a veil over them. Gilbert desired to repeat his attempt in 1579, but was forbidden to do so. Apparently he was given to understand that direct attacks on the Spaniards must be postponed, and that he must confine himself to the North, where there was an ample and perfectly legitimate field for English enterprise. Meanwhile he was sent on service in Ireland, and his project, thus limited, seems to have had little attraction for adventurers. At length a few others were induced to join him, and preparations were made for renewing his designs the year before his patent of 1578, which had a duration of only six years, came to an end.

Little hope seems to have been entertained at home that fortune would favour Gilbert's enterprise. Elizabeth, impressed with the fact that Gilbert 'had no good hap at sea,' wished some one else to be invested with the general command, and forbade her new favourite, Raleigh, from accompanying him in person. Through Raleigh, she commanded Gilbert to have his portrait painted before sailing; sent him, as a token of favour, a trinket representing an anchor guided by a lady, and charged him to have as good care of himself as if she herself were on board. Raleigh's words, at the conclusion of the letter in which he conveyed to his brother the Queen's commands, seem to imply that he also shared in the general apprehension. 'I commend you,'

he ominously writes, 'to the will and protection of God, who sends us such life or death as He shall please, or hath appointed.'

Gilbert's preparations for departure appear to have been well advanced when a stranger arrived in England, whose connexion with Gilbert's enterprise has secured him a curious immortality. Stephen Parmenius was a young graduate of the University of Buda, who after three years spent in visiting the principal Universities of the Continent at length made his way to Oxford. Here he became acquainted with the younger Hakluyt, who informed him of Gilbert's proposed expedition, and subsequently introduced him to Gilbert in London. Parmenius, moved to enthusiasm by the prospect of a new England to be founded in North America, produced a Latin poem more than three hundred lines long in honour of the occasion, and sent it to Gilbert. After painting, in rather turgid language, the reign of peace and liberty about to be inaugurated, he laments that the fates forbid him to hope for a share in it. He would willingly go out as a colonist; the Muses, he remarks, would emigrate with him, and perhaps inspire him to sing the beginnings of a great nation in immortal verse. Alas! he must return to Hungary and the horrors of war, and some Oxford poet will doubtless profit by the opportunity which he has unhappily lost¹. Gilbert seems to

¹ O mihi felicem si fas conscendere puppim,
Et tecum, patria (pietas ignosce) relicta,
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare sorores
Tecum una Aonias, illic exordia gentis
Prima novae ad seros transmittere posse nepotes!
Sed me fata vetant, memoraturumque canora
Inclyta facta tuba, ad clades miserabilis Istri
Invitum retrahunt. His, his me fata reservant;

have been touched by this appeal. He took the young verse-maker with him; and when the captain of the *Delight* returned in August, with the news that Gilbert had anchored at St. John's, and taken possession of Newfoundland to the use of the English crown, he carried with him a letter from Parmenius to Hakluyt, which the latter printed in his collection¹. From this we gather that Hakluyt had some thoughts of following in another vessel, joining Gilbert's expedition, and seeing Newfoundland for himself. Had he done so, the chances are that, like Gilbert and Parmenius, he would never have returned. Fortunately he found no opportunity of risking his life in an expedition directed by Gilbert, whose career as a maritime adventurer was unfortunate from beginning to end.

There can be little doubt that this was partly Gilbert's own fault. An opinionated man, extremely jealous of his own credit, he took his own line in all things, paying little regard to the judgement or experience of others; and his violent temper evidently prevented those about him from pushing their remonstrances beyond a certain point. If Clarke, the sailing-master of the *Delight*, is to be believed², the loss of that vessel, and the

Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
 Aut veteres populos, aut nostro incognita coelo
 Munera naturae, dum spreto Helicone manebit
 Illa Aganippaeis sacrata Oxonia musis.'

¹ Vol. iii. p. 161.

² 'A Relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the *Delight* going for the discovery of Norumbega with Sir Humfrey Gilbert, 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight.' (Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 163.)

consequent failure of the expedition, is attributable to nothing but Gilbert's perversity. When the ships were within fifteen leagues of the island of Sablon, he came up to the *Delight* in his own light vessel, and consulted Clarke as to the course. Clarke unhesitatingly advised west-south-west, because the wind was in the south, the night at hand, and there were unknown sands stretching far out to sea from the shore they were nearing. Gilbert, however, commanded him to go west-north-west. Clarke in vain represented that his own ship would be upon the sands before daylight. Gilbert angrily replied that Clarke must be out in his reckoning, and commanded him in the Queen's name to do as he was bidden. Clarke obeyed; and his vessel was on the sands by seven o'clock the next morning. Gilbert, in the *Squirrel*, changed his course in time. The *Delight* became a wreck, and the young poet Parmenius was amongst those who perished in her.

On this occasion Gilbert was saved from shipwreck by the light draught of his own little vessel, which carried as a figurehead a red squirrel, the armorial crest of the Gilbert family. Possibly this gave him the notion that he would be safer in this mere cock-boat of ten tons than in the *Golden Hind*; at all events, not merely contrary to advice, but disregarding the 'vehement persuasion and entreaty' of his friends, he insisted on remaining in her, overladen as her decks were with guns and fighting gear, when re-crossing the Atlantic. He was annoyed, it appears, by a report which had spread among the sailors that he was afraid of the sea; and he gave as his reason for remaining that he would not forsake the little crew with

whom he had braved so many perils. Perhaps he wished to avoid the company of others, and to ponder alone over his experiences and plans for the future. Whatever may have been his real reason, his persistence cost him his life. The *Squirrel* foundered in a storm, and the bodings of evil which the voyage had called forth were literally fulfilled.

The simple narrative of Hayes probably gives a better idea of the expedition than we should have gained from the intended Latin heroics of Parmenius. Hayes has a vivid conception of Gilbert's singular personality; and this is so diffused throughout the substance of the story as to give the narrative something of a dramatic aspect. The sombre colouring which predominates is partly due to the theological ideas of the time. The writer believes the end of the world to be near, and that all things are ordered by Divine Providence with a view to it. Gilbert's obstinate self-will, he hints, frustrated a project in itself too worldly. His long-cherished plans, his high hopes, undamped by successive misfortunes, his resolute prosecution of his voyage in the teeth of unforeseen difficulties, his confidence in himself and assurance of ultimate success, are all as naught. God merely allows him to play his part, like a puppet, in a foreordained scheme involving his failure, to the end that his intemperate humours may be purged away, and he may be refined and made nearer to the Divine image, before it pleases God to take him to Himself.

Barlow's story of the adventures met with by Raleigh's first exploring party in North America has all the freshness and gaiety of an idyl. His description of

the sweet smell wafted to the voyagers from the American shore, as from some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers, was noticed by Bacon, and utilized by Dryden to flatter one of his patrons :—

‘And as the Indies were not found, before
Those rich perfumes, which from the happy shore
The winds upon their balmy wings conveyed,
Whose guilty sweetness first their world betrayed ;
So by your counsels we are brought to view
A rich and undiscovered world in you.’

The picture of the people dwelling on this happy shore, mannerly and civil as any of Europe, most gentle, loving and faithful, and such as live after the manner of the golden age, and entertaining the strangers with all love and kindness, is truly delightful. No wonder that people rushed in the next year with Greenville to take possession of this transatlantic paradise. There was another element to be reckoned with. In the course of his narrative Barlow mentions the sanguinary inter-tribal wars waged by the Indians, and the partial depopulation of the country which had followed. He seems, however, to have thought the bow and arrow no match for the European arquebus, which inspired the Indian braves with abject terror ; and it never seems to have occurred to him that these amiable creatures might one day turn ferociously on the English strangers and massacre them. Even Lane, who was left by Greenville in charge of the original settlement, seems at first to have been equally unsuspecting. In the extract from a letter written by him to the elder Hakluyt, printed by the younger Hakluyt in his collection, nothing is said of the natives except that they are

'most courteous.' Everything is going on smoothly. Virginia is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven. It abounds with sweet trees, yielding sundry rich and pleasant gums. There are grapes of such greatness, yet wild, as France, Spain, and Italy have no greater. There are several sorts of apothecary drugs. There are several kinds of flax; one of these is as fine as silk, and is produced by a grass which grows like a weed. The ear of maize has four hundred grains, and the stalk makes good and perfect sugar. Whatsoever commodities England procures from Spain, France, Italy, and the eastern parts, as wines of all sorts, oils, flax, resins, pitch, frankincense, currants, sugars, and the like, these parts abound with them all. There is great abundance of sundry other rich commodities found in no other parts of the world, east or west. And besides that it is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world, the continent is of an huge and unknown greatness, and the climate so wholesome that none of the company had fallen sick since they touched land. If Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it.

This golden prospect was rudely dissipated. Lane's explorations excited the suspicions of the natives. The chief, or 'king,' of Roanoke changed his attitude, sought to cut off the food supplies of the English, and at length organized a conspiracy to massacre their leaders. The grass huts in which they lodged were to be fired in the night, and each, as he rushed out into the darkness, was to be clubbed from behind. The plot was discovered

in time, and the conspirators were surprised and shot down ; but the position of the colonists could only have been maintained by reinforcements, and large importations of food and ammunition. Failing these, they were well advised in returning to England at the first opportunity ; and Lane's report to Raleigh shows that his first impressions had been modified. He thought that nothing short of rich mines, or the discovery of a passage to the Pacific, would induce people to remain in Virginia. The fifteen men shortly afterwards left on the site by Greenville, in ignorance of all that had happened to Lane's party, were no doubt attacked and overpowered by the Indians soon after Greenville's return ; and the same fate befell most of the company of settlers taken out by White in 1587. Raleigh's intended settlement had failed because it had not been planned on a larger scale, and received no adequate support from home. One cause of its being neglected in the ensuing year was the Spanish invasion of England in 1588. But there can be little doubt that, if the search for the emigrants had been properly prosecuted in the years following, some of them would have been found alive, and the colony might have been re-established. Raleigh, who had ships at sea engaged in plundering the Spaniards, has been severely blamed for not doing so ; and Bacon seems to allude to the circumstances in a well-known passage at the end of his *Essay on Plantations*. 'It is,' he says, 'the sinfulness thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness ; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.'

The fact is that when Raleigh ought to have been

relieving his colonists a more brilliant prospect had seduced him. Ever since the conquest of Peru, sixty years before, rumours had been current among the Spaniards of a great kingdom or province, named from its extraordinary abundance in gold 'El Pais Dorado,' or 'El Reino Dorado,' and still undiscovered. More briefly it was called 'El Dorado,' and all these names mean simply the 'Golden Land' or 'Golden Kingdom.' The original rumour seems to have related to the district of Bogota or New Granada, which was situated within a district called from the first the 'Castilla del Oro' or 'Golden Castile.' But New Granada did not satisfy all the expectations aroused by the story. Out of the abbreviated name 'El Dorado' a new fiction had been evolved. It was applied, naturally enough, in a secondary sense to the king or chief of the 'Golden Land'; and the naked body of this personage, it was alleged, was besprinkled daily with gold dust by way of personal adornment—an idle story, evidently invented to account for the name when used in this secondary sense, though some antiquaries have credulously accepted it as substantially true, and explain the alleged sprinkling with gold dust as a custom of a religious nature. The myth grew apace like a rolling snowball. Next it was alleged that all the people of El Dorado sprinkled themselves with gold on festive occasions: golden houses and golden temples, with golden furniture, were added as a matter of course. 'El Dorado' was originally sought for in the neighbourhood of the Andes of Northern Peru, or of New Granada. Sometimes, however, it was identified with an imaginary city built on the margin of a lake, called

'El Gran Paytiti,' supposed to exist somewhere in Southern Peru or Northern Bolivia, to the eastward of Cuzco. Hither, it was said, an Inca chief, followed by a large body of warriors, had fled immediately after the Spanish conquest, and here his descendants still lived in fabulous wealth and splendour. Some supposed another 'El Dorado' to exist on a lake near the head waters of the Guaporé and Paraguay rivers in Brazil, and another has been located in Northern Patagonia.

Early in 1594 intelligence reached Raleigh that yet another 'El Dorado,' or, as it is described in the letters from which the information was derived, a 'New Dorado,' had been recently discovered on the Caroni river, the lowest affluent of the Orinoco. This locality was at no great distance from the Atlantic, and was easily reached from England by way of the West Indies. Raleigh instantly resolved to pursue the discovery, and to forestall the Spanish adventurers who were already in quest of it. This final localization of the imaginary kingdom seems to have been based on a misinterpreted inscription found on a still existing map, made by some early explorer who entered the Orinoco from the Atlantic soon after the middle of the sixteenth century¹. On this map the course of the Orinoco is traced from the sea to a point at some distance beyond its junction with the Caroni, where the country becomes mountainous. One of the objects of the map-maker was to indicate the prospective value of the Orinoco valley as an auriferous district. About the Caroni, it is stated,

¹ Reproduced in the well-known collection entitled 'Cartas de Indias' (Madrid, 1877).

there is gold of low grade (*oro guañin*). The mountain range is described as stretching to Guiana from Peru, where it is 'rich in silver,' and from the kingdom of New Granada, where it is 'rich in gold'; and 'in this direction' (*por aquí*), the legend proceeds, is the so-called 'El Dorado'.¹ The meaning certainly is that 'El Dorado' lies in the direction of New Granada: a localization perfectly in accordance with the oldest tradition, and exactly what might be expected on a map of this description. The space on the map where this legend appears is not far southwards of the junction of the Caroni river with the Orinoco. There can be no doubt that this map fell into the hands of persons who understood the words *por aquí* to mean 'here' (a sense which they often convey) instead of 'in this direction,' and interpreted the statement as indicating that El Dorado lay in the limited district between the Atlantic Ocean and the Essequibo river on the east, the valley of the Caroni river on the west and south-west, and the Orinoco on the north.

The effect of this misinterpretation was to transfer the quest of El Dorado, an object never wholly lost sight of in New Granada and Peru, from the western to the eastern side of South America, and to direct attention to the lower part of the Orinoco valley, a district still almost unknown, although the coast hereabouts had been the first part of the continent to be discovered, and the neighbouring island of Trinidad afforded a convenient base for exploration.

¹ 'Esta sierra viene del Reyno, y del Peru. Es allá, en el Peru, rica de plata; en el Reyno, de oro, y por aquí está lo que dicen El Dorado.'

Neither on this island, nor on the adjacent mainland—the nearest point of which was the peninsula of Paria—had Spanish adventurers gained a permanent footing, though more than one attempt had been made; and some account of these attempts will assist the reader in gaining a clear idea of the facts and circumstances of Raleigh's expedition.

On the northern coast of South America, as in Mexico, Florida, and Peru, the impulse to continental exploration had come from the Spanish settlements in the Greater Antilles. The nearest of these was Puerto Rico: there was also a small settlement on the island of Cubagua, the seat of the pearl-fishery on the Cumana coast, over part of which coast the jurisdiction of the Cubagua officials extended. Antonio de Sedeño, the royal *contador* or collector at Puerto Rico, obtained in 1528 a licence to occupy the island of Trinidad, intending to use it as a base for operations on the neighbouring mainland. In 1530 Sedeño landed in Trinidad, and built a fort on the peninsula of Paria, where he left a small garrison, and returned to Puerto Rico for reinforcements. Meanwhile another adventurer appeared on the scene. Diego de Ordaz had served under Cortes in the Mexican expedition, and had distinguished himself by ascending to the smoking crater of Popocatepetl, whence he beheld the lake of Mexico, fifty miles distant, and never before seen by European eyes. Cortes sent him on a mission to Spain, where he obtained the right to bear a volcano on his escutcheon, and a grant of territory on the northern coast of South America. Eastwards his grant extended to the mouth of the Orinoco, then commonly supposed to be identical

with the Amazon river. Ordaz sailed from Europe in 1531 to enter on his province. He took possession of Sedeño's fort, built three brigantines, and ascended the river for a considerable distance—according to report, as far as its junction with the Meta, a large tributary navigable almost to the foot of the mountains of New Granada. Disappointed in the aspect of the country, he now returned to the northern coast near Cubagua, with the intention of penetrating inland from this locality. Here he was arrested as a trespasser by Matienzo, the magistrate of Cubagua, and taken before the royal court of judges at St. Domingo. This tribunal having decided in his favour, Ordaz commenced proceedings against Matienzo for damages. The matter was referred to the emperor in council, and Ordaz sailed for Spain, taking Matienzo with him. Ordaz died on the voyage. Before leaving Cubagua, Matienzo was known to have procured from a Genoese apothecary three doses of a poisonous drug, giving out that they were intended for three hostile native chiefs. He carried the drug with him, and it was believed that he administered a dose to Ordaz.

No better fortune befell Geronimo de Ortal and Alonso de Herrera, the treasurer and lieutenant of Ordaz, who succeeded to his enterprise. Herrera in 1535 again ascended the Orinoco, reached its junction with the Meta, and followed the latter for some distance, until he fell pierced by an arrow in an encounter with the natives. Ortal now abandoned the exploration of the interior, confining himself to capturing Indians on the coast and selling them as slaves to the merchants of Cubagua, Puerto Rico, and St. Domingo; and Sedeño was left in possession of the field. Sedeño was

preparing a third expedition up the river when he was poisoned by a female slave. His company dispersed, and for nearly thirty years (1540-1568) the Orinoco was neglected. One reason for this doubtless lay in the fact that New Granada, the terminus of the Orinoco-Meta navigation, was reached, soon after 1540, by other routes—three different adventurers, travelling from three different points, having arrived on the plateau of Bogota within a few months of each other. What lay at the extremity of the Orinoco valley was no longer a secret; and to this extent the stimulus to exploration ceased. A more effectual discouragement to adventure lay in the fact that the valley was now ascertained to be hot, unhealthy, for the most part encumbered with forests, and teeming with a warlike population.

During the interval of neglect which ensued after the failures of Ordaz and his followers strange stories were current in St. Domingo and Puerto Rico of the adventures which had befallen them. They had encountered, it was reported, men of monstrous shape—men whose eyes grew beneath their shoulders. Gold, of course, abounded wherever they went. Some of them had actually visited the city of the Gilded Chief, and had brought back circumstantial accounts of it—accounts which excited in the Spanish colonists in the Antilles cupidity mingled with incredulity, and speedily found their way from St. Domingo to Europe (p. 167). Mainly, no doubt, these accounts were founded on stories of earlier date than the expedition of Ordaz. But in at least one instance the facts alleged were solemnly vouched for by an eye-witness. One Juan Martinez, who had served under Ordaz, affirmed that he had not only

personally visited the city of El Dorado, but had lived there seven months. A narrative of his alleged adventures, preserved in the archives of Puerto Rico, was said to have been taken down from his own lips when at the point of death. Berrio-y-Oruña, presently mentioned, was in possession of a copy of this document, and communicated its contents to Raleigh, who embodied them in his own narrative (p. 192). We cannot believe that any man in the possession of his faculties would in his last moments have solemnly affirmed the truth of this tissue of falsehoods. Probably the story was written down, after his death, by some one who had heard him tell it. Martinez, apparently, was the first person to give El Dorado a specific geographical name. He called it Manoa; and this name, together with that of 'Guayana,' assigned to the lower reaches of the Orinoco by Ordaz and his companions, and understood to be derived from an Indian nation called the 'Guayanos,' gradually came into use to denote the city of the Gilded Chief, and the dominion of which it was the capital.

The revival of adventure on the northern coast of South America was probably due to the general impulse given to Spanish enterprise by the succession of Philip to the throne. In 1568 Philip divided the coast into two portions, and granted the easternmost, including the mouths of the Orinoco, to one Diego Fernandez de Zerpa of Cartagena. This adventurer landed in 1569 on the northern coast, laid out a town to serve as a base of operations, and thence marched inland with a considerable force, intending by this route to reach the Orinoco valley. The Indians watched his movements,

and attacked him unawares (p. 234); De Zerpa, with most of his men, lost their lives, and the remnant of his party escaped by sea to New Granada. Another adventurer endeavoured to execute the scheme of Sedeño. Juan Ponce, a native of St. Domingo, obtained a grant of Trinidad, and landed on the island in 1571 with a large party of intending settlers. In a short time they were so much reduced in numbers by disease that it was decided to abandon the undertaking. Many returned to Spain, and the rest, like the remnant of De Zerpa's party, made their way to New Granada. In 1576 a party of Jesuits ascended the river, and established a mission, which was abandoned after three years' trial. Some of the party escaped to Cumana, and the rest to the missions on the Casanare. The result of these failures was that all rights of occupation were either extinguished or fell into abeyance, and the Orinoco valley, with the island of Trinidad, lapsed to the jurisdiction of Cumana, where Francisco de Vides had succeeded to the post formerly held by Matienzo.

Such was the aspect of affairs when one Antonio de Berrio-y-Oruña, a personage who figures prominently in Raleigh's story, and possibly the very person whose misreading of the description on the old map led to Raleigh's expedition, conceived the idea of making himself master of the Orinoco valley. Berrio, whose name Raleigh always erroneously spells Berreo, had served as a soldier in New Granada, and had married a daughter—according to some authorities, a niece, or natural daughter—of Quesada, the original conqueror of that province. According to Raleigh, Berrio's wife was Quesada's heiress, and the quest of El Dorado was

part of her inheritance. Quesada, he tells us, had made the quest of El Dorado one of the principal objects of his ambition, and exacted from Berrio a solemn oath to pursue it diligently 'to the last of his substance and life' (p. 199). However this may be, Quesada appears to have made at least one expedition eastwards from New Granada into the forest-clad lowlands where El Dorado was understood to be, and Berrio, after his death, procured from Philip a grant extending 400 leagues in the same direction from the boundary of New Granada—a measurement evidently designed to include the Orinoco valley as far as the Atlantic, though probably not intended, as Berrio claimed, to include the island of Trinidad, which he regarded, adopting the ideas of previous adventurers, as the necessary base for his operations. Berrio's plan was probably based on information furnished by Franciscan missionaries, some of whom accompanied him, and through whom he doubtless obtained the assistance of native guides. He proposed to embark on the Casanare, to follow this river to its junction with the Meta, and the Meta to its junction with the Orinoco. Once in the Orinoco, the way to the gulf of Paria was easy, and Trinidad lay at no great distance on the other side of it. Having established himself at Trinidad, he proposed to retrace his route, and to found a settlement on the bank of the Orinoco at no great distance from the sea. From this settlement as a centre, and resting for support on Trinidad, he proposed to explore the country and win over the natives, expecting in due time to reach the city of the Gilded Chief, which lay, according to his information, at no great distance from

the right bank of the river, between its junction with the Caroni and its outlets into the Atlantic.

In 1590 Berrio began his expedition, following the Casanare and Meta rivers to the junction of the Meta with the Orinoco, and descending the latter, sometimes in boats, sometimes by marching along the banks. After a journey of a year's duration, he reached a district about midway between the Andes and the sea, to which he gave the name of Amapaia. Here, according to his own account, he gained intelligence of the Empire of Guiana, the lake of Parima, and the city of Manoa on its shore. Pursuing his course down the river, his party being now greatly diminished, he attempted to enter the Golden Land, but found it impossible to cross the mountain range which separated it from the Orinoco valley. This range, according to him, extended from the Atlantic Ocean to the Andes of Quito; a piece of information evidently derived from the old map above mentioned. He assured Raleigh that the Orinoco received a hundred tributaries on its north and south banks—presumably below its junction with the Meta—and that the least of these was as large as the Magdalena, the great navigable stream of New Granada, and, as Raleigh remarks, one of the great rivers of the world. 'But he knew not,' Raleigh proceeds, 'the names of any of these but Caroli (Caroni) only: neither from what nations they descended, neither to what provinces they led.' Raleigh accounts for this astonishing ignorance by supposing that he had no means of communicating with the Indians, and further remarks that he was 'not curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west.'

The fact evidently is that the direction of the voyage rested with the Franciscans who conducted him; to them also is probably due the selection of the site for Berrio's city, which was fixed near the Indian pueblo called by Raleigh 'Carapana's town,' and named Santo Tomé de la Guayana. Having touched at Trinidad he sailed for Margarita, now the chief seat of Spanish population on this coast. Here he obtained fifty recruits, among whom probably was Domingo de Vera, a resident of Caracas, who became his camp-master, and rendered him material assistance. Returning to Trinidad, he laid out the town of San José de Oruña, three leagues distant from the roadstead already called Puerto de los Españoles, the present Port-of-Spain. Fixing his head quarters and taking up his residence at San José, he sent De Vera, in 1593, to explore on the Orinoco in the vicinity of Santo Tomé, with the object of discovering the way to the lake of Parima and the city of Manoa. De Vera was not only a brave soldier, but had a good capacity for business, and a certain readiness of speech. Berrio intended to employ him, on his return, in a mission to Spain to solicit assistance in conquering the golden kingdom. When this assistance was secured, his son, who remained for the present at Bogota, was to come down the Orinoco and join his father; for Berrio, who was an elderly man, intended the proposed conquest to enure for the benefit of his descendants. De Vera's report was dispatched by Berrio to Spain, and a letter containing the substance of it was among the papers captured at sea by Popham in 1594. Later in this year De Vera proceeded in person to Spain on his mission.

Meanwhile disturbance threatened Berrio's schemes from two different quarters. Francisco de Vides, the governor of Cumana, claimed both Trinidad and the valley of the Orinoco as within the limits of his jurisdiction, and sued out a patent from Spain authorizing him to take possession of them. Berrio's grant, however, being held to be valid against these pretensions, the disappointed governor sought to obstruct his rival by other means. Morequito, the cacique of an Indian village adjacent to that of Carapana, had traded with the Spaniards at Cumana and Margarita, and in the course of several visits had fallen completely under the governor's influence. Acting under his direction, Morequito received into his territory one of Berrio's exploring parties, consisting of ten Spanish soldiers and a friar, and furnished them with a guide who undertook to conduct them to Manoa. According to Berrio's account they actually reached the city of El Dorado, and procured there a large quantity of gold. Morequito's men waited for their return, fell upon them, and massacred all but one soldier. A company was dispatched to punish Morequito, who fled to Cumana for protection. De Vides gave him up to Berrio's men, who put him to death.

The news contained in the papers captured by Popham in 1594 (see page 163) excited great expectations in England, where men eagerly watched for opportunities of striking a blow at Spain. In the same year Raleigh dispatched Jacob Whiddon, one of his captains, to Trinidad for the purpose of collecting more information. While so employed Whiddon took occasion to go in chase of an expected prize, leaving

his pinnace, with a few men on board, at Puerto de los Españoles. Berrio sent a party of Indians to the crew of the pinnace inviting them to land and join in a day's hunting. Eight of the Englishmen landed accordingly, and were attacked from an ambuscade and shot down to a man by Berrio's soldiers. Knowing well what was meant by Whiddon's visit, Berrio deemed it advisable to send to Spain at once for reinforcements on a large scale. He had spent four years in reconnoitring the country, making little progress, and now the English pirates were ready to snatch the fruits of his labours. About the end of October, 1594, he sent De Vera to the court of Madrid, in order to urge on Philip the necessity of dispatching with as little delay as possible an adequate force for the conquest of the New Dorado. Partly by his eloquence and business capacity, partly by exhibiting gold, silver, and precious stones brought or said to be brought from the Orinoco valley, De Vera produced in Spain the impression that the wealth of 'Guayana' far exceeded that of Mexico and Peru; and the object of his mission was attained with little difficulty. But things moved more slowly in Spain than in England. While De Vera was still busy urging Berrio's suit, half a dozen English captains were at sea making or intending to make for the New Dorado. The first to arrive at Trinidad was Robert Dudley, a natural son of the Earl of Leicester, and one of the most intrepid adventurers of his time. Dudley had early received intelligence of the New Dorado from Popham, and it was perhaps from him that Raleigh obtained the first news of it. He landed in Trinidad and began to make inquiries of the Indians, some of whom understood

Spanish. Having obtained some geographical information, and being assured that gold and silver were to be had in abundance up the river, he called his men together and proposed crossing with a strong party to the mainland, whither an Indian guide was ready to conduct them. One of his officers, whose loyalty had fallen under suspicion, announced his intention of remaining on the island; and those who were to be left mutinied against Dudley's departure. He was fain, therefore, to send the exploring party, consisting of fourteen men, in his ship's boat, without him, and to wait their return. After a fortnight spent in exploring and parleying with the Indians they returned. The information brought back confirmed previous reports of the wealth to be obtained in the district: but when Dudley proposed to set out in person for the river, taking his whole company with him, they refused to a man. The explorers, though well supplied with victuals, had suffered terrible privations, and no doubt described the country as intensely hot, unhealthy, and swarming with a hostile population. While Dudley's exploring party were absent, Popham arrived in a pinnace of Plymouth. He reported that Raleigh was on the way; and Dudley and Popham waited some days in expectation of Raleigh's arrival. Tired of waiting, they left Trinidad together on March 12, a few days after Raleigh had left the Canaries for Trinidad. The rest of Dudley's voyage was devoted to the destruction of Spanish vessels, nine of which he took and sunk or burned. This, he laconically remarked, 'was loss to them, though I got nothing.'

On March 22 Raleigh reached Trinidad. The

Spanish guard at the port, to whom he represented himself as on his way to relieve his Virginian colony, received him hospitably, and pointed out the way to Berrio's settlement of San José de Oruña, three leagues distant. Raleigh feasted them in return on board his vessel, plied them with wine, and obtained what information they had to give about Guiana. Having won their confidence, he surprised them by night and massacred them. He then marched to San José, captured the place with little difficulty, and made Berrio prisoner. He palliates these acts of treachery by pleading that if he had acted otherwise he would have savoured very much of the ass (p. 186). Judged by the standard of the time, they were justifiable reprisals for Berrio's perfidious massacre of Whiddon's men in the previous year. Having held Berrio several days prisoner, and obtained from him what information he could, Raleigh liberated him and proceeded to the Orinoco. Leaving his ships off the point called Curiapan, Raleigh crossed the gulf with one large galley, his own barge, two wherries, and one ship's boat, carrying all together a hundred men and a month's provisions. By May 22 he was on his way up one of the branches by which the Orinoco discharges into the sea (p. 216). He soon gained the main stream, which he ascended as far as the Caroni river, the supposed outlet of the imaginary lake on whose shore stood the golden city of Manoa. The river was in flood, and it was found impossible to navigate it. Raleigh landed and proceeded for some distance along the bank. But he was too prudent to venture far from his boats, and it became evident that the further prosecution of the enterprise must be

deferred until another occasion. In a limited sense the object of the voyage had been attained. He had ascertained on the spot that the reports of the mineral wealth of the country were not wholly void of foundation, that the Spaniards firmly believed in the existence of the golden city of Manoa, and its gilded monarch, in the immediate neighbourhood, and that such a belief was apparently entertained by the natives. With the natives he had established friendly relations, by posing as the representative of a princess whose policy it was to deliver the world from the hated Spaniards. To return without having entered the New Dorado was doubtless disappointing. But it was better to postpone the attempt than to make it with an inadequate and scantily provisioned force. Having personally collected sufficient information to enable him to prepare a glowing account of the brilliant prospect opened by Guiana to English adventure, he returned to his ships at Curiapan and sailed homewards, having penetrated some 150 miles farther into the valley than Dudley. While in England preparing the *Discovery of Guiana* for the press, he was at the same time preparing another expedition, intended to make further inquiries and explorations, and to maintain the friendly relations he had established with the Indians. On January 26, 1596, the *Darling*, with the *Discovery* pinnace, shortly afterwards lost in stormy weather, left Portland for this purpose, under the command of Lawrence Keymis or Kames, who had been with him in his own expedition (p. 215). Keymis returned more and more convinced of the feasibility of the proposed conquest. The natives were eagerly awaiting the arrival of the English in force to rid the

country of the Spaniards. All that Raleigh had been told was substantially true. A certain chief, Keymis writes, certified him of the headless men, and that their mouths in their breasts are exceeding wide. The Caribs called them Chiparemai. He also heard of a sort of people yet more monstrous—so monstrous that he forbears to describe them. More to the purpose was his report of the situation of the New Dorado relatively to the Atlantic coast between the Orinoco and the Amazon rivers. He explored the smaller streams which here intervene, and learned that a great lake—probably that of Parima, on which Manoa was supposed to stand—could be reached by a voyage of twenty days up the Essequibo, and a portage of one day's journey beyond.

Neither Raleigh's voyage, nor that of Keymis, had very much to show in the form of solid attainment, though they gave a fair promise for the near future. This promise, however, was not to be realized. The difficulties attending the settlement of the Orinoco were about to be demonstrated, fortunately for Englishmen, by the Spaniards, under the leadership of Berrio himself. The visits of the English adventurers had produced consternation. Berrio, after Raleigh's departure for England, hurried to the Orinoco, probably with the view of neutralizing Raleigh's intrigues with the Indians. Meanwhile De Vides, shrewdly distrusting Berrio's ability to hold his own against the English intruders, dispatched his lieutenant Velasco to take possession of Trinidad. Berrio's men were still there, and cannot have been in a position to offer much resistance; but some fighting took place, after which the rival parties

agreed to a truce pending the expected arrival of De Vera from Spain. This officer had sped successfully in his errand. While Raleigh was yet on his way back to England, a vast armament was preparing in the Guadalquivir for the conquest of the New Dorado. The king contributed 70,000 ducats to the expenses, and the citizens of Seville furnished 5,000 more. Three hundred soldiers, including many veterans who had served in Italy and Flanders, and five tall ships, were assigned by Philip for the expedition. Five more ships were provided from other sources, and many ecclesiastics—not mere adventurers, but clergy of wealth and high rank in the Church—joined the company. Many, who intended to settle in Guiana, carried with them their wives and children. The fleet sailed from San Lucar on February 23, 1596. Few more imposing armaments had ever left the shores of Spain for the New World, nor was this armament by any means the measure of contemporary hopes and preparations in Spain for the conquest of the New Dorado. Scarcely had it sailed when the continued influx of adventurers made it necessary to equip a supplementary one. Capital for the purpose seems to have been forthcoming in abundance; and three months after De Vera's departure a squadron of at least equal magnitude, intended to carry six hundred additional adventurers, was preparing to follow in his track. But it was destined never to sail. Moored in the bay of Cadiz, which seems to have been proposed as the port of departure, all the ships intended for this expedition were burned, with the rest of the Spanish shipping lying there by the Spaniards, when the

town was taken by the English under Howard and Raleigh.

On April 16 De Vera's squadron arrived safely in Trinidad, and anchored at Port-of-Spain. It was the middle of Holy Week, and the Spaniards, having landed, betook themselves to the religious observances demanded by the season. They had need, it was felt, of comfort. The fatigues of the voyage had weighed heavily on them, the stores were diminished, and the island was a wilderness. The emigrants, utterly dispirited, were filled with dire forebodings for the future. De Vera sent one of the vessels to Caracas, directing those in charge to buy cattle and horses and dispatch them overland to meet him at Santo Tomé. These orders were never executed. Those who should have executed them stayed in Caracas, congratulating themselves on having escaped from the disasters already seen to be impending over this ill-fated expedition. Easter being over, De Vera proceeded with the emigrants to San José, now a village of thirty thatched huts. The journey was made on foot, the men carrying the baggage and the women the children; there was not a drop of water on the way, nor any provision but what they took with them. Berrio was anxiously awaiting his reinforcements at Santo Tomé, and the scarcity of provisions in Trinidad urged their speedy dispatch thither. Remaining himself in Trinidad, De Vera embarked in several boats the force which was to advance on the Golden City. Some were driven ashore after making the crossing, and their occupants massacred by the Indians. When his reinforcements had arrived, Berrio found himself in command of about 400 fighting

men; and his first idea seems to have been to extend his area of occupation from Santo Tomé as a basis, with the idea of making it the nucleus of a province. After exploring the neighbouring mountains in several directions, this idea was abandoned. The whole district proved to be a densely forested wilderness, and the only thing to be done was to push on in force towards Manoa. Berrio selected for this purpose 300 men, giving the command to Alvaro Jorge, a Portuguese experienced in Indian warfare, whom Raleigh (p. 186) mentions as having been taken prisoner by him, together with Berrio, in the previous year. They marched as far as the mountain range supposed to be the frontier of the empire of Guiana, and there encamped. Already enfeebled by the heat and want of proper food, and scarcely able to defend themselves against the Indians who swarmed around them, the majority were here prostrated by fever. More than a hundred died, and when the Indians, having learned the state of affairs, attacked the camp between 2,000 and 3,000 strong, scarcely forty were fit to take up arms. Compelled to abandon the sick, who were slaughtered where they lay, those who were able to march retreated to the river, hard pressed by the victorious savages. Only thirty of the three hundred reached Santo Tomé, and more than half of this miserable remnant died soon afterwards.

Meanwhile discontent was rife among De Vera's men in Trinidad, where stores were failing and disease had made its appearance. Dreading lest his whole company should desert him, make their way to Cumana and Margarita, and spread abroad the story of his practical failure, De Vera dispatched about a hundred of his

men to Berrio at Santo Tomé, not knowing that matters there were even worse. They had come to swell the list of victims to fever and famine, for the sick were now dying by dozens. A plot was formed to murder Berrio and evacuate the place. It came to his ears, and he at once gave orders that all might depart who wished. Those who could avail themselves of this permission made their way, some to Spain, others to New Granada. De Vera at San José was carried off by a malady which had long afflicted him, and Berrio died at Santo Tomé shortly afterwards. His son Fernando came to take his place, and carried on the government of the colony, such as it was; but the search for the New Dorado by way of the Orinoco was for the present at an end.

De Vera's ill-starred expedition had left Spain about the time when Raleigh's book was beginning to circulate among English people, and the news of its failure probably reached England in time to counteract whatever enthusiasm Raleigh's narrative may have excited in favour of an English advance on the New Dorado by way of the Orinoco. Raleigh had spared no pains to commend the scheme to the Queen and the English public, and no candid reader of the narrative, in the light of contemporary facts and events, will accuse him of understating his case. Superficial criticism strongly suggests the contrary view, and so dispassionate a judge as Hume even charges Raleigh with perpetrating a deliberate fraud on the public. 'Having sailed up the river . . . without meeting anything to answer his expectations, on his return he published an account of the country, full of the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to be imposed on the credulity of

mankind.' Raleigh's good faith is sufficiently vindicated by the facts and circumstances of De Vera's expedition, for this expedition was made in reliance on the very statements put forth by Raleigh as inducements to English enterprise. Only the most minute scrutiny discovers anything in the narrative really requiring explanation or excuse. Guiana is certainly not what Raleigh declares it to be—the healthiest country in the world (p. 266). It is none the less true that Raleigh and his men had no experience to the contrary in the course of their flying visit. In one place (p. 190) Raleigh says that he has met with Spaniards who have actually seen Manoa, and has been informed by them that no city in the world exceeds it for greatness, riches, and excellence of situation. Certainly this cannot be understood literally, for in another place (p. 199) Raleigh assures his reader that neither Berrio nor any of his men had ever advanced so near Manoa as himself in this very expedition. Probably when he wrote the former passage he had in mind the stories told Berrio's men, whom he feasted on board his ship, and who 'vaunted,' in their cups, 'of Guiana and the riches thereof.' Berrio pretended that messengers of his had actually reached Manoa, but Raleigh doubted the story (p. 209). If Raleigh believed, as he probably did, the story of the gold-besprinkled chieftain, he was not more credulous than more than one modern scientific authority. As for the people with eyes in their shoulders and mouths in the middle of their breasts, not only does a belief in these go back to Pliny and Herodotus, but even Sebastian Munster's *Cosmography*, an illustrated geographical treatise popular throughout Europe in Raleigh's youth,

contains a vigorous woodcut representing them. A familiar allusion in *Othello* to these fabulous men is usually supposed to have been suggested by Raleigh's narrative, but there is no reason for supposing it to have been taken from this source rather than from any other. Perhaps Raleigh's worst offence against candour is that although he knew perfectly well that the New Dorado at the mouth of the Orinoco was a different place from the country sought by the Spaniards for half a century under the name of El Dorado, he nevertheless calls to witness, by way of corroborating his own statements as to the existence and boundless wealth of the latter, all the adventurers known to him by name who had been engaged in the quest of the former. Nor was it quite ingenuous to quote a long passage from Gomara, describing the wealth of the Apu-Capac-Incas of Cuzco, in support of the alleged wealth of Manoa, nor to persist in giving the Gilded Chief on the lower Orinoco the title of 'Inga' or 'Inca.' The fabled Inca fugitive, if he had existed, would have been found in Southern Peru or Northern Bolivia, on the very opposite side, that is, of the immense plain of the Amazon and its tributaries to that formed by the mountains of Guiana.

The complete failure of the Spanish expedition rather stimulated than extinguished Raleigh's hope of ultimate success—a hope which afterwards inspired him during long years of imprisonment, and twenty years later precipitated his end. Himself now fully occupied in the naval war raging between England and Spain, he committed the further exploration of the New Dorado to his lieutenants. In view of the renewed activity of Spain on the Orinoco, and of the difficulties and dangers

now shown to be incident to an attempt to reach the New Dorado by this route, and following the clue obtained by Keymis, he now turned his attention to the Atlantic coast between the Orinoco and the Amazon rivers. In December, 1596, Leonard Berry sailed from Weymouth with instructions to pursue the investigation which Keymis had begun. Berry's information confirmed the story brought back by Keymis. Twenty days' voyage up the Essequibo, and a portage of a day's journey beyond, would certainly bring the traveller to Lake Parima and the city of Manoa. From time to time Raleigh dispatched other captains to the coast of Guiana, but with no further results. Considered as a practical means of promoting the scheme of conquest, the *Discovery of Guiana*, when it issued from the press, was a failure. It evoked no response from Elizabeth, and no attention from the public. The writer of a turgid poem in blank verse, entitled *De Guiana, Carmen Epicum*, who signs himself 'G. C.,' and is generally identified with George Chapman, forms a solitary exception. This laboured performance, containing 184 lines, and printed by Hakluyt as a preface to the voyage of Keymis, was evidently written to order, and doubtless liberally paid for. The poet anticipates from Raleigh's enterprise riches with honour and conquest without blood. The imaginary empire, personified as a beautiful woman, is represented, with extravagant imagery, as ready to make instant submission to England:—

'Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of gold,
Whose forehead knocks against the roof of stars,
Stands on her tiptoe at fair England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mighty breast,

And every sign of all submission making,
To be the sister and the daughter both
Of our most sacred Maid.'

Although the poet's picture of the English queen rising from her throne, 'her ears and thoughts in steep amaze erect,' blessing the adventurous knight with her wonted grace, and 'dismissing him to convoy of his stars,' was not realized, the fabled 'Empire of Guiana' sank deeply into the English mind, and there are many allusions to it in contemporary literature. Bishop Hall satirizes the adventurers who sought it:—

'Vent'rous Fortunio his farm hath sold,
And gads to Guian land to fish for gold:
Meeting, perhaps, if Orenoque deny,
Some straggl'ing pinnace of Polonian rye:
Then comes home, floating with a silken sail,
That Severn shaketh with his cannon peal.'

Book iv, Sat. 3.

Donne compares 'Guiana's rarities' with the fabled monsters of Africa. Drayton speaks of 'Manoa's mighty seat'; and Milton classes this fictitious city, the riches of which still awaited the European adventurer, with those which had already been despoiled by the Spaniards:—

'Rich Mexico, the seat of Montezume,
And Cuzco in Peru, the richer seat
Of Atabalipa, and yet unspoil'd
Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons
Call El Dorado.'

Paradise Lost, Book xi.

Even while Milton was writing his poem, the French Jesuits had made a discovery which they supposed to be relevant to the story of El Dorado, and to put an end to this historical illusion. They had reached the

imaginary salt lake on the shore of which Manoa was said to stand. The valley at the head of the Parima river, near the northern frontier of Brazil, was found to be inundated during the rainy season. The saltness of the soil was communicated to the water, and the story of the great salt lake was now explained. They vainly explored the neighbourhood in quest of the Golden City. The search soon came to an end, and the rich empire of Guiana passed into the region of fable. Dutch and Spanish adventurers, however, were seeking for it as late as the middle of the last century, and Lake Parima, with the city of Manoa on its shore, retains its place on some maps of much later date. In England the quest of Manoa by way of the Orinoco was practically abandoned after 1596. Charles Leigh, who was commissioned to settle in Guiana in 1604, and Robert Harcourt, in 1608, landed on the Atlantic coast at some distance to the southward. Raleigh's expedition of 1616 was designed only to take possession of a gold mine supposed to exist a few miles above Santo Tomé, tidings of which had been brought by Keymis in 1596. In a commission granted to Roger North for a colony in Guiana, a year after Raleigh's death, the Atlantic coast near the Amazon river is indicated as the site of the settlement. This commission was revoked in 1620 consequently on a protest by the Spanish ambassador.

The voyages of Cavendish, which have no special historical significance, require little comment. Both were what Raleigh contemptuously calls 'journeys of picory for the pillage of ordinary prizes' (p. 171). Jane's narrative of the last voyage of course gives no information of what befell Cavendish after losing company of

Davis on May 20, 1592. By way of supplying this deficiency, we have extracted from Purchas's *Pilgrims*, and printed as an appendix, Cavendish's own account of his misadventures, written with his own hand in the form of a letter to the executor of his will, while the hand of death was already upon him. This unique and pathetic narrative requires only one remark. Cavendish was wrong in attributing to Davis an intention to desert him. Yet when his habitual jealousy and mistrust, even of his own ship's officers, is taken into account, it is easy to understand his drawing such a conclusion from the facts and circumstances; and in the bitterness of his soul the dying man doubtless found comfort in fixing some other person with the blame of his failure. There was no cant about Cavendish. Others, in a like situation, might have thought it a Christian duty formally to forgive 'that villain that hath been the death of me and the decay of this whole action.' Cavendish merely charges his executor to see that Davis reaps as little profit as possible from his supposed treachery.

The portraits in this volume, that of Raleigh excepted, are reproductions from engravings in Holland's *Heroölogia*. That of Gilbert was almost certainly taken from the picture painted by the Queen's command previous to the sailing of the expedition of 1583 (see p. xv). Raleigh's portrait is from a miniature belonging to the Duke of Rutland, to whom, and to Mr. Stebbing, in whose *Life of Raleigh* this reproduction first appeared, we are indebted for permission to make use of it.



VOYAGES
OF
THE ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN
TO AMERICA





VOYAGES
OF
THE ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN
TO AMERICA.

GILBERT (b. 1539? d. 1583).

APART from the designs on Spanish America above described, it was natural that Gilbert, whose treatise written to prove the existence of a North-West Passage had contributed in so important a degree to stimulate enterprise in that direction (see *FIRST SERIES*, page 84), should meditate the permanent occupation of the North American coasts. More than fifty years previously the Italian navigator Verrazzano had explored these coasts and ascertained the continuity of the great land in the South named after Amerigo Vespucci with the 'New-land' or 'Newfoundland' of the Northmen. South America had now been occupied in many parts by the Spaniards and Portuguese: Newfoundland, re-discovered by John Cabot in 1496 or 1497, was now annually resorted to by the fishermen of Spain, Portugal, France, and England. But the intermediate coast was as yet unoccupied by Europeans. The Spaniards had destroyed the French settlement in Florida, but for their own part had only built a single fort, not of very formidable aspect; and from Florida to Nova Scotia a fruitful virgin soil invited the colonist. Verrazzano's voyages (*FIRST*

SERIES, p. xvi) had procured this coast the name of New France. But the intended French occupation had failed; and this name was destined to be replaced in a few years by the English name of Virginia (post, p. 57).

Sir Humfrey Gilbert's mother had married as her second husband a Devonshire gentleman named Walter Raleigh. Her youngest son, also named Walter Raleigh, was closely associated with Gilbert in his projects. Both Gilbert and Raleigh had studied cosmography at Oxford, and had become familiar with the history of the discovery and conquest of the New World; and no student of that history could believe that the destinies of the New World were unalterably fixed by the Papal grant to Spain. That grant, however, had been so long acquiesced in that it was not easy to dispute it, unless upon some new ground; and accordingly an old story was revived with a new meaning. John Cabot, a Bristol seaman, had notoriously reached the mainland of America before Columbus himself. How far he had explored its coast is uncertain; but it is extremely improbable that he went so far southward as the Hudson river. When the vast extent of North America became known, and its future importance as a field of colonization was obvious, it was confidently alleged that Cabot, or his son Sebastian, or both, had coasted the continent from Labrador to Florida, and had thus acquired for England a title which superseded that of Spain and France. Elizabeth's accession put an end to the Spanish connexion, and gave such ideas a new stimulus. After the voyage of Hawkins in 1564 attention was more and more directed to these coasts. Tracts were written urging their occupation; the exploits of Hawkins and Drake had gone far to prove its feasibility; and funds were without difficulty raised for attempting it. 'The nakedness of the Spaniards, and their long-hidden secrets, whereby they went about to delude the world,' wrote Hakluyt, in 1582, 'are now espied.' England, it was urged, was overflowing with poor, who might be advantageously planted in this new soil. 'If we would behold,' Hakluyt goes on, 'with the eye of pity how all our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their country,

which for small robberies are daily hanged up in great numbers, even twenty at a clap out of one jail (as was seen at the last assizes at Rochester), we would hasten and further, every man to his power, the deducting of some colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile parts of America, which, being within six weeks' sailing of England, are yet unpossessed by any Christians, and seem to offer themselves unto us, stretching nearer unto her Majesty's dominions than to any other part of Europe¹. Following the line then usual in pulpit argument, the enthusiastic divine supported this view by the analogy of nature and the practice of antiquity. Bees send forth swarmings from the old hive; colonies were 'deducted' in old times by the Greeks and the Carthaginians. Hakluyt pointed to the successful colonization of Portuguese America, due to the suggestion of De Barros, a man of learning like himself. Brazil was no longer a deserted coast. It had its nine baronies or lordships, containing thirty ingenios or sugar-mills, each employing two or three hundred slaves, and having its judge and other civil officers, its church and clergy. Why should not these little communities be reproduced elsewhere? 'An excellent learned man' of Portugal had protested to Hakluyt that, were he but younger, he would sell all that he had to furnish a convenient number of ships for the colonization of these northern parts of America.

When Hakluyt was writing thus, Gilbert had already procured a grant, in the usual form, of such lands in these parts as he should discover and occupy (June 11, 1578). His first expedition sailed by the southern route in the same year (p. 11), but was worsted in an engagement near Cape Verde, with a Spanish squadron, and sustained other disasters. Gilbert now returned to service in Ireland. Subsequently he procured the means of making another attempt, in which he intended to take the northern route: and in June, 1583, twelve months before the expiry of his patent, Gilbert sailed from Cawsand Bay with five vessels, with the general intention of occupying the

¹ Hakluyt, Dedication to *Divers Voyages*, pp. 1, 2.

northern parts of America, beginning with Newfoundland. It was the first colonizing expedition which left Great Britain; and the narrative of the expedition by Hayes, who commanded one of the vessels, forms the first page in the history of English colonization. Gilbert did no more than go through the form of taking possession of St. John's, and the adjacent parts of the island of Newfoundland. When he crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Breton and Nova Scotia the season was far advanced; the *Delight*, his largest vessel, struck on a shoal, and became a wreck; all on board perished, including the Hungarian scholar Stephen Parmenius, who had come out as the historian of the expedition; most of the stores were lost, and the rest of the crews became utterly dispirited. Gilbert therefore resolved on sailing homeward, intending to return and prosecute his enterprise in the next spring. During a violent storm encountered in the longitude of the Azores, his little vessel sank in the darkness, and the pioneer of English colonization found a watery grave. Few passages in English story are better known than that part of the present narrative which describes Gilbert as sitting abaft on the deck of the *Squirrel* with a book in his hand, cheering those in the *Hind* by reiterating 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land' (p. 47). This aphorism is in substance taken from More's *Utopia*: possibly the book in his hand was Ralph Robinson's translation of More's tract¹. The ill success of Gilbert's expedition induced Raleigh to abandon the northward route; and Amadas and Barlow, who were sent out by him to explore, sailed to the shores intended to be occupied by the easier but more circuitous one of the Canaries and the West Indies.

¹ 'Having customably in his mouth these sayings: *he that hath no grave is covered with the sky; and the way to heaven out of all places is of like length and distance.*' (Arber's reprint, p. 30.)

GILBERT'S VOYAGE.

A REPORT of the VOYAGE and success thereof, attempted in the year of our Lord 1583, by SIR HUMFREY GILBERT, KNIGHT, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countries extended northward from the Cape of FLORIDA, lying under very temperate climes, esteemed fertile and rich in minerals, yet not in the actual possession of any Christian prince. Written by MR. EDWARD HAYES, gentleman, and principal actor in the same voyage¹, who alone continued unto the end, and, by God's special assistance, returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

MANY voyages have been pretended, yet hitherto never any thoroughly accomplished by our nation, of exact discovery into the bowels of those main, ample, and vast countries extended infinitely into the north from thirty degrees, or rather from twenty-five degrees, of septentrional latitude, neither hath a right way been taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment² upon the same, as well may appear both by the little we yet do actually possess therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travel and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they cannot challenge such right and interest unto the said

¹ Hayes was captain and owner of the *Golden Hind*, Gilbert's Rear-Admiral.

² Government.

countries as we, neither these many years have had opportunity nor means so great to discover and to plant, being vexed with the calamities of intestine wars, as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace, yet have they both ways performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled government of many provinces in those northerly parts of *America*, if their many attempts into those foreign and remote lands had not been impeached by their garboils at home.

The first discovery of these coasts, never heard of before, was well begun by *John Cabot* the father and *Sebastian* his son, an Englishman born, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the Cape of *Florida* unto those islands which we now call the *Newfoundland*; all which they brought and annexed unto the crown of *England*. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countries had been followed, as the discovery upon the coast and out-parts thereof was performed by those two men, no doubt her Majesty's territories and revenue had been mightily enlarged and advanced by this day; and, which is more, the seed of Christian religion had been sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought forth a most plentiful harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chief intent of such as shall make any attempt that way; or else whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtain happy success nor continuance.

And although we cannot precisely judge (which only belongeth to God) what have been the humours of men stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countries, yet the events do shew that either God's cause hath not been chiefly preferred by them, or else God hath not permitted so abundant grace

as the light of His word and knowledge of Him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time. But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept back, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectual and complete discovery and possession by Christians both of those ample countries and the riches within them hitherto concealed; whereof, notwithstanding, God in His wisdom hath permitted to be revealed from time to time a certain obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the minds of men that way, which else will be dull enough in the zeal of His cause, and thereby to prepare us unto a readiness for the execution of His will, against the due time ordained of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

In the meanwhile it behoveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this attempt, to examine his own motions, which, if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himself it cometh not of God, and therefore cannot have confidence of God's protection and assistance against the violence (else irresistible) both of sea and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use [as] an instrument to further His cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation. Otherwise, if his motives be derived from a virtuous and heroical mind, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poor infidels captived by the devil, tyrannising in most wonderful and dreadful manner over their bodies and souls; advancement of his honest and well-disposed countrymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; relief of sundry people within this realm distressed; all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith He is well pleased, who will assist such an actor

beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himself, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is complete of receiving also these gentiles into His mercy, and that God will raise Him an instrument to effect the same ; it seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spaniards and French sundry times, that the countries lying north of *Florida* God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that *Christopher Columbus* had discovered the islands and continent of the *West Indies* for *Spain*, *John and Sebastian Cabot* made discovery also of the rest from *Florida* northwards to the behoof of *England*.

And whensoever afterwards the Spaniards, very prosperous in all their southern discoveries, did attempt anything into *Florida* and those regions inclining towards the north, they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable success of many both religious and valiant in arms, endeavouring to bring those northerly regions also under the Spanish jurisdiction, as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed ; as by their own gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The French, as they can pretend less title unto these northern parts than the Spaniard, by how much the Spaniard made the first discovery of the same continent so far northward as unto *Florida*, and the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation, usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countries, rivers, bays, capes, or headlands as if they had been the first finders of those coasts ; which injury we offered not unto the Spaniards, but left off to

discover when we approached the Spanish limits; even so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent upon another's right, notwithstanding their manifold attempts, in which the issue hath been no less tragical than that of the Spaniards, as by their own reports is extant.

Then, seeing the English nation only hath right unto these countries of *America* from the Cape of *Florida* northward by the privilege of first discovery, unto which *Cabot* was authorised by regal authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous King *Henry* the Seventh; which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalf by the powerful hand of Almighty God withstanding the enterprises of other nations; it may greatly encourage us upon so just ground, as is our right, and upon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same), to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countries appertaining unto the crown of *England*; the same, as is to be conjectured by infallible arguments of the world's end approaching, being now arrived unto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if ever their calling unto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the revolution and course of God's word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the east towards, and at last unto, the west, where it is like to end, unless the same begin again where it did in the east, which were to expect a like world again. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophecy of *Christ*, whereby we gather that after His word preached thoroughout the world shall be the end. And as the Gospel when it descended westward began in the south, and afterward spread into the north of *Europe*; even so, as the same hath begun in the south

countries of *America*, no less hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the north.

These considerations may help to suppress all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heavy success and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman, Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, Knight, who was the first of our nation that carried people to erect an habitation and government in those northerly countries of *America*. About which albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part : yet the mystery thereof we must leave unto God, and judge charitably both of the cause, which was just in all pretence, and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good mind and expense of life in so virtuous an enterprise. Whereby nevertheless, lest any man should be dismayed by example of other folks' calamity, and misdeem that God doth resist all attempts intended that way, I thought good, so far as myself was an eye-witness, to deliver the circumstance and manner of our proceedings in that action ; in which the gentleman was so unfortunately encumbered with wants, and worse matched with many ill-disposed people, that his rare judgment and regiment premeditated for those affairs was subjected to tolerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to hold on a course more to uphold credit than likely in his own conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being always miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition, being the first attempt by our nation to plant, unto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter, not to be discouraged from it ; but to make men well advised how they handle His so high and excellent matters, as the carriage is of His

word into those very mighty and vast countries. An action doubtless not to be intermeddled with base purposes, as many have made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarce justifiable; which doth excite God's heavy judgments in the end, to the terrifying of weak minds from the cause, without pondering His just proceedings; and doth also incense foreign princes against our attempts, how just soever, who cannot but deem the sequel very dangerous unto their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength), seeing the very beginnings are entered with spoil.

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

When first Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* undertook the western discovery of *America*, and had procured from her Majesty a very large commission to inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many privileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a king's power by sea. Nevertheless, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diverse, which bred a jar, and made a division in the end, to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a manner prepared, and men ready upon the coast to

go aboard, at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended. Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the General with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea; where, having tasted of no less misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the loss of a tall ship and, more to his grief, of a valiant gentleman, *Miles Morgan*.

Having buried, only in a preparation, a great mass of substance, whereby his estate was impaired, his mind yet not dismayed, he continued his former designment, and purposed to revive this enterprise, good occasion serving. Upon which determination standing long without means to satisfy his desire, at last he granted certain assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of mean ability, desiring the privilege of his grant, to plant and fortify in the north parts of *America* about the river of *Canada*; to whom if God gave good success in the north parts (where then no matter of moment was expected), the same, he thought, would greatly advance the hope of the south, and be a furtherance unto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused, without prejudice unto him, by the former supposition that those north regions were of no regard. But chiefly, a possession taken in any parcel of those heathen countries, by virtue of his grant, did invest him of territories extending every way 200 leagues; which induced *Sir Humfrey Gilbert* to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six years, if in that space he had not gotten actual possession

Time went away without anything done by his assigns; insomuch that at last he must resolve himself to take

a voyage in person, for more assurance to keep his patent in force, which then almost was expired or within two years. In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, Sir *George Peckham*, Knight, shewed himself very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his advice and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability joined unto him, resolving to adventure their substance and lives in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisite, some of them continued the charge two years complete without intermission. Such were the difficulties and cross accidents opposing these proceedings, which took not end in less than two years; many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in *Cawset Bay*, near unto *Plymouth*, then resolved to put unto the sea with shipping and provision such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the year, were too far spent. Nevertheless, it seemed first very doubtful by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discovery, either from the south northward or from the north southward. The first, that is, beginning south, without all controversy was the likeliest; wherein we were assured to have commodity of the current which from the Cape of *Florida* setteth northward, and would have furthered greatly our navigation, discovering from the foresaid cape along towards Cape *Breton*, and all those lands lying to the north. Also, the year being far spent, and arrived to the month of June, we were not to spend time in northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely winter, but to covet the south, which we had space enough then to have attained, and there might with less detriment have wintered that season, being more mild and short in

the south than in the north, where winter is both long and rigorous. These and other like reasons alleged in favour of the southern course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred that forasmuch as both our victuals and many other needful provisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the *Newfoundland* in our way, which was but 700 leagues from our English coast. Where being usually at that time of the year, and until the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessaries, which, after the fishing ended, they might well spare and freely impart unto us. Not staying long upon that *Newland* coast, we might proceed southward, and follow still the sun, until we arrived at places more temperate to our content.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this northerly course, obeying unto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approach of winter, bringing with it continual fog and thick mists, tempest and rage of weather, also contrariety of currents descending from the Cape of *Florida* unto Cape *Breton* and Cape *Race*, would fall out to be great and irresistible impediments unto our further proceeding for that year, and compel us to winter in those north and cold regions. Wherefore, suppressing all objections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course northward, and to follow, directly as we might, the trade way unto *Newfoundland*; from whence, after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay, by God's permission, to proceed into the south, not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our

view worthy of search. Immediately we agreed upon the manner of our course and orders to be observed in our voyage; which were delivered in writing, unto the captains and masters of every ship a copy, in manner following.

Every ship had delivered two bullets or scrolls, the one sealed up in wax, the other left open; in both which were included several watchwords. That open, serving upon our own coast or the coast of Ireland; the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken up until we should be clear of the Irish coast; which from thenceforth did serve until we arrived and met all together in such harbours of the *Newfoundland* as were agreed for our *rendez-vous*. The said watchwords being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together again; or one should hail another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboard of another in the dark.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keep secret that watchword while we were upon our own coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same; which known to an enemy, he might board us by night without mistrust, having our own watchword.

ORDERS agreed upon by the CAPTAINS and MASTERS to be observed by the fleet of Sir HUMFREY GILBERT.

FIRST, The Admiral to carry his flag by day, and his light by night.

2. Item, if the Admiral shall shorten his sail by night, then to shew two lights until he be answered again by every ship shewing one light for a short time.

3. Item, if the Admiral after his shortening of sail, as aforesaid, shall make more sail again; then he to shew three lights one above another.

4. Item, if the Admiral shall happen to hull in the

night, then to make a wavering light over his other light, wavering the light upon a pole.

5. Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soon as one shall descry another, to hoise both topsails twice, if the weather will serve, and to strike them twice again; but if the weather serve not, then to hoise the maintopsail twice, and forthwith to strike it twice again.

6. Item, if it shall happen a great fog to fall, then presently every ship to bear up with the Admiral, if there be wind; but if it be a calm, then every ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it clear. And if the fog do continue long, then the Admiral to shoot off two pieces every evening, and every ship to answer it with one shot; and every man bearing to the ship that is to leeward so near as he may.

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

8. Item, every evening every ship to hail the Admiral, and so to fall astern him, sailing thorough the ocean; and being on the coast, every ship to hail him both morning and evening.

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

10. Item, whensoever the Admiral shall hang out her ensign in the main shrouds, then every man to come aboard her as a token of counsel.

11. Item, if there happen any storm or contrary wind to the fleet after the discovery, whereby they are separated; then every ship to repair unto their last good port, there to meet again.

OUR COURSE *agreed upon.*

THE course first to be taken for the discovery is to bear directly to Cape *Race*, the most southerly cape of *Newfoundland*; and there to harbour ourselves either in *Rogneux* or *Fermous*, being the first places appointed

for our *rendez-vous*, and the next harbours unto the northward of *Cape Race*: and therefore every ship separated from the fleet to repair to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the southward or to the northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten days; and when you shall depart, to leave marks.

BEGINNING our course from *Scilly*, the nearest is by west-south-west (if the wind serve) until such time as we have brought ourselves in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the ocean is subject much to southerly winds in June and July. Then to take traverse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be enforced by contrary winds; and not to go to the northward of the height of 47 degrees of septentrional latitude by no means, if God shall not enforce the contrary; but to do your endeavour to keep in the height of 46 degrees, so near as you can possibly, because *Cape Race* lieth about that height.

NOTE.

IF by contrary winds we be driven back upon the coast of *England*, then to repair unto *Scilly* for a place of our assembly or meeting. If we be driven back by contrary winds that we cannot pass the coast of *Ireland*, then the place of our assembly to be at *Bere* haven or *Baltimore* haven. If we shall not happen to meet at *Cape Race*, then the place of *rendez-vous* to be at *Cape Breton*, or the nearest harbour unto the westward of *Cape Breton*. If by means of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the westward; every ship leaving their marks behind them for the more certainty of the after comers to know where to find them. The marks that every man ought to leave in such a case, were of the General's private device written by himself, sealed also in close wax, and delivered unto every ship one scroll, which was not to be opened until occasion required, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after comers; that every of us coming into any harbour or river might know who had been there, or whether

any were still there up higher into the river, or departed, and which way.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himself unto his charge; the anchors being already weighed, and our ships under sail, having a soft gale of wind, we began our voyage upon Tuesday, the 11. day of June, in the year of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from *Cawset Bay*) these ships, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captains and masters of them, I have also inserted, as followeth:—1. The *Delight*, alias the *George*, of burthen 120 tons, was Admiral; in which went the General, and *William Winter*, captain in her and part owner, and *Richard Clarke*, master. 2. The bark *Raleigh*, set forth by Master *Walter Raleigh*, of the burthen of 200 tons, was then Vice-Admiral; in which went Master *Butler*, captain, and *Robert Davis*, of *Bristol*, master. 3. The *Golden Hind*, of burthen 40 tons, was then Rear-Admiral; in which went *Edward Hayes*, captain and owner, and *William Cox*, of *Limehouse*, master. 4. The *Swallow*, of burthen 40 tons; in her was captain *Maurice Browne*. 5. The *Squirrel*, of burthen 10 tons; in which went captain *William Andrews*, and one *Cade*, master. We were in number in all about 260 men; among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, and such like, requisite to such an action; also mineral men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety; not omitting the least toys, as morris-dancers, hobby-horse, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people.

In this manner we set forward, departing (as hath been said) out of *Cawset Bay* the 11. day of June, being Tuesday, the weather and wind fair and good all day; but a great storm of thunder and wind fell the same night. Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the evening, according to the order before specified, they signified unto us out of the Vice-Admiral, that both the captain, and very many of the men, were fallen sick. And about midnight the Vice-Admiral forsook us, notwithstanding we had the wind east, fair and good. But it was after credibly reported that they were infected with a contagious sickness, and arrived greatly distressed at *Plymouth*; the reason I could never understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner, Master *Raleigh*, in setting them forth; therefore I leave it unto God. By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the loss of the most puissant ship in our fleet; after whose departure the *Golden Hind* succeeded in the place of Vice-Admiral, and removed her flag from the mizen into the foretop. From Saturday, the 15. of June, until the 28., which was upon a Friday, we never had fair day without fog or rain, and winds bad, much to the west-north-west, whereby we were driven southward unto 41 degrees scarce.

About this time of the year the winds are commonly west towards the *Newfoundland*, keeping ordinarily within two points of west to the south or to the north; whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, April, and May, hath been performed out of England in 22 days and less. We had wind always so scant from west-north-west, and from west-south-west again, that our traverse was great, running south unto 41 degrees almost, and afterwards north into 51 degrees. Also we were encumbered with much fog and mists in manner palpable, in

which we could not keep so well together, but were dissevered, losing the company of the *Swallow* and the *Squirrel* upon the 20. day of July, whom we met again at several places upon the *Newfoundland* coast the 3. of August, as shall be declared in place convenient. Saturday, the 27. July, we might descry, not far from us, as it were mountains of ice driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were carried southward to the weather of us; whereby may be conjectured that some current doth set that way from the north.

Before we come to *Newfoundland*, about 50 leagues on this side, we pass the bank, which are high grounds rising within the sea and under water, yet deep enough and without danger, being commonly not less than 25 and 30 fathom water upon them; the same, as it were some vein of mountains within the sea, do run along and from the *Newfoundland*, beginning northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, and do extend into the south infinitely. The breadth of this bank is somewhere more, and somewhere less; but we found the same about ten leagues over, having sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward *Newfoundland*, but found no ground with almost 200 fathom of line, both before and after we had passed the bank. The Portugals, and French chiefly, have a notable trade of fishing upon this bank, where are sometimes an hundred or more sails of ships, who commonly begin the fishing in April, and have ended by July. That fish is large, always wet, having no land near to dry, and is called *cod* fish. During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is upon the bank, by the incredible multitude of sea-fowl hovering over the same, to prey upon the offals and garbage of fish thrown out by fishermen, and floating upon the sea.

Upon Tuesday, the 11. of June, we forsook the coast of

England. So again [on] Tuesday, the 30. of July, seven weeks after, we got sight of land, being immediately embayed in the *Grand Bay*, or some other great bay; the certainty whereof we could not judge, so great haze and fog did hang upon the coast, as neither we might discern the land well, nor take the sun's height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude. Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rocks and mountains, bare of trees, and void of any green herb) we followed the coast to the south, with weather fair and clear. We had sight of an island named *Penguin*, of a fowl there breeding in abundance almost incredible, which cannot fly, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much less than a goose) and exceeding fat, which the Frenchmen use to take without difficulty upon that island, and to barrel them up with salt. But for lingering of time, we had made us there the like provision.

Trending this coast, we came to the island called *Baccalaos*, being not past two leagues from the main; to the south thereof lieth Cape *St. Francis*, five leagues distant from *Baccalaos*, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the Bay of *Conception*. Here we met with the *Swallow* again, whom we had lost in the fog, and all her men altered into other apparel; whereof it seemed their store was so amended, that for joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the air and overboard their caps and hats in good plenty. The captain, albeit himself was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humour and desert; who for the most part were such as had been by us surprised upon the narrow seas of *England*, being pirates, and had taken at that instant certain Frenchmen laden, one

bark with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, and took the man-of-war with all her men, which was the same ship now called the *Swallow*; following still their kind so oft as, being separated from the General, they found opportunity to rob and spoil. And because God's justice did follow the same company, even to destruction, and to the overthrow also of the captain (though not consenting to their misdemeanour) I will not conceal anything that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of His judgments, for examples of others; persuaded that God more sharply took revenge upon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others, by how much these went under protection of His cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Therefore upon further enquiry it was known how this company met with a bark returning home after the fishing with his freight; and because the men in the *Swallow* were very near scanted of victuals, and chiefly of apparel, doubtful withal where or when to find and meet with their Admiral, they besought the captain that they might go aboard this *Newlander*, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deal favourably, they came aboard the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sails, cables, victuals, and the men of their apparel; not sparing by torture, winding cords about their heads, to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition, like men skilful in such mischief, as they took their cock-boat to go aboard their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certain of these men there drowned; the rest were preserved even by those silly souls whom they had before spoiled, who saved and delivered them aboard the *Swallow*. What became afterwards of the

poor *Newlander*, perhaps destitute of sails and furniture sufficient to carry them home, whither they had not less to run than 700 leagues, God alone knoweth; who took vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant, to reveal the fact, and justify to the world God's judgments inflicted upon them, as shall be declared in place convenient.

Thus after we had met with the *Swallow*, we held on our course southward, until we came against the harbour called *St. John*, about five leagues from the former Cape of *St. Francis*, where before the entrance into the harbour, we found also the frigate or *Squirrel* lying at anchor; whom the English merchants, that were and always be Admirals by turns interchangeably over the fleets of fishermen within the same harbour, would not permit to enter into the harbour. Glad of so happy meeting, both of the *Swallow* and frigate in one day, being Saturday, the third of August, we made ready our fights¹, and prepared to enter the harbour, any resistance to the contrary notwithstanding, there being within of all nations to the number of 36 sails. But first the General despatched a boat to give them knowledge of his coming for no ill intent, having commission from her Majesty for his voyage he had in hand; and immediately we followed with a slack gale, and in the very entrance, which is but narrow, not above two butts' length², the Admiral fell upon a rock on the larboard side by great oversight, in that the weather was fair, the rock much above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea-gate³. But we found such readiness in the English merchants to help us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boats, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

¹ See First Series, p. liii.

² Bow-shot.

³ Current.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall anchors, the captains and masters repairing aboard our Admiral; whither also came immediately the masters and owners of the fishing fleet of Englishmen, to understand the General's intent and cause of our arrival there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalf of the crown of *England*, and the advancement of the Christian religion in those paganish regions, requiring but their lawful aid for repairing of his fleet, and supply of some necessaries, so far as conveniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other harbours adjoining. In lieu whereof he made offer to gratify them with any favour and privilege, which upon their better advice they should demand, the like being not to be obtained hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceed further south without long detention in those parts, he dismissed them, after promise given of their best endeavour to satisfy speedily his so reasonable request. The merchants with their masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great ordnance of their fleet in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleet should deliver unto the merchants and masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships, as well English as strangers, were taxed at an easy rate to make supply. And besides, commissioners were appointed, part of our own company and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adjoining (for our English merchants command all there) to levy our provision: whereunto the Portugals, above other nations, did most willingly and liberally contribute. In so much as we were presented, above our allowance, with wines,

marmalades, most fine rusk¹ or biscuit, sweet oils, and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters, and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the manner is in their fishing, every week to choose their Admiral anew, or rather they succeed in orderly course, and have weekly their Admiral's feast solemnized: even so the General, captains, and masters of our fleet were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home the entertainment had been delightful; but after our wants and tedious passage through the ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world; where, at other times of the year, wild beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

The next morning being Sunday, and the fourth of August, the General and his company were brought on land by English merchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the *Garden*. But nothing appeared more than nature itself without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wild, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plenty of rasps-berries, which do grow in every place.

Monday following, the General had his tent set up; who, being accompanied with his own followers, summoned the merchants and masters, both English and strangers, to be present at his taking possession of those countries. Before whom openly was read, and interpreted unto the strangers, his commission: by virtue whereof he took possession in the same harbour of *St. John*, and 200 leagues every way, invested the

¹ Rusk (Sp. *rosca*) = ship's biscuit.

Queen's Majesty with the title and dignity thereof, had delivered unto him, after the custom of England, a rod, and a turf of the same soil, entering possession also for him, his heirs and assigns for ever; and signified unto all men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territory appertaining to the Queen of *England*, and himself authorised under her Majesty to possess and enjoy it, and to ordain laws for the government thereof, agreeable, so near as conveniently might be, unto the laws of *England*, under which all people coming thither hereafter, either to inhabit, or by way of traffic, should be subjected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed and delivered three laws to be in force immediately. That is to say: the first for religion, which in public exercise should be according to the Church of *England*. The second, for maintenance of her Majesty's right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted prejudicial, the party or parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the laws of *England*. The third, if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of her Majesty, he should lose his ears, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by general voice and consent of the multitude, as well of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and government begun; after this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterwards were erected not far from that place the arms of *England* engraven in lead, and infix'd upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Majesty, and to the behoof of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, knight, his heirs and assigns

for ever, the General granted in fee-farm divers parcels of land lying by the water-side, both in this harbour of *St. John*, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commodity, being thereby assured, by their proper inheritance, of grounds convenient to dress and to dry their fish; whereof many times before they did fail, being prevented by them that came first into the harbour. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certain rent and service unto Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, his heirs or assigns for ever, and yearly to maintain possession of the same, by themselves or their assigns.

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every ship was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adjoining. In the meanwhile, the General appointed men unto their charge: some to repair and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the country, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the General what either themselves could know by their own travail and experience, or by good intelligence of Englishmen or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drew plots of the country exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each man's several relation, I have drawn a brief description of the *Newfoundland*, with the commodities by sea or land already made, and such also as are in possibility and great likelihood to be made. Nevertheless the cards and plots that were drawn, with the due gradation of the harbours, bays, and capes, did perish with the Admiral: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

That which we do call the *Newfoundland*, and the Frenchmen *Baccalaos*, is an island, or rather, after the

opinion of some, it consisteth of sundry islands and broken lands, situate in the north regions of *America*, upon the gulf and entrance of a great river called *St. Lawrence* in *Canada*; into the which, navigation may be made both on the south and north side of this island. The land lieth south and north, containing in length between 300 and 400 miles, accounting from *Cape Race*, which is in 46 degrees 25 minutes, unto the *Grand Bay* in 52 degrees, of septentrional latitude. The land round about hath very many goodly bays and harbours, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the known world.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature and extreme cold that should be in this country, as of some part it may be verified, namely the north, where I grant it is more cold than in countries of *Europe*, which are under the same elevation: even so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the south parts should be so intemperate as the bruit hath gone. For as the same do lie under the climes of *Bretagne, Anjou, Poictou* in *France*, between 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: unless upon the out-coast lying open unto the ocean and sharp winds, it must indeed be subject to more cold than further within the land, where the mountains are interposed as walls and bulwarks, to defend and to resist the asperity and rigour of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion that the *Newfoundland* might be the more subject to cold, by how much it lieth high and near unto the middle region. I grant that not in *Newfoundland* alone, but in *Germany, Italy* and *Afric*, even under the equinoctial line, the mountains are extreme cold, and seldom uncovered of snow, in their culm and highest tops, which cometh to pass by the same reason

that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneath them, it is found quite contrary. Even so, all hills having their descents, the valleys also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doth give in *Newfoundland*: though I am of opinion that the sun's reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in *Newfoundland*, nor generally throughout *America*, as in *Europe* or *Afric*: by how much the sun in his diurnal course from east to west, passeth over, for the most part, dry land and sandy countries, before he arriveth at the west of *Europe* or *Afric*, whereby his motion increaseth heat, with little or no qualification by moist vapours. Where[as], on the contrary, he passeth from *Europe* and *Afric* unto *America* over the ocean, from whence he draweth and carrieth with him abundance of moist vapours, which do qualify and enfeeble greatly the sun's reverberation upon this country chiefly of *Newfoundland*, being so much to the northward. Nevertheless, as I said before, the cold cannot be so intolerable under the latitude of 46, 47, and 48, especial within land, that it should be uninhabitable, as some do suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the north by a great deal. And in these south parts there be certain beasts, ounces or leopards, and birds in like manner, which in the summer we have seen, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldness. Besides, as in the months of June, July, August and September, the heat is somewhat more than in England at those seasons: so men remaining upon the south parts near unto Cape *Race*, until after holland-tide¹, have not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of *England*. Those which have arrived there after November and December have found the snow exceeding

¹ All-hallow-tide (November 1).

deep, whereat no marvel, considering the ground upon the coast is rough and uneven, and the snow is driven into the places most declining, as the like is to be seen with us. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land upon the plainer countries, which also are defended by the mountains, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those south parts, above that with us here, it cannot be so great as in *Swedeland*, much less in *Moscovia* or *Russia*: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigour of cold is dispensed with by the commodity of stoves, warm clothing, meats and drinks: all of which need not to be wanting in the *Newfoundland*, if we had intent there to inhabit.

In the south parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned those coasts, the same being so much frequented by Christians; but in the north are savages altogether harmless. Touching the commodities of this country, serving either for sustentation of inhabitants or for maintenance of traffic, there are and may be made divers; so that it seemeth that nature hath recompensed that only defect and incommodity of some sharp cold, by many benefits; namely, with incredible quantity, and no less variety, of kinds of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as trouts, salmons, and other fish to us unknown; also cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world; abundance of whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bays of *Placentia* and the *Grand Bay*, where is made train oil of the whale; herring, the largest that have been heard of, and exceeding the *Marstrand* herring of *Norway*; but hitherto was never benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate,

namely, the *bonito*, lobsters, turbot, with others infinite not sought after; oysters having pearl but not orient in colour; I took it, by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, as well to be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoining, there is nothing which our east and northerly countries of *Europe* do yield, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully, by time and industry; namely, resin, pitch, tar, soap-ashes, deal-board, masts for ships, hides, furs, flax, hemp, corn, cables, cordage, linen cloth, metals, and many more. All which the countries will afford, and the soil is apt to yield. The trees for the most in those south parts are fir-trees, pine, and cypress, all yielding gum and turpentine. Cherry trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also pear-trees, but fruitless. Other trees of some sort to us unknown. The soil along the coast is not deep of earth, bringing forth abundantly peasen small, yet good feeding for cattle. Roses passing sweet, like unto our musk roses in form; raspises; a berry which we call whorts, good and wholesome to eat. The grass and herb doth fat sheep in very short space, proved by English merchants which have carried sheep thither for fresh victual and had them raised exceeding fat in less than three weeks. Peasen which our countrymen have sown in the time of May, have come up fair, and been gathered in the beginning of August, of which our General had a present acceptable for the rareness, being the first fruits coming up by art and industry in that desolate and dishabited land. Lakes or pools of fresh water, both on the tops of mountains and in the valleys; in which are said to be muscles not unlike to have pearl, which I had put in trial, if by mischance falling unto me I had not been

letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make. Fowl both of water and land in great plenty and diversity. All kind of green fowl; others as big as bustards, yet not the same. A great white fowl called of some a gaunt. Upon the land divers sorts of hawks, as falcons, and others by report. Partridges most plentiful, larger than ours, grey and white of colour, and rough-footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and unable to fly. Birds, some like black-birds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kinds; red deer, buffles, or a beast as it seemeth by the tract and foot very large, in manner of an ox. Bears, ounces or leopards, some greater and some lesser; wolves, foxes, which to the northward a little further are black, whose fur is esteemed in some countries of *Europe* very rich. Otters, beavers, martens; and in the opinion of most men that saw it, the General had brought unto him a sable alive, which he sent unto his brother, Sir *John Gilbert*, Knight, of *Devonshire*, but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundredth part of creatures in those unhabited lands; but these mentioned may induce us to glorify the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used the fifth part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish sloth in many of our nation, choosing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live and die within this realm pestered with inhabitants, than to adventure as becometh men, to obtain an habitation in those remote lands, in which nature very prodigally doth minister unto men's endeavours, and for art to work upon. For besides these already recounted and infinite more, the mountains generally make shew of

mineral substance ; iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not aver of richer metals ; albeit by the circumstances following, more than hope may be conceived thereof.

For amongst other charges given to enquire out the singularities of this country, the General was most curious in the search of metals, commanding the mineral-man and refiner especially to be diligent. The same was a *Saxon*¹ born, honest, and religious, named *Daniel*. Who after search brought at first some sort of ore, seeming rather to be iron than other metal. The next time he found ore, which with no small show of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation that if silver were the thing which might satisfy the General and his followers, there it was, advising him to seek no further ; the peril whereof he undertook upon his life (as dear unto him as the crown of *England* unto her Majesty, that I may use his own words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Myself at this instant liker to die than to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my own satisfaction ; but afterward demanding our General's opinion therein, and to have some part of the ore, he replied, *Content yourself, I have seen enough ; and were it but to satisfy my private humour, I would proceed no further. The promise unto my friends, and necessity to bring also the south countries within compass of my patent near expired, as we have already done these north parts, do only persuade me further. And touching the ore, I have sent it aboard, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remain within harbour ; here being both Portugals, Biscayans, and Frenchmen, not far off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea,*

¹ Probably from the mining district of Lower Saxony.

proof shall be made ; if it be our desire, we may return the sooner hither again. Whose answer I judged reasonable, and contenting me well ; wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the *Newfoundland*, and proceed to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

While the better sort of us were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriving of matters for the commodity of our voyage, others of another sort and disposition were plotting of mischief ; some casting to steal away our shipping by night, watching opportunity by the General's and captains' lying on the shore ; whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew together in company, and carried away out of the harbours adjoining a ship laden with fish, setting the poor men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and means to return home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sick of fluxes, and many dead ; and in brief, by one means or other our company was diminished, and many by the General licensed to return home. In-somuch as after we had reviewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grew scant of men to furnish all our shipping ; it seemed good therefore unto the General to leave the *Swallow* with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sick people.

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

The General made choice to go in his frigate the *Squirrel*, whereof the captain also was amongst them that returned into *England*; the same frigate being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbour or creek, which a great ship could not do. Therefore the frigate was prepared with her nettings and fights, and overcharged with bases and such small ordnance, more to give a show, than with judgment to foresee unto the safety of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their overthrow.

Now having made ready our shipping, that is to say, the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, we put aboard our provision, which was wines, bread or rusk, fish wet and dry, sweet oils, besides many other, as marmalades, figs, limons barrelled, and such like. Also we had other necessary provisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withal, boats or pinnaces fit for discovery. In brief, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had been in a country or some city populous and plentiful of all things.

We departed from this harbour of *St. John's* upon Tuesday, the 20. of August, which we found by exact observation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes; and the next day by night we were at Cape *Race*, 25 leagues from the same harborough. This cape lieth south-south-west from *St. John's*; it is a low land, being off from the cape about half a league; within the sea riseth up a rock against the point of the cape, which thereby is easily known. It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes. Under this cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we laid out hooks and lines to take cod, and drew in less than two hours fish so large and in such abundance, that many days after we fed upon no other provision. From hence we shaped our course

unto the island of *Sablon*, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to *Cape Breton*.

Sablon lieth to the seaward of *Cape Breton* about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to go upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, during our abode in *St. John's*, who was himself present when the Portugals, above thirty years past, did put into the same island both neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed unto us very happy tidings, to have in an island lying so near unto the main, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattle, whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victual, and served of store for breed.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from *Cape Race* stretcheth into the north-west, making a bay which some called *Trepassa*¹. Then it goeth out again towards the west, and maketh a point, which with *Cape Race* lieth in manner east and west. But this point inclineth to the north, to the west of which goeth in the Bay of *Placentia*. We sent men on land to take view of the soil along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had will to be planted there. They saw pease growing in great abundance everywhere.

The distance between *Cape Race* and *Cape Breton* is 87 leagues; in which navigation we spent eight days, having many times the wind indifferent good, yet could we never attain sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindered by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped; where nevertheless we lost our Admiral² with all the men and provisions, not knowing certainly the place.

¹ From the Baie des Trépassés at the Pointe du Raz in Brittany, from which *Cape Race* itself is named.

² The *Delight*.

Yet for inducing men of skill to make conjecture, by our course and way we held from Cape *Race* thither, that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter, I have set down the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, *William Cox*, Master of the *Hind*, and *John Paul*, his mate, both of *Limehouse*. . . . Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was east-south-east, and south-east, and south, fourteen leagues, with a marvellous scant wind.

Upon Tuesday, the 27. of August, toward the evening, our General caused them in his frigate to sound, who found white sand at 35 fathom, being then in latitude about 44 degrees. Wednesday, toward night, the wind came south, and we bare with the land all that night, west-north-west, contrary to the mind of Master *Cox*; nevertheless we followed the Admiral, deprived of power to prevent a mischief, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold another course, alleging they could not make the ship to work better, nor to lie otherways. The evening was fair and pleasant, yet not without token of storm to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the swan that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or *Delight*, continued in sounding of trumpets, with drums and fifes; also winding the cornets and hautboys, and in the end of their jollity, left with the battle and ringing of doleful knells. Towards the evening also we caught in the *Golden Hind* a very mighty porpoise with a harping iron, having first stricken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh sticking upon the iron, but could recover only that one. These also, passing through the ocean in herds, did portend storm. I omit to recite frivolous reports by them in the frigate, of strange voices the same night, which scared some from the helm.

Thursday, the 29. of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at south and by east, bringing withal rain and thick mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us ; and betimes in the morning we were altogether run and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoal and deep in every three or four ships' length, after we began to sound : but first we were upon them unawares, until Master *Cox* looking out, discerned, in his judgment, white cliffs, crying *Land!* withal ; though we could not afterward descry any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffs, through the haze and thick weather.

Immediately tokens were given unto the *Delight*, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burthen 120 tons, was yet foremost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recover it ; for presently the Admiral struck aground, and had soon after her stern and hinder parts beaten in pieces ; whereupon the rest (that is to say, the frigate, in which was the *General*, and the *Golden Hind*) cast about east-south-east, bearing to the south, even for our lives, into the wind's eye, because that way carried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, we sounded one while seven fathom, then five fathom, then four fathom and less, again deeper, immediately four fathom, then but three fathom, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered, God be thanked, in some despair, to sea room enough.

In this distress, we had vigilant eye unto the Admiral, whom we saw cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could we espy any of the men that leaped overboard to save themselves, either in the same pinnace, or cock, or upon rafters, and such like

means presenting themselves to men in those extremities, for we desired to save the men by every possible means. But all in vain, sith God had determined their ruin; yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and down as near unto the wrack as was possible for us, looking out if by good hap we might espy any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travail, care, long time, and difficulty; but more was the loss of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundred souls. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, a Hungarian¹, born in the city of *Buda*, called thereof *Budæus*, who, of piety and zeal to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latin tongue the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discovery, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent style of this orator and rare poet of our time.

Here also perished our Saxon refiner and discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of us in undoubted hope. No less heavy was the loss of the captain, *Maurice Brown*, a virtuous, honest, and discreet gentleman, overseen only in liberty given late before to men that ought to have been restrained, who showed himself a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedy appeared, by report of them that escaped this wrack miraculously, as shall be hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the captain was advised before to shift also for his life, by the pinnace

¹ Stephen Parmenius.

at the stern of the ship; but refusing that counsel, he would not give example with the first to leave the ship, but used all means to exhort his people not to despair, nor so to leave off their labour, choosing rather to die than to incur infamy by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, showing an ill precedent unto his men, by leaving the ship first himself. With this mind he mounted upon the highest deck, where he attended imminent death, and unavoidable; how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times.

In the mean season, certain, to the number of fourteen persons, leaped into a small pinnace, the bigness of a Thames barge, which was made in the *Newfoundland*, cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to God's mercy, amidst the storm, and rage of sea and winds, destitute of food, not so much as a drop of fresh water. The boat seeming overcharged in foul weather with company, *Edward Headly*, a valiant soldier, and well reputed of his company, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished than all, made this motion, to cast lots, and them to be thrown overboard upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boat, which otherways seemed impossible to live, [and] offered himself with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which nevertheless *Richard Clarke*, that was master of the Admiral, and one of this number, refused, advising to abide God's pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few. The boat was carried before the wind, continuing six days and nights in the ocean, and arrived at last with the men, alive, but weak, upon the *Newfoundland*, saving that the foresaid *Headly*, who had been late sick, and another called of us *Brazil*, of his travel into those

countries, died by the way, famished, and less able to hold out than those of better health. . . . Thus whom God delivered from drowning, he appointed to be famished; who doth give limits to man's times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom, again, he will preserve, neither sea nor famine can confound. For those that arrived upon the *Newfoundland* were brought into *France* by certain Frenchmen, then being upon the coast.

After this heavy chance, we continued in beating the sea up and down, expecting when the weather would clear up that we might yet bear in with the land, which we judged not far off either the continent or some island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fathoms, and less. The ground coming upon our lead, being sometime oozy sand and other while a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage daily after this ill success, the weather continuing thick and blustering, with increase of cold, winter drawing on, which took from them all hope of amendment, settling an assurance of worse weather to grow upon us every day. The leeside of us lay full of flats and dangers, inevitable if the wind blew hard at south. Some again doubted we were engulfed in the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknown. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone with loss of our Admiral. Those in the frigate were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: whereupon they besought the General to return to *England*, before they all perished. And to them of the *Golden Hind* they made signs of distress, pointing to their mouths, and to their clothes thin and ragged: then immediately they also of the *Golden Hind*

grew to be of the same opinion and desire to return home.

The former reasons having also moved the General to have compassion of his poor men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of means fit to perform the action they came for, [he] resolved upon retire: and calling the captain and master of the *Hind*, he yielded them many reasons, enforcing this unexpected return, withal protesting himself greatly satisfied with that he had seen and knew already, reiterating these words; *Be content, we have seen enough, and take no care of expense past: I will set you forth royally the next spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.* Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the captain and master of the *Hind* condescended to this motion, his own company can testify; yet comforted with the General's promise of a speedy return at spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, proving an impossibility to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So upon Saturday in the afternoon, the 31. of August, we changed our course, and returned back for *England*. At which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along between us and towards the land which we now forsook a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour, not swimming after the manner of a beast by moving of his feet, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight, neither yet diving under, and again rising above the water, as the manner is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoises, and all other fish: but confidently showing himself above water without hiding: notwithstanding, we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amaze him, as all creatures will be commonly at a

sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ugly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eyes; and to bid us a farewell, coming right against the *Hind*, he sent forth a horrible voice, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion, which spectacle we all beheld so far as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtless was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the General himself, I forbear to deliver: but he took it for *bonum omen*, rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it were the devil. The wind was large for *England* at our return, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the frigate, wherein the General went, was almost swallowed up.

Monday in the afternoon we passed in sight of Cape *Race*, having made as much way in little more than two days and nights back again, as before we had done in eight days from Cape *Race* unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back again, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our return. This Monday the General came aboard the *Hind*, to have the surgeon of the *Hind* to dress his foot, which he hurt by treading upon a nail: at which time we comforted each other with hope of hard success to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry out lights always by night, that we might keep together, he departed into his frigate, being by no means to be entreated to tarry in the *Hind*, which had been more for his security. Immediately after followed a sharp storm, which we overpassed for that time, praised be God.

The weather fair, the General came aboard the *Hind*

again, to make merry together with the captain, master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning until night. During which time there passed sundry discourses touching affairs past and to come, lamenting greatly the loss of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all his books and notes, and what else I know not, for which he was out of measure grieved, the same doubtless being some matter of more importance than his books, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered the same to be the ore which *Daniel* the Saxon had brought unto him in the *Newfoundland*. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deep as, not able to contain himself, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship, because upon a fair day, when we were becalmed upon the coast of the *Newfoundland*, near unto Cape *Race*, he sent his boy aboard the *Admiral* to fetch certain things: amongst which, this being chief, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send again aboard the great ship, much less he doubted her ruin so near at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversely, and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich mine. For whereas the General had never before good conceit of these north parts of the world, now his mind was wholly fixed upon the *Newfoundland*. And as before he refused not to grant assignments liberally to them that required the same into these north parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of *St. John's*, which certain English merchants made suit for, offering to employ their money and travail upon the same: yet neither by their own suit, nor of

others of his own company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained. Also laying down his determination in the spring following for disposing of his voyage then to be re-attempted: he assigned the captain and master of the *Golden Hind* unto the south discovery, and reserved unto himself the north, affirming that this voyage had won his heart from the south, and that he was now become a northern man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had, at his arrival in *England*, to compass the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next spring, having determined upon two fleets, one for the south, another for the north; *Leave that to me*, he replied, *I will ask a penny of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her Majesty, who will be so gracious to lend me £10,000; willing us therefore to be of good cheer; for he did thank God*, he said, *with all his heart for that he had seen, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seek any further.* And these last words he would often repeat, with demonstration of great fervency of mind, being himself very confident and settled in belief of inestimable good by this voyage; which the greater number of his followers nevertheless mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the General kept unto himself. Yet all of them that are living may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at His good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedy, which must be knit up in the person of our General. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and entreaty of his friends could nothing avail to divert him of a wilful resolution of going through in his frigate; which was

overcharged upon the decks with fights, nettings, and small artillery, too cumbersome for so small a boat that was to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather. Whereof, indeed, we had enough.

But when he was entreated by the captain, master, and other his well-willers of the *Hind* not to venture in the frigate, this was his answer: *I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.* And in very truth he was urged to be so over hard by hard reports given of him that he was afraid of the sea; albeit this was rather rashness than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the *Hind*, such as was wanting aboard his frigate. And so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboard his pinnace, we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of *Azores* south of us; yet we then keeping much to the north, until we had got into the height and elevation of *England*, we met with very foul weather and terrible seas; breaking short and high, pyramid-wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceed either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, as we see hills and vales upon the land, upon which the seas do mount and fall, or else the cause proceedeth of diversity of winds, shifting often in sundry points, all which having power to move the great ocean, which again is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had been diversity of winds. Howsoever it cometh to pass, men which all their lifetime had occupied the sea never saw more outrageous seas. We had also upon our mainyard an apparition of a little fire by night,

which seamen do call *Castor* and *Pollux*. But we had only one, which they take an evil sign of more tempest; the same is usual in storms.

Monday, the 9. of September, in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered; and giving forth signs of joy, the General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the *Hind*, so oft as we did approach within hearing, *We are as near to heaven by sea as by land!* Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried *the General was cast away*, which was too true. For in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after until we arrived upon the coast of *England*; omitting no small sail at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens between us agreed upon to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather and peril of drowning it pleased God to send safe home the *Golden Hind*, which arrived in *Falmouth* the 22. of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw coming from the south-east, with such thick mist that we could not discern land to put in right with the haven. From *Falmouth* we went to *Dartmouth*, and lay there at anchor before the Range, while the captain went aland to enquire if there had been any news of the frigate, which, sailing well, might happily have been before us; also to certify Sir *John Gilbert*, brother unto the General, of our hard success, whom the captain desired,

while his men were yet aboard him, and were witnesses of all occurrences in that voyage, it might please him to take the examination of every person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithful endeavour. Sir *John Gilbert* refused so to do, holding himself satisfied with report made by the captain, and not altogether despairing of his brother's safety, offered friendship and courtesy to the captain and his company, requiring to have his bark brought into the harbour; in furtherance whereof a boat was sent to help to tow her in.

Nevertheless, when the captain returned aboard his ship, he found his men bent to depart every man to his home; and then the wind serving to proceed higher upon the coast, they demanded money to carry them home, some to *London*, others to *Harwich*, and elsewhere, if the barque should be carried into *Dartmouth* and they discharged so far from home, or else to take benefit of the wind, then serving to draw nearer home, which should be a less charge unto the captain, and great ease unto the men, having else far to go. Reason accompanied with necessity persuaded the captain, who sent his lawful excuse and cause of this sudden departure unto Sir *John Gilbert*, by the boat of *Dartmouth*, and from thence the *Golden Hind* departed and took harbour at *Weymouth*. All the men tired with the tediousness of so unprofitable a voyage to their seeming, in which their long expense of time, much toil and labour, hard diet, and continual hazard of life was unrecompensed; their captain nevertheless by his great charges impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodness of God, and His undoubted providence following him in all that voyage, as it doth always those at other times whosoever have confidence in Him alone. Yet have we more near feeling and perseverance of His powerful hand and protection when God doth bring us together with others

into one same peril, in which He leaveth them and delivereth us, making us thereby the beholders, but not partakers, of their ruin. Even so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortality, spoilings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions more than in so small a fleet or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in every particularity, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes living, it pleased God to support this company, of which only one man died of a malady inveterate, and long infested, the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none else did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or prevented by death.

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, Knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meet to be published; wherein may always appear, though he be extinguished, some sparks of his virtues, he remaining firm and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possess, and to reduce unto the service of God and Christian piety those remote and heathen countries of *America* not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the crown of *England*: unto the which as his zeal deserveth high commendation, even so he may justly be taxed of temerity, and presumption rather, in two respects. First, when yet there was only probability, not a certain and determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commodity there *in esse*, to induce his followers; nevertheless, he both was too prodigal of his own patrimony and too careless of other men's expenses to employ both his and their substance upon

a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning, to be salved some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation. Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of ability and credit to perform his designments, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunity, and means which God might raise, he thrust himself again into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on God's behalf would carry him to the desired end. Into which having thus made re-entry, he could not yield again to withdraw, though he saw no encouragement to proceed ; lest his credit, foiled in his first attempt, in a second should utterly be disgraced. Between extremities he made a right adventure, putting all to God and good fortune ; and, which was worst, refused not to entertain every person and means whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the success whereof hath been declared.

But such is the infinite bounty of God, who from every evil deriveth good. For besides that fruit may grow in time of our travelling into those north-west lands, the crosses, turmoils, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humours which before we noted to be in this gentleman, and made unsavoury and less delightful his other manifold virtues. Then as he was refined, and made nearer drawing unto the image of God, so it pleased the Divine will to resume him unto Himself, whither both his and every other high and noble mind have always aspired.

AMADAS AND BARLOW.

ON Gilbert's death Raleigh, his half-brother, succeeded to his enterprise, and obtained in March, 1584, a grant in similar form, to be carried into execution within six years. He resolved that there should be little delay in giving it effect. Before April was over, two small vessels quitted Plymouth for the purpose of taking possession of some fitting spot for a colony between Florida and Newfoundland. Raleigh directed that the northern route of Gilbert should be abandoned. American enterprise had thus early divided itself, in accordance with the physical conditions of the Atlantic Ocean, into northern and southern. Gilbert, we have seen, had declared in favour of the former: and his choice was justified, in the next generation, by the success which attended the French on the St. Lawrence, and the English in New England. But Raleigh had derived from his reading of the Spanish histories a strong predilection for the richer and more romantic south: and accordingly his two skippers, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, took the old route by the Canaries, and made the continent of North America in the latitude of North Carolina. They touched successively at the island of Wocokon (Ocracoke) at the entrance of Pamlico Sound, and at that of Roanoak, farther northward, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound, spent some weeks in viewing the country and trafficking with the natives, and then returned to England, with the report embodied in the narrative of Barlow which is here printed. The Queen was delighted with the prospect of an English settlement in this desirable land, and gave it the name of Virginia.

Raleigh's attempts at founding such a settlement were uniformly unfortunate. In the next year (1585) Greenville,

Lane, Cavendish, Amadas, and Hariot, sailed thither with seven ships carrying 180 persons, and established the first English colony on the continent of America. It lasted only a year. Wandering away from the settlement, the emigrants engaged in a fruitless quest of gold; their stores failed, and no provisions reached them from home; and all of them were brought back to England by Drake in 1586 (see *FIRST SERIES*, pages 231 and 269). Shortly afterwards a ship with provisions despatched by Raleigh arrived on the coast, and returned to England after a fruitless search for the colonists. A few days passed, and three other ships commanded by Sir Richard Greenville arrived with the intention of reinforcing the colony. Greenville left fifteen men at Roanoak, with provisions for two years, in order to retain possession of the country, but all were massacred by the Indians. In the following year (1587) Raleigh sent a second expedition under John White, who sailed from Portsmouth with three vessels. White returned to England for supplies in the same year, leaving at Roanoak eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and eleven children. When he returned to Roanoak in 1590 he found the colony abandoned. The colonists had dispersed among the Indians. Most of them are said to have been massacred, and the residue became absorbed in the native population. The original settlement of 'Virginia' was made within the limits of what afterwards became the State of North Carolina. The colonies on the James River and Chesapeake Bay, afterwards so famous under the name bestowed by Elizabeth on her prospective American dominions, were founded twenty years later.

AMADAS AND BARLOW'S VOYAGE.

The FIRST VOYAGE made to the coasts of AMERICA, with two barks, wherein were Captains MASTER PHILIP AMADAS, and MASTER ARTHUR BARLOW, who discovered part of the country now called VIRGINIA, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said captains, and sent to SIR WALTER RALEIGH, knight, at whose charge and direction the said voyage was set forth.

The 27. day of April, in the year of our redemption 1584, we departed the west of *England*, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of *Thames*. And I think it a matter both unnecessary, for the manifest discovery of the country, as also for tediousness' sake, to remember unto you the diurnal of our course, sailing thither and returning; only I have presumed to present unto you this brief discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeed, as well to yourself, by whose direction and charge, and by whose servants, this our discovery hath been performed, as also to her Highness and the commonwealth. In which we hope your wisdom will be satisfied, considering that as much by us hath been brought to light as by those small means and number of men we had could any way have been expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May in this present year we arrived at the *Canaries*, and the tenth of June we were fallen with the islands of the West *Indies*, keeping a more south-westerly course than was needful, because we doubted that the current of the Bay of *Mexico*, dis-boguing between the Cape of *Florida* and *Havana*, had been of greater force than afterwards we found it to be. At which islands we found the air very unwholesome, and our men grew for the most part ill-disposed: so that having refreshed ourselves with sweet water and fresh victual, we departed the twelfth day of our arrival here. These islands, with the rest adjoining, are so well known to yourself, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers; by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant. And keeping good watch and bearing but slack sail, the fourth of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same 120 English miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three arquebus-shot within the haven's mouth, on the left hand of the same; and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as rightful queen and princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesty's grant and letters patents, under her Highness' great Seal. Which being per-

formed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandy and low towards the water's side, but so full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them. Of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and myself having seen those parts of *Europe* that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the sea side towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean¹ height; and from thence we beheld the sea on both sides, to the north and to the south, finding no end any of both ways². This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long, and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar trees, and having discharged our arquebus-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.

This island had many goodly woods full of deer, coneys, hares and fowl, even in the midst of summer, in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercynia*, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars of the world, far bettering the cedars of the *Azores*, of the *Indies*, or *Libanus*; pines, cypress, sassafras, the lentisk, or the tree that beareth the mastic; the tree that beareth the rind of black cinnamon, of which Master

¹ Middle.

² Either way.

Winter brought from the Straits of *Magellan*; and many other of excellent smell and quality. We remained by the side of this island two whole days before we saw any people of the country. The third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons. This boat came to the island side, four arquebus-shot from our ships; and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore side towards us, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us. Then the master and the pilot of the Admiral, *Simon Ferdinando*, and the captain, *Philip Amadas*, myself, and others, rowed to the land; whose coming this fellow attended, never making any shew of fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things, not understood by us, we brought him, with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine and our meat, which he liked very well; and, after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining. As soon as he was two bow-shoot into the water he fell to fishing, and in less than half-an-hour he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship and the other to the pinnace. Which, after he had, as much as he might, requited the former benefits received, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the king's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of *Europe*. His name was *Granganimeo*, and the king is called *Wingina*; the country, *Wingandacoa*, and now,

by her Majesty, *Virginia*. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats, altogether as the first man did, a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like; the rest of his men stood round about him somewhat afar off. When we came to the shore to him, with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us; but, sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and, being set, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwards on ours, to shew we were all one, smiling and making shew the best he could of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time; only the four which were at the other end spake one in the other's ear very softly.

The king is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered. The king himself in person was at our being there sore wounded in a fight which he had with the king of the next country, called *Piëmacum*, and was shot in two places through the body, and once clean through the thigh, but yet he recovered; by reason whereof, and for that he lay at the chief town of the country, being six days' journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gave somewhat to the other that sat with him on the mat. But

presently he arose and took all from them and put it into his own basket, making signs and tokens that all things ought to be delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants and followers. A day or two after this we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had for chamois, buff, and deer skins. When we shewed him all our packet of merchandise, of all things that he saw a bright tin dish most pleased him, which he presently took up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemies' arrows. For those people maintain a deadly and terrible war with the people and king adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth twenty crowns or twenty nobles; and a copper kettle for fifty skins, worth fifty crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets and axes, and for knives, and would have given anything for swords; but we would not depart with any. After two or three days the king's brother came aboard the ships and drank wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof. And after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter, and two or three children. His wife was very well-favoured, of mean stature, and very bashful. She had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same. About her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times. In her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle, whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet, and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and some of the children of the king's

brother and other noblemen have five or six in either ear; he himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold, or copper; for, being unpolished, we knew not what metal it should be, neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparel was as his wife's, only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part; and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut-coloured hair.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dyes very excellent, and exchanged with us. But when *Granganimeo*, the king's brother, was present, none durst trade but himself, except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himself; for that is the difference between the noblemen and the governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their king, nobility, and governors than these do. The king's brother's wife, when she came to us (as she did many times), was followed with forty or fifty women always. And when she came into the ship she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more. The king's brother always kept this order: as many boats as he would come withal to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached. Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine, or of pitch-trees; a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in *England*. They have no edge-tools to

make them withal ; if they have any they are very few, and those, it seems, they had 20 years since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wrack, which happened upon their coast, of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her, being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boats is thus : they burn down some great tree, or take such as are windfallen, and, putting gum and resin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow they cut out the coal with their shells, and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider they lay on gums, which burn away the timber, and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport 20 men. Their oars are like scoops, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serveth.

The king's brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had, and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them ; but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them know that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew, which now your worship doth very well understand. He was very just of his promise : for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brace or two of fat bucks, coney, hares, fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kinds of fruits, melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, pease, and divers roots, and fruits very excellent good, and of their country corn, which is very white, fair, and well tasted, and groweth three

times in five months : in May they sow, in July they reap ; in June they sow, in August they reap ; in July they sow, in September they reap. Only they cast the corn into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turf with a wooden mattock or pickaxe. Ourselves proved the soil, and put some of our peas in the ground, and in ten days they were of 14 inches high. They have also beans very fair, of divers colours, and wonderful plenty, some growing naturally and some in their gardens ; and so have they both wheat and oats. The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world. There are above fourteen several sweet-smelling timber-trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bays and suchlike. They have those oaks that we have, but far greater and better.

After they had been divers times aboard our ships, myself with seven more went twenty mile into the river that runneth toward the city of *Skicoak*, which river they call *Occam* ; and the evening following we came to an island which they call *Roanoak*, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues ; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses built of cedar and fortified round about with sharp trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially¹. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of *Granganimeo*, the king's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and friendly. Her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore, for the beating of the billow. Others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground, and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the utter room (having five rooms in

¹ The site of the colony established in the following year (1585).

her house) she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them and dried them again. Some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feet in warm water, and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat. After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house some wheat like furmenty, sodden venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boiled, and roasted, melons raw and sodden, roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. Their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water; but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth; their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory. Their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet; their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. Within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons: but as soon as she

espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half-dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women to sit all night on the bank-side by us, and sent us into our boats fine mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses. But because we were few men, and if we had miscarried the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not adventure anything, although there was no cause of doubt; for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

Beyond this island there is the mainland, and over against this island falleth into this spacious water the great river called *Occam* by the inhabitants, on which standeth a town called *Pomeiock*, and six days' journey from the same is situate their greatest city called *Skicoak*, which this people affirm to be very great; but the savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirm it to be above one hour's journey about. Into this river falleth another great river called *Cipo*, in which there is found great store of muscles, in which there are pearls; likewise there descendeth into this *Occam* another river called *Nomopana*, on the one side whereof standeth a great town called *Chawanook*, and the lord of that town and country is called *Pooneno*. This *Pooneno* is not subject

to the king of *Wingandacoa*, but is a free lord. Beyond this country is there another king, whom they call *Menatonon*, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the south-west, four days' journey, is situate a town called *Secotan*, which is the southernmost town of *Wingandacoa*, near unto which six-and-twenty years past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the country people preserved. And after ten days remaining in an out island uninhabited, called *Wocokon*, they, with the help of some of the dwellers of *Secotan*, fastened two boats of the country together, and made masts unto them, and sails of their shirts, and having taken into them such victuals as the country yielded, they departed after they had remained in this out island three weeks. But shortly after, it seemed, they were cast away, for the boats were found upon the coast, cast a-land in another island adjoining. Other than these, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seen or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seen only of the inhabitants of *Secotan*; which appeared to be very true, for they wondered marvellously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in marvellous admiration, and all things else were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seen the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an arquebus, they would tremble thereat for very fear, and for the strangeness of the samé, for the weapons which themselves use are bows and arrows. The arrows are but of small canes, headed with a sharp shell or tooth of a fish sufficient enough to kill a naked man. Their swords be of wood hardened; likewise they use wooden breast-

plates for their defence. They have beside a kind of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharp horns of a stag, or other beast. When they go to wars they carry about with them their idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the *Romans* were wont of the oracle of *Apollo*. They sing songs as they march towards the battle, instead of drums and trumpets. Their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civil dissensions which have happened of late years amongst them, the people are marvellously wasted, and in some places the country left desolate.

Adjoining to this country aforesaid, called *Secotan*, beginneth a country called *Pomovik*, belonging to another king, whom they call *Piëmacum*; and this king is in league with the next king adjoining towards the setting of the sun, and the country *Newsiok*, situate upon a goodly river called *Neus*. These kings have mortal war with *Wingina*, king of *Wingandacoa*; but about two years past there was a peace made between the king *Piëmacum* and the lord of *Secotan*, as these men which we have brought with us to England have given us to understand; but there remaineth a mortal malice in the *Secotans*, for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by this *Piëmacum*. They invited divers men, and thirty women of the best of his country, to their town to a feast, and when they were altogether merry, and praying before their idol (which is nothing else but a mere delusion of the devil) the captain or lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and slew them every one, reserving the women and children; and these two have oftentimes since persuaded us to surprise *Piëmacum* his town, having promised and assured us that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their persuasion be to the end they may be revenged of their enemies, or for

the love they bear to us, we leave that to the trial hereafter.

Beyond this island called *Roanoak* are many islands very plentiful of fruits and other natural increases, together with many towns and villages along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the islands, and some stretching up further into the land.

When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent; but after we entered into the haven we saw before us another mighty long sea, for there lieth along the coast a tract of islands 200 miles in length, adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances. When you are entered between them, these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in some places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more, then there appeareth another great sea, containing in breadth in some places 40, in some 50, in some 20 miles over, before you come unto the continent; and in this enclosed sea there are above 100 islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is 16 miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Besides this island there are many, as I have said, some of two, of three, of four, of five miles, some more, some less, most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with deer, coneys, hares, and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Thus, Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery made this present voyage, as far forth as the shortness of the time we there continued would afford us to take view of; and so contenting ourselves

with this service at this time, which we hope hereafter to enlarge, as occasion and assistance shall be given, we resolved to leave the country, and to apply ourselves to return for *England*, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the west of *England* about the midst of September.

And whereas we have above certified you of the country taken in possession by us to her Majesty's use, and so to yours by her Majesty's grant, we thought good for the better assurance thereof, to record some of the particular gentlemen, and men of account, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cavil to the title of the country, in her Majesty's behalf, may be prevented, which otherwise such as like not the action may use and pretend. Whose names are, Master *Philip Amadas*, Master *Arthur Barlow*, Captains; *William Greenville*, *John Wood*, *James Bromewich*, *Henry Greene*, *Benjamin Wood*, *Simon Ferdinando*, *Nicholas Petman*, *John Hughes*, of the company.

We brought home also two of the savages, being lusty men, whose names were *Wanchese* and *Manteo*.





ARRIGER THOMAS CANON DIS

Animum fortuna
sequatur

CAVENDISH (b. 1555? d. 1592).

THOMAS CANDISH or CAVENDISH, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had not only squandered the savings of his minority, but had dissipated the substance of a large fortune, in the extravagances of Elizabeth's Court, bethought him of repairing his shattered means by American adventure. He first made acquaintance with the New World as the commander of one of the vessels in Raleigh's expedition to 'Virginia' in 1585 (p. 52). He returned with Greenville in the same year, and in the next planned an expedition modelled on the Famous Voyage of Drake. In July, 1586, he left Plymouth with three vessels, following Drake's track by way of the Canaries and the Guinea Coast to the shores of Brazil, which was reached in December. Early in the next year (1587) Cavendish made the Straits of Magellan, which it took him over six weeks to traverse, and coasted along the western shore of South America in search of plunder. His success was quite equal to his expectations. Before he reached the coast of California he had sunk many Spanish vessels, and collected a considerable cargo of silver and American produce. Cavendish had resolved to strike a yet more daring blow for fortune. He proposed to await, on the Californian coast, the arrival of the annual galleon from the Philippines, laden with the wealth of Asia; and on the 4th of November, 1587, while Cavendish was beating up and down off the headland of California, the great prize hove in sight. It was the *Santa Anna*, having on board 120,000 dollars in gold, besides large quantities of Oriental silks, satins, and damask, and rich spices and perfumes. Cavendish speedily laid her aboard, and captured her after an obstinate fight of several hours. Having put her crew on shore, emptied her of all her

treasures, and burnt her to the water's edge, Cavendish sailed due west across the Pacific, and reached the Philippines in the middle of January, 1588. He touched at several islands of the Malay archipelago, and visited Java, where he took pains to obtain exact information as to the condition and resources of the island, and found the natives and the Portuguese equally ready to welcome a deliverer from the despotism of Spain. Thence, after a run of nine weeks across the Indian Ocean, he made the Cape of Good Hope. Cavendish landed on the Island of St. Helena, of which the narrative gives an interesting description. Two months from St. Helena brought him back to Plymouth, after a voyage which had lasted over two years.

Three years elapsed before Cavendish sailed on his second expedition. It was as disastrous as the first had been prosperous. He was late in the season, and unusually bad weather prevented him from making the Straits until April, 1592. Cavendish did not reach the Pacific. The *Desire*, commanded by Davis, was forced back up the Straits by stress of weather, and followed the Admiral back to the coast of Brazil; and, after months of unexampled suffering and distress, her crew reached the coast of Ireland. Cavendish himself was spared the mortification of an inglorious return; for he died at sea before his ship reached home. Cavendish was the second English circumnavigator of the globe. The brilliant successes of his first expedition, and the tragic failure of the second, fixed both firmly in the public mind. They served to stimulate and confirm the spirit of English enterprise in the American and East Indian seas; and the name of the bold and unfortunate Suffolk gentleman-adventurer will always occupy a place on the roll of English worthies.

CAVENDISH—FIRST VOYAGE.

The ADMIRABLE AND PROSPEROUS VOYAGE of the Worshipful MASTER THOMAS CAVENDISH¹, of TRIMLEY, in the County of SUFFOLK, Esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth; begun in the year of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by MASTER FRANCIS PRETTY, lately of EYE, in SUFFOLK, a gentleman employed in the same action.

WE departed out of *Plymouth* on Thursday, the 21. of July, 1586, with three sails, to wit, the *Desire*, a ship of 120 tons, the *Content*, of 60 tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, a bark of 40 tons; in which small fleet were 123 persons of all sorts, with all kind of furniture and victuals sufficient for the space of two years, at the charges of the Worshipful Master *Thomas Cavendish*, of *Trimley*, in the county of *Suffolk*, Esquire, being our General. On Tuesday, the 26. of the same month, we were 45 leagues from Cape *Finis-terræ*, where we met with five sails of Biscayans, coming from the *Grand Bay* in *Newfoundland*, as we supposed, which our Admiral shot at, and fought with them three hours, but we took none of them by reason the night grew on. The first of August we came in sight of *Forteventura*, one of the isles of the *Canaries*, about ten of the clock in the morning. On Sunday, being the seventh of August, we were gotten as high as *Rio del Oro*, on the coast of *Barbary*. On Monday, the 19. we fell with

¹ Hakluyt uniformly prints *Candish*.

Cape *Blanco* ; but the wind blew so much at the north, that we could not get up where the canters¹ do use to ride and fish ; therefore we lay off six hours west-south-west, because of the sand which lieth off the cape south-west and by south. The 15. day of the same month we were in the height of Cape *Verde*, by estimation 50 leagues off the same. The 18. *Sierra Leona* did bear east of us, being 45 leagues from us ; and the same day the wind shifted to the north-west, so that by the 20. day of the said month we were in six degrees and a-half to the northward from the equinoctial line. On the 23. we put room for *Sierra Leona*, and the 25. day we fell with the point on the south side of *Sierra Leona*, which Master *Brewer* knew very well, and went in before with the *Content*, which was Vice-Admiral ; and we had no less than five fathoms water when we had least, and had for fourteen leagues in south-west all the way running into the harbour of *Sierra Leona*, sixteen, fourteen, twelve, ten, and eight fathoms of water.

The 26. of the said month we put into the harborough, and in going in we had (by the southernmost point, when we had least) five fathoms water fair by the rock as it lieth at the said point ; and after we came two or three cables' lengths within the said rock, we never had less than ten fathoms, until we came up to the road, which is about a league from the point, borrowing always on the south side until you come up to the watering-place, in which bay is the best road ; but you must ride far into the bay, because there run marvellous great tides in the offing, and it floweth into the road next of anything at a south-east and by east moon. It is out of England to this place 930 leagues, which we ran from the 21. of July to the 26. of this month of August.

¹ See First Series, p. 189.

On Saturday, being the 27. day, there came two negroes aboard our Admiral from the shore, and made signs unto our General that there was a Portugal ship up within the harborough: so the *Hugh Gallant*, being the Rear-Admiral, went up three or four leagues, but for want of a pilot they sought no farther; for the harborough runneth three or four leagues up more, and is of a marvellous breadth and very dangerous, as we learned afterward by a Portugal.

On Sunday, the 28., the General sent some of his company on shore, and there as they played and danced all the forenoon among the negroes, to the end to have heard some good news of the Portugal ship, toward their coming aboard they espied a Portugal, which lay hid among the bushes; whom we took and brought away with us the same night, and he told us it was very dangerous going up with our boats for to seek the ship that was at the town. Whereupon we went not to seek her, because we knew he told us the truth; for we bound him and made him fast, and so examined him. Also he told us that his ship was there cast away, and that there were two more of his company among the negroes. The Portugal's name was *Emmanuel*, and was by his occupation a caulker, belonging to the *Port of Portugal*¹.

On Monday morning, being the 29. day, our General landed with 70 men, or thereabout, and went up to their town, where we burnt two or three houses, and took what spoil we would, which was but little; but all the people fled, and in our retiring aboard in a very little plain at their town's end they shot their arrows at us out of the woods, and hurt three or four of our men. Their arrows were poisoned, but yet none of our men miscarried at that time, thanked be God. Their town

¹ Oporto.

is marvellous artificially builded with mud walls, and built round, with their yards paled in, and kept very clean as well in their streets as in their houses. These negroes use good obedience to their king, as one of our men said, which was with them in pawn for the negroes which came first. There were in their town by estimation about one hundred houses.

The first of September there went many of our men on shore at the watering-place, and did wash shirts very quietly all the day, and the second day they went again, and the negroes were in ambush round about the place; and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to do some special business, espied them by good fortune. But the negroes rushed out upon our men so suddenly, that in retiring to our boats many of them were hurt; among whom one *William Pickman*, a soldier, was shot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out broke it, and left the head behind, and he told the chirurgeons that he plucked out all the arrow, because he would not have them lance his thigh; whereupon the poison wrought so that night, that he was marvellously swollen . . . and the next morning he died, the piece of the arrow with the poison being plucked out of his thigh.

The third day of the said month, divers of our fleet went up four miles within the harbour with our boat, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and took lemons from the trees, and coming aboard again saw two buffes¹. The sixth day we departed from *Sierra Leona*, and went out of the harborough, and stayed one tide three leagues from the point of the mouth of the harborough in six fathoms, and it floweth south-south-west. On Wednesday, being the seventh of the same month, we departed from one of the islands

¹ Buffaloes.

of Cape *Verde*, *alias* the isles of *Madrabumba*, which is ten leagues distant from the point of *Sierra Leona*; and about five of the clock the same night we anchored two miles off the island, in six fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found plantains only upon the island. The eighth day one of our boats went out and sounded round about the island, and they passed through a sound at the west end of the island, where they found five fathoms round about the island, until they came into the very gut of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after six fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the east end of the island there was a town, where negroes do use at¹ sometimes, as we perceived by their provision.

There is no fresh water on all the south side, as we could perceive, but on the north side three or four very good places of fresh water; and all the whole island is a wood, save certain little places where their houses stand, which are environed round about with plantain trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is subject marvellous much to thunder, rain, and lightning in this month. I think the reason is, because the sun is so near the line equinoctial. On Saturday, the tenth, we departed from the said island, about three of the clock in the afternoon, the wind being at the south-west.

The last of October, running west-south-west, about 24 leagues from Cape *Frio*, in *Brazil*, we fell with a great mountain which had a high round knop on the top of it, standing from it like a town, with two little islands from it.

The first of November we went in between the island of *St. Sebastian* and the main land, and had our things

¹ Frequent.

on shore, and set up a forge, and had our cask on shore; our coopers made hoops, and so we remained there until the 23. day of the same month, in which time we fitted our things, built our pinnace, and filled our fresh water. And while our pinnace was in building there came a canoe from the River of *Janeiro*, meaning to go to *St. Vincent*, wherein were six naked slaves of the country people, which did row the canoe, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knew *Christopher Hare*, master of the Admiral, for that Master *Hare* had been at *St. Vincent*, in the *Minion* of *London*, in the year 1581. And thinking to have *John Whithall*, the Englishman which dwelleth at *St. Vincent*, come unto us, which is 20 leagues from this harborough, with some other, thereby to have had some fresh victuals, we suffered the Portugal to go with a letter unto him, who promised to return or send some answer within ten days, for that we told him we were merchants, and would traffic with them. But we never received answer from him any more; and seeing that he came not according to appointment, our business being despatched, we weighed anchor, and set sail from *St. Sebastian* on the 23. of November.

The 16. day of December we fell with the coast of *America* in 47 degrees and a third, the land bearing west from us about six leagues off: from which place we ran along the shore until we came into 48 degrees. It is a steep beach all along. The 17. day of December, in the afternoon, we entered into an harborough, where our Admiral went in first. Wherefore our General named the said harborough *Port Desire*. In which harborough is an island or two, where there is wonderful great store of seals, and another island of birds, which are grey gulls. These seals are of a wonderful great bigness, huge, and monstrous of shape, and for the

fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to anything better than to a lion: their head, and neck, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough hair: their feet are in manner of a fin, and in form like unto a man's hand; they breed and cast every month, giving their young milk, yet continually get they their living in the sea, and live altogether upon fish: their young are marvellous good meat, and being boiled or roasted, are hardly to be known from lamb or mutton. The old ones be of such bigness and force, that it is as much as four men are able to do to kill one of them with great cowl-staves¹: and he must be beaten down with striking on the head of him: for his body is of that bigness that four men could never kill him, but only on the head. For being shot through the body with an arquebus or a musket, yet he will go his way into the sea, and never care for it at the present. Also the fowls that were there were very good meat, and great store of them: they have burrows in the ground like coneys, for they cannot fly. They have nothing but down upon their pinions: they also fish and feed in the sea for their living, and breed on shore.

This harborough is a very good place to trim ships in, and to bring them on ground, and grave them in, for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore we graved and trimmed all our ships there.

The 24. of December, being Christmas Even, a man and a boy of the Rear-Admiral went some forty score from our ships unto a very fair green valley at the foot of the mountains, where was a little pit or well which our men had digged and made some two or three days before to get fresh water, for there was none in all the harborough; and this was but brackish: therefore this man and boy came thither to wash their linen: and

¹ Stout poles, used for carrying casks.

being in washing at the said well, there were great store of Indians which were come down, and found the said man and boy in washing. These Indians being divided on each side of the rocks, shot at them with their arrows and hurt them both ; but they fled presently, being about fifty or threescore, though our General followed them with but sixteen or twenty men. The man's name which was hurt was *John Garge*, the boy's name was *Lutch*: the man was shot clean through the knee, the boy into the shoulder, either of them having very sore wounds. Their arrows are made of little canes, and their heads are of a flint stone, set into the cane very artificially. They seldom or never see any Christians: they are as wild as ever was a buck or any other wild beast; for we followed them, and they ran from us as it had been the wildest thing in the world. We took the measure of one of their feet, and it was 18 inches long. Their use is when any of them die, to bring him or them to the cliffs by the sea-side, and upon the top of them they bury them, and in their graves are buried with them their bows and arrows, and all their jewels which they have in their life-time, which are fine shells which they find by the sea-side, which they cut and square after an artificial manner; and all is laid under their heads. The grave is made all with great stones of great length and bigness, being set all along full of the dead man's darts which he used when he was living. And they colour both their darts and their graves with a red colour which they use in colouring of themselves.

The 28. of December we departed out of the Port of *Desire*, and went to an island which lieth three leagues to the southward of it; where we trimmed our saved penguins with salt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coast south-west and by south.

The 30. day we fell with a rock which lieth about five leagues from the land, much like unto *Eddystone*, which lieth off the sound of *Plymouth*; and we sounded, and had 8 fathoms rocky ground, within a mile thereof, the rock bearing west-south-west. We went coasting along south-south-west, and found great store of seals all along the coast. This rock standeth in 48 degrees and a-half to the southward of the line.

The second day of January we fell with a very fair white cape, which standeth in 51 degrees, and had 7 fathoms water a league off the land. On the third day of the foresaid month we fell with another great white cape, which standeth in 52 degrees and 45 minutes; from which cape there runneth a low beach about a league to the southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Strait of *Magellan*, which is in divers places five or six leagues wide, and in two several places more narrow. Under this cape we anchored and lost an anchor, for it was a great storm of foul weather, and lasted three days very dangerous. The 6. day we put in for the Straits. The 7. day, between the mouth of the Straits and the narrowest place thereof, we took a Spaniard whose name was *Hernando*, who was there with 23 Spaniards more, which were all that remained of 400 which were left there three years before in these Straits of *Magellan*, all the rest being dead with famine. And the same day we passed through the narrowest of the Straits, where the aforesaid Spaniard shewed us the hull of a small bark, which we judged to be a bark called the *John Thomas*. It is from the mouth of the Straits unto the narrowest of the Straits 14 leagues, and the course lieth west and by north. The mouth of the Straits standeth in 52 degrees. From the narrowest of the Straits unto *Penguin* Island is ten leagues, and lieth

west-south-west somewhat to the southward, where we anchored the eighth day, and killed and salted great store of penguins for victuals.

The ninth day we departed from *Penguin* Island, and ran south-south-west to King *Philip's* City, which the Spaniards had built; which town or city had four forts, and every fort had in it one cast piece, which pieces were buried in the ground, the carriages were standing in their places unburied: we digged for them and had them all. They had contrived their city very well, and seated it in the best place of the Straits for wood and water: they had built up their churches by themselves: they had laws very severe among themselves, for they had erected a gibbet, whereon they had done execution upon some of their company. It seemed unto us that the whole living for a great space was altogether upon muscles and limpets, for there was not anything else to be had, except some deer which came out of the mountains down to the fresh rivers to drink. These Spaniards which were there, were only come to fortify the Straits, to the end that no other nation should have passage through into the South Sea, saving only their own; but as it appeared, it was not God's will so to have it. For during the time that they were there, which was two years at the least, they could never have anything to grow or in anywise prosper. And on the other side the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them, until their victuals grew so short, their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spain, and having no means to renew the same, that they died like dogs in their houses, and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our coming; until that in the end the town being wonderfully tainted with the smell and the savour of the dead people, the rest which remained alive were driven to bury such

things as they had there in their town either for provision or for furniture, and so to forsake the town, and to go along the sea-side, and seek their victuals to preserve them from starving, taking nothing with them, but every man his arquebus and his furniture that was able to carry it (for some were not able to carry them for weakness) and so lived for the space of a year and more with roots, leaves, and sometimes a fowl which they might kill with their piece. To conclude, they were determined to have travelled towards the River of *Plate*, only being left alive 23 persons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 400. In this place we watered and wooded well and quietly. Our General named this town *Port Famine*: it standeth in 53 degrees by observation to the southward.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran south-south-west, and from thence south-west unto Cape *Froward*, 5 leagues west-south-west, which cape is the southermost part of all the straits, and standeth in the latitude of 54 degrees. From which cape we ran west and by north five leagues, and put into a bay or cove on the south side, which we called *Muscle Cove*, because there were great store of them: we rode therein six days, the wind being still westerly. The 21. of January we departed from *Muscle Cove*, and went north-west and by west ten leagues to a very fair sandy bay on the north side, which our General called *Elizabeth Bay*, and as we rode there that night, one of our men died which went in the *Hugh Gallant*, whose name was *Grey*, a carpenter by his occupation, and was buried there in that bay.

The two-and-twentieth we departed from *Elizabeth Bay* in the afternoon, and went about two leagues from that place, where there was a fresh-water river, where our General went up with the ship-boat about three

miles. Which river hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is low and champaign soil, and so we saw none other ground else in all the straits but that was craggy rocks and monstrous high hills and mountains. In this river are great store of savages, which we saw, and had conference with them. They were men-eaters, and fed altogether upon raw flesh and other filthy food; which people had preyed upon some of the Spaniards before spoken of. For they had gotten knives and pieces of rapiers to make darts of. They used all the means they could possibly to have allured us up farther into the river, of purpose to have betrayed us; which being espied by our General, he caused us to shoot at them with our arquebuses, whereby we killed many of them. So we sailed from this river to the Channel of *St. Jerome*, which is two leagues off.

From the river of *St. Jerome* about three or four leagues we ran west unto a cape which is on the north side; and from that cape into the mouth of the Straits the course lieth north-west and by west, and north-west. Between which place and the mouth of the Straits to the southward we lay in harborough until the 23. of February, by reason of contrary winds and most vile and filthy foul weather, with such rain and vehement stormy winds, which came down from the mountains and high hills, that they hazarded the best cables and anchors that we had for to hold, which if they had failed we had been in great danger to have been cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full month, we fed almost altogether upon muscles, and limpets, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking every day for them, as the fowls of the air do, where they can find food, in continual rainy weather. There is at every mile or two miles' end an harborough on both sides of

the land. And there are between the river of *St. Jerome* and the mouth of the Straits going into the South Sea about 34 leagues by estimation: so that the length of the whole Straits is about 90 leagues. And the said mouth of the Straits standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when we pass out of the North Sea, which is about 52 degrees and two-thirds to the southward of the line.

The 24. day of February we entered into the South Sea; and on the south side of the going out of the Straits is a fair high cape with a low point adjoining unto it; and on the north side are four or five islands which lie six leagues off the main, and much broken and sunken ground about them. By noon the same day we had brought these islands east of us five leagues off, the wind being southerly. The first of March a storm took us at north, which night the ships lost the company of the *Hugh Gallant*, being in 49 and an half, and 45 leagues from the land. This storm continued three or four days, and for that time we in the *Hugh Gallant*, being separated from the other two ships, looked every hour to sink, our bark was so leak, and ourselves so dilvered¹ and weakened with freeing it of water, that we slept not in three days and three nights.

The 15. of March, in the morning, the *Hugh Gallant* came in between the Island of *St. Mary* and the main, where she met with the Admiral and the *Content*, which had rid at the island called *La Mocha* two days, which standeth in the southerly latitude of 38 degrees; at which place some of our men went on shore with the Vice-Admiral's boat, where the Indians fought with them with their bows and arrows, and were marvellous wary of their calivers. These Indians were enemies

¹ Fatigued.

to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called *Arauco*, and took us for Spaniards, as afterward we learned. This place which is called *Arauco* is wonderful rich and full of gold-mines, and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they always returned with the greatest loss of men. For these Indians are marvellous desperate and careless of their lives to live at their own liberty and freedom. The 15. day aforesaid, in the afternoon, we weighed anchor and ran under the west side of St. *Mary* Island, where we rid very well in six fathoms water and very fair ground all that night. The 16. day our General went on shore himself with 70 or 80 men, everyone with his furniture. There came down to us certain Indians with two which were the principals of the island to welcome us on shore, thinking we had been Spaniards, for it is subdued by them; who brought us up to a place where the Spaniards had erected a church with crosses and altars in it. And there were about this church two or three storehouses, which were full of wheat and barley ready threshed and made up in cades¹ of straw to the quantity of a bushel of corn in every cade. The wheat and barley was as fair, as clean, and everyway as good as any we have in England. There were also the like cades full of potato roots, which were very good to eat, ready made up in the storehouses for the Spaniards against they should come for their tribute. This island also yieldeth many sorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. These Indians are held in such slavery by them that they dare not eat a hen or an hog themselves. But the Spaniards have made them all in that island Christians. Thus we fitted ourselves here with corn as much as we would have, and as many hogs as we had salt to powder them

¹ Casks, boxes.

withal, and great store of hens, with a number of bags of potato roots, and about 500 dried dog-fishes, and *Guinea* wheat, which is called *maize*. And, having taken as much as we would have, yet we left marvellous great store behind us. Our General had the two principals of the island aboard our ship, and provided great cheer for them, and made them merry with wine; and they in the end perceiving us to be no Spaniards, made signs, as near as our General could perceive, that if we would go over unto the mainland unto *Arauco*, that there was much gold, making us signs that we should have great store of riches. But because we could not understand them, our General made some haste, and within two or three days we furnished ourselves.

The 18. day, in the morning, we departed from this place, and ran all that day north-north-east about ten leagues, and at night lay with a short sail off and on the coast. The 19. we ran in east-north-east with the land, and bare in with a place called *The Conception*, where we anchored under an island, and departed the next morning without going on land. The 20. we departed from *The Conception*, and went into a little bay which was sandy, where we saw fresh water and cattle, but we stayed not there.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of *Quintero*, which standeth in 33 degrees and 50 minutes. The said day, presently after we were come to an anchor in the bay, there was a neatherd, or one that kept cattle, which lay upon the point of the hill asleep, which, when he awaked and had espied three ships which were come into the bay, before we could get on shore, he had caught an horse which was feeding by and rode his way as fast as ever he might; and our General, with thirty shot with him, went on shore. He had not been on

land one hour but there came three horsemen with bright swords towards us so hard as they might ride, until they came within some 20 or 30 score of us, and so stayed, and would come no nearer unto us. So our General sent unto them a couple of our men with their shot, and one *Fernando*, which was the Spaniard that we had taken up at the mouth of the Straits, which was one of the 400 that were starved there. But the Spaniards would not suffer our men to come near with their shot, but made signs that one of our men should come alone unto them; so the said *Fernando*, the Spaniard, went unto them, and our two men stood not far from them. They had great conference, and in the end *Fernando* came back from them and told our General that he had parleyed with them for some victuals, who had promised as much as we would have. Our General sent him back again with another message and another shot with him; and, being come near unto them, they would not suffer any more than one to approach them; whereupon our men let the Spaniard go unto them alone himself, who, being some good distance from them, they stayed but a small time together but that the said *Fernando* leaped up behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deep and damnable oaths which he had made constantly to our General and all his company never to forsake him, but to die on his side before he would be false. Our General, seeing how he was dealt withal, filled water all that day with good watch, and carried it aboard; and, night being come, he determined the next day to send into the country to find their town, and to have taken the spoil of it, and to have fired it if they could have found it.

The last of March Captain *Havers* went up into the country with 50 or 60 men with their shot and furniture

with them, and we travelled seven or eight miles into the land; and as we were marching along we espied a number of herds of cattle, of kine and bullocks, which were wonderful wild. We saw also great store of horses, mares, and colts, which were very wild and unhandled. There is also great store of hares and coneyes, and plenty of partridges and other wild fowls. The country is very fruitful, with fair, fresh rivers all along full of wild fowl of all sorts. Having travelled so far that we could go no further for the monstrous high mountains, we rested ourselves at a very fair, fresh river running in and along fair low meadows at the foot of the mountains, where every man drunk of the river and refreshed themselves. Having so done, we returned to our ships the likest way that we thought their town should be. So we travelled all the day long, not seeing any man, but we met with many wild dogs. Yet there were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day by means of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from us, who had told them that our force was but small, and that we were wonderfully weak; who, though they did espy us that day, yet durst they not give the onset upon us. For we marched along in array, and observed good order, whereby we seemed a great number more than we were, until we came unto our ships that night again.

The next day, being the first of April, 1587, our men went on shore to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the water's side; and being early hard at their business were in no readiness. In which mean while there came pouring down from the hills almost 200 horsemen, and before our people could return to the rocks from the watering-place, 12 of them were cut off, part killed and part taken prisoners; the rest were

rescued by our soldiers, which came from the rocks to meet with them, who being but 15 of us that had any weapons on shore, yet we made the enemy retire in the end with loss of some 24 of their men, after we had skirmished with them an hour. The names of our men that were slain were these—*Thomas Lucas*, of *London*, soldier, *Richard Wheeler*, of *London*, *Robert Pitcher*, of *Norfolk*, soldier, *John Langston*, of *Gloucestershire*, *William Kingman*, of *Dorsetshire*, soldier, *William Hills*, of *Cornwall*, out of the Admiral. *William Byet*, of *Weymouth*, *Laurence Gamesby*, of *Newcastle*, killed out of the Vice-Admiral. *Henry Blackenals*, of *Weymouth*, *William Stevens*, of *Plymouth*, gunner, *William Pitt*, of *Sherborne*, in *Dorsetshire*, *Humfrey Derrick*, of *London*, killed out of the *Hugh Gallant*. After the loss of these men we rid in the road, and watered in despite of them with good watch and ward, until the fifth of the said month. The fifth day we departed out of this bay of *Quintero*, and off from the bay there lieth a little island about a league distant, whereon there are great store of penguins and other fowls; whereof we took to serve our turns, and sailed away north, and north and by west: for so lieth the coast along in this place.

The 15. we came thwart of a place which is called *Morro Moreno*, which standeth in 23 degrees and a-half, and is an excellent good harborough; and there is an island which maketh it an harborough, and a ship may go in at either end of the island. Here we went with our General on shore to the number of 30 men; and at our going on shore upon our landing, the Indians of the place came down from the rocks to meet with us, with fresh water and wood on their backs. They are in marvellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and live marvellous savagely; for they brought us to their bidings about two miles from the harbour,

where we saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skin of some beast laid upon the ground; and over them, instead of houses, is nothing but five or six sticks laid across, which stand upon two forks with sticks on the ground, and a few boughs laid on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely; and when any of them die, they bury their bows and arrows with them, with their *canoa* and all that they have; for we opened one of their graves, and saw the order of them. Their *canoas* or boats are marvellous artificially made of two skins like unto bladders, and are blown full at one end with quills. They have two of these bladders blown full, which are sewn together and made fast with a sinew of some wild beast, which when they are in the water swell, so that they are as tight as may be. They go to sea in these boats, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute unto the Spaniards; but they use it marvellous beastly.

The 23. in the morning we took a small bark which came out of *Arica* road, which we kept and called the *George*; the men forsook it, and went away with their boat. Our Admiral's pinnace followed the boat, and the *Hugh Gallant's* boat took the bark. Our Admiral's pinnace could not recover the boat before it got on shore, but went along into the road of *Arica*, and laid aboard a great ship of 100 tons, riding in the road right afore the town, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, only the bare ship was left alone. They made three or four very fair shots at the pinnace as she was coming in, but missed her very narrowly with a minion shot which they had in the fort. Whereupon we came into the road with the Admiral and the *Hugh Gallant*; but the *Content*, which was Vice-Admiral, was behind out of sight, by means whereof, and for want of her

boat to land men withal, we landed not; otherwise, if we had been together, our General with the company would resolutely have landed to take the town, whatsoever had come of it. The cause why the *Content* stayed behind was, that she had found about 14 leagues to the southward of *Arica*, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ship's lading of *botijas* of wine of *Castilia*, whereof the said *Content* took into her as many as she could conveniently carry, and came after us into the road of *Arica* the same day. By this time we perceived that the town had gathered all their power together, and also had conveyed all their treasure away, and buried it before we were come near the town; for they had heard of us. Now because it was very populous with the aid of one or two places up in the land, our General saw there was no landing without loss of many men; wherefore he gave over that enterprise. While we rid in the road, they shot at us; and our ships shot at them again for every shot two. Moreover our pinnace went in hard almost to the shore, and fetched out another bark which rid there, in despite of all their forts, though they shot still at the pinnace, which they could never hit. After these things our General sent a boat on shore with a flag of truce to know if they would redeem their great ship or no; but they would not, for they had received special commandment from the Viceroy from *Lima*, not to buy any ship, nor to ransom any man upon pain of death. Our General did this in hope to have redeemed some of our men, which were taken prisoners on shore by the horsemen at *Quintero*, otherwise he would have made them no offer of parley.

The 25., riding still in the said road, we spied a sail coming from the southward, and our General sent out his pinnace to meet her, with all our boats; but the

town made such signs from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-house, that before our pinnace could get to them, they ran the bark on shore two miles to the southward of the town; but they had small leisure to carry anything with them. But all the men scaped; among whom were certain friars, for we saw them in their friars' weeds as they ran on shore; many horsemen came from the town to rescue them, and to carry them away, otherwise we had landed and taken or killed them. So we went aboard the bark as she lay sunk, and fetched out the pillage; but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboard our ships again the same night. And the next morning we set the great ship on fire in the road, and sunk one of the barks, and carried the other along with us, and so departed from thence and went away north-west.

The 27. day we took a small bark, which came from *St. Iago*, near unto *Quintero*, where we lost our men first. In this bark was one *George*, a Greek, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of *Chili*. They were sent to the city of *Lima* with letters of *advise* of us, and of the loss of our men. There were also in the said bark one Fleming and three Spaniards, and they were all sworn and received the sacrament before they came to sea by three or four friars, that if we should chance to meet them, they should throw those letters overboard; which, as we were giving them chase with our pinnace, before we could fetch them up, they had accordingly thrown away. Yet our General wrought so with them that they did confess it; but he was fain to cause them to be tormented with their thumbs in a wrinch, and to continue them at several times with extreme pain. Also he made the old Fleming believe that he would hang him, and the rope being about his neck he was pulled up a little from the hatches, and yet

he would not confess, choosing rather to die than he would be perjured. In the end it was confessed by one of the Spaniards; whereupon we burnt the bark, and carried the men with us.

The third of May we came into a bay where are three little towns, which are called *Paracca*, *Chincha*, and *Pisca*, where some of us landed and took certain houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs, and hens; but the sea went so high, that we could not land at the best of the towns without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of us all. This place standeth in 13 degrees and two-thirds to the southward of the line. The fifth of May we departed from this harbour, leaving the *Content*, our Vice-Admiral, within at an island of seals, by which means at that time we lost her company. The ninth we gave chase to a sail, namely, our Admiral, the *Hugh Gallant*, and the *George*, which we had taken before, coming out of the road of *Arica*: the *Content*, which was our Vice-Admiral, being still lost; but we could not fetch it. The *George* made after it, but lost it that night. The tenth day the *Hugh Gallant* (in which bark I *Francis Pretty* was) lost company of our Admiral.

The 11. we which were in the *Hugh Gallant* put into a bay which standeth in 12 degrees and two-thirds, in which bay we found a river of fresh water about eight of the clock at night. And though we were but of small force, and no more but one bark and 18 men in it, yet we went on shore to fill water; where, having filled one boat's lading, while our boat was in going aboard, two or three of our company which were on shore, as they were going a little from the watering-place with their furniture about them, espied where there were 400 or 500 bags of meal on an heap covered with a few reeds. So that night we filled water and

took as much meal as we thought good, which fell out well for us that were then lost and stood in need of victuals; and by break of day in the morning we came aboard, and there stayed and rode until the afternoon. In which mean time the town seeing us ride there still, brought down much cattle to the seaside to have enticed us to come on shore; but we saw their intent, and weighed anchor and departed the twelfth day.

The 13. day at night we put into a bay which standeth in nine degrees and a third, where we saw horsemen; and that night we landed, namely, Master *Brewer*, captain, myself *Francis Pretty*, *Arthur Warford*, *John Way*, Preacher, *John Newman*, *Andrew White*, *William Gargefield*, and *Henry Hilliard*. And we eight only, having every man his arquebus and his furniture about him, marched three-quarters of a mile along the seaside, where we found a boat of five or six tons haled up dry on the shore about a cable's length from the water; and with extreme labour we launched the bark. When it was on float, Captain *Brewer* and I went in, while the rest of our company were fetching their things; but suddenly it was ready to sink. And the captain and I stood up to the knees lading out water with our targets: but it sunk down faster than we were able to free it, insomuch as in the end we had much ado to save ourselves from drowning. When we were out, we stood in great fear that our own boat wherein we came on shore was sunk; for we could nowhere see it. Howbeit the captain commanded them to keep it off, for fear of the great surge that went by the shore. Yet in the end we spied it, and went aboard by two and two, and were driven to wade up to the arm-holes sixty paces into the sea before we could get into the boat, by reason of the shoalness; and then departed the 14. day in the morning.

The 16. we took with the *Hugh Gallant*, being but 16 men of us in it, a great ship which came from *Guaiaquil*, which was called the *Lewis*, and was of the burthen of 300 tons, having four-and-twenty men in it, wherein was pilot one *Gonsalvo de Ribas*, whom we carried along with us, and a negro called *Emmanuel*. The ship was laden with nothing but timber and victuals; wherefore we left her seven leagues from the land very leak and ready to sink in seven degrees to the southward of the line; we sunk her boat and took away her foresail and certain victuals.

The 17. of May we met with our Admiral again, and all the rest of our fleet. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, *molosses*, *maize*, *Cordovan*-skins, *manteca de puerco*¹, many packs of *pintados*², many Indian coats, and some marmalade, and 1000 hens; and the other ship was laden with wheat-meal and boxes of marmalade. One of these ships which had the chief merchandise in it, was worth £20,000, if it had been in *England* or in any other place of *Christendom* where we might have sold it. We filled all our ships with as much as we could bestow of these goods; the rest we burnt, and the ships also, and set the men and women that were not killed on shore.

The 20. day in the morning we came into the road of *Paita*; and being at an anchor, our General landed with 60 or 70 men, skirmished with them of the town, and drave them all to flight to the top of the hill which is over the town, except a few slaves and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the governors to stay below in the town, at a place which is in building for a fort, having with them a bloody ensign, being in number about 100 men. Now as we were rowing between the ships and the shore, our

¹ Lard.

² Coloured cloths.

gunner shot off a great piece out of one of the barks, and the shot fell among them, and drave them to fly from the fort as fast as they might run; who got them up upon a hill, and from thence shot among us with their small shot. After we were landed and had taken the town, we ran upon them, and chased them so fiercely up the hills for the space of an hour, that we drave them in the end away perforce; and being got up the hills, we found where they had laid all their stuff which they had brought out of the town, and had hidden it there upon the mountains. We also found the quantity of 25 pounds weight in silver in pieces of eight reals, and abundance of household stuff and store-houses full of all kinds of wares. But our General would not suffer any man to carry much cloth or apparel away, because they should not cloy themselves with burdens, for he knew not whether our enemies were provided with furniture according to the number of their men; for they were five men to one of us, and we had an English mile and an half to our ships. Thus we came down in safety to the town, which was very well builded, and marvellous clean kept in every street, with a town-house or Guildhall in the midst, and had to the number of 200 houses at the least in it. We set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of five or six thousand pounds. There was also a bark, riding in the road, which we set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Island of *Puna*.

The 25. of May we arrived at the island of *Puna*, where is a very good harbour. Where we found a great ship of the burden of 250 tons riding at an anchor with all her furniture, which was ready to be haled on ground; for there is a special good place for that purpose. We sunk it, and went on shore where the lord of the island dwelt, which was by the water-

side, who had a sumptuous house, marvellous well contrived, with very many singular good rooms and chambers in it; and out of every chamber was framed a gallery with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the island on the other side, with a marvellous great hall below, and a very great store-house at the other end of the hall, which was filled with *botijas*¹ of pitch, and bash² to make cables withal; for the most part of the cables of the South Sea are made upon that island. This great *cacique* doth make all the Indians upon the island to work and to drudge for him; and he himself is an Indian born, but is married to a marvellous fair woman which is a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation and of his great wealth.

This Spanish woman his wife is honoured as a queen in the island, and never goeth on the ground upon her feet, but holdeth it too base a thing for her. But when her pleasure is to take the air, or to go abroad, she is always carried in a shadow³ like unto a horse-litter upon four men's shoulders, with a veil or canopy over her for the sun or the wind, having her gentlewomen still attending about her, with a great troop of the best men of the island with her. But both she and the lord of the island with all the Indians in the town were newly fled out of the island before we could get to an anchor, by reason we were becalmed before we could get in, and were gone over unto the mainland, having carried away with them to the sum of 100,000 crowns; which we knew by a captain of the island, an Indian, which was left there with some other upon the island under him, whom we had taken at sea as we were coming into the road, being in a *balsa*⁴ or *canoa* for a spy to see what we were.

¹ Jars. ² Bast, fibre of the lime-tree. ³ Covered chair. ⁴ Raft.

The 27. our General himself with certain shot and some targeteers went over into the main unto the place where this aforesaid Indian captain which we had taken had told us that the *cacique*, which was the lord of the island, was gone unto, and had carried all his treasure with him ; but at our coming to the place which we went to land at, we found newly arrived there four or five great *balsas*, which were laden with plantains, bags of meal, and many other kinds of victuals. Our General marvelled what they were and what they meant, asking the Indian guide and commanding him to speak the truth upon his life ; being then bound fast, he answered being very much abashed, as well as our company were, that he neither knew from whence they should come, nor who they should be ; for there was never a man in any one of the *balsas* ; and because he had told our General before, that it was an easy matter to take the said *cacique* and all his treasure, and that there were but three or four houses standing in a desert place and no resistance, and that if he found it not so he should hang him. Again, being demanded to speak upon his life what he thought these *balsas* should be, he answered that he could not say from whence they should come, except it were to bring 60 soldiers, which he did hear were to go to a place called *Guaiaquil*, which was about six leagues from the said island, where two or three of the king's ships were on the stocks in building, where are continually an hundred soldiers in garrisons who had heard of us, and had sent for 60 more for fear of burning of the ships and town. Our General, not any whit discouraged, either at the sight of the *balsas* unlooked for, or for hearing of the threescore soldiers not until then spoken of, with a brave courage animating his company in the exploit, went presently forward, being in the night in a most desert path in the woods,

until such time as he came to the place; where, as it seemed, they had kept watch either at the water's side, or at the houses, or else at both, and were newly gone out of the houses, having so short warning, that they left their meat both boiling and roasting at the fire, and were fled with their treasure with them, or else buried it where it could not be found, being also in the night. Our company took hens and such things as we thought good, and came away.

The 29. day of May our General went in the ship boat into a little island thereby, whereas the said *cacique* which was the lord of *Puna* had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of *Cordovan* leather all gilded over, and painted very fair and rich, with all his household stuff, and all the ship's tackling which was riding in the road at our coming in, with great store of nails, spikes of iron, and very many other things, to be conveyed; all which we found, and brought away what our General thought requisite for the ship's business.

This island is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitful; but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least 200 houses in the town about the *cacique's* palace, and as many in one or two towns more upon the island, which is almost as big as the Isle of *Wight*, in *England*. There is planted on the one side of the *cacique's* house a fair garden, with all herbs growing in it, and at the lower end a well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this manner. The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seed of the bigness of a pea, and in every cod there are seven or eight of these seeds; and if the cotton be not gathered when it is ripe, then these seeds fall from it, and spring

again. There are also in this garden fig-trees which bear continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemary, and thyme, with many other herbs and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another orchard, where grow oranges sweet and sour, limons, pomegranates and limes, with divers other fruits.

There is very good pasture ground in this island; and withal many horses, oxen, bullocks, sheep very fat and fair, great store of goats, which be very tame, and are used continually to be milked. They have moreover abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marvellous bigness. There was also a very large and great church hard by the *cacique's* house, whither he caused all the Indians in the island to come and hear mass; for he himself was made a Christian when he was married to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and upon his conversion he caused the rest of his subjects to be christened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifix, and five bells hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the bells away. By this time we had haled on ground our Admiral, and had made her clean, burnt her keel, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on float again; and in the meanwhile continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second day of June in the morning, by-and-by after break of day, every one of the watch being gone abroad to seek to fetch in victuals, some one way, some another, some for hens, some for sheep, some for goats, upon the sudden there came down upon us an hundred Spanish soldiers with muskets and an ensign, which were landed on the other side of the island that night, and all the Indians of the island with them, everyone with weapons and their baggage after them; which was

by means of a negro, whose name was *Emmanuel*, which fled from us at our first landing there. Thus being taken at advantage we had the worst; for our company was not past sixteen or twenty; whereof they had slain one or two before they were come to the houses. Yet we skirmished with them an hour and an half; at the last, being sore overcharged with multitudes, we were driven down from the hill to the water's side, and there kept them play awhile, until in the end *Zachary Saxie*, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and slain a couple of them, as he breathed himself, being somewhat tired, had an honourable death and a short; for a shot struck him to the heart; who feeling himself mortally wounded, cried to God for mercy, and fell down presently dead. But soon after the enemy was driven somewhat to retire from the bank's side to the green; and in the end our boat came and carried as many of our men away as could go in her, which was in hazard of sinking while they hastened into it. And one of our men, whose name was *Robert Maddocke*, was shot through the head with his own piece, being a snap-hance, as he was hasting into the boat. But four of us were left behind, which the boat could not carry; to wit, myself *Francis Pretty*, *Thomas Andrewes*, *Stephen Gunner*, and *Richard Rose*; which had our shot ready and retired ourselves unto a cliff, until the boat came again, which was presently after they had carried the rest aboard. There were 46 of the enemy slain by us, whereof they had dragged some into bushes, and some into old houses, which we found afterward. We lost twelve men, in manner following:—*Zachary Saxie*, *Neal's Johnson*, *William Gargefield*, *Nicholas Hendy*, *Henry Cooper*, slain by the enemy; *Robert Maddocke*, killed with his piece; *Henry Mawdley*, burnt; *Edward*, the gunner's-man, *Ambrose*, the musician, drowned;

Walter Tilliard, Edward Smith, Henry Aselye, taken prisoners.

The self-same day, being the second of June, we went on shore again with seventy men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and drave them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards serving with muskets, and 200 Indians with bows, arrows, and darts. This done, we set fire on the town and burnt it to the ground, having in it to the number of 300 houses; and shortly after made havoc of their fields, orchards, and gardens, and burnt four great ships more which were in building on the stocks. The third of June, the *Content*, which was our Vice-Admiral, was haled on ground to grave at the same place, in despite of the Spaniards, and also our pinnace, which the Spaniards had burnt, was new trimmed. The fifth day of June we departed out of the road of *Puna*, where we had remained eleven days, and turned up for a place which is called *Rio Dolce*, where we watered; at which place also we sunk our Rear-Admiral called the *Hugh Gallant*, for want of men, being a bark of 40 tons. The 10. day of the same month we set the Indians on shore, which we had taken before in a *balsa*, as we were coming into the road of *Puna*. The 11. day we departed from the said *Rio Dolce*. The 12. of June we doubled the equinoctial line, and continued our course northward all that month.

The first of July we had sight of the coast of *Nueva España*, being four leagues distant from land in the latitude of 10 degrees to the northward of the line. The 9. of July we took a new ship of the burden of 120 tons, wherein was one *Michael Sancius*, whom our General took to serve his turn to water along the coast; for he was one of the best coasters in the South Sea. This *Michael Sancius* was a Provençal, born in *Marseilles*, and was the first man that told us news of the great

ship called the *Santa Anna*, which we afterward took coming from the *Philippinas*. There were six men more in this new ship; we took her sails, her ropes, and fire-wood, to serve our turns, set her on fire, and kept the men. The tenth we took another bark which was going with advice of us and our ships all along the coast, as *Michael Sancius* told us; but all the company that were in the bark were fled on shore. None of both these ships had any goods in them. For they came both from *Sonsonate*, in the province of *Guatemala*; the new ship, for fear we should have taken her in the road, and the bark, to carry news of us along the coast; which bark also we set on fire.

The 26. day of July we came to an anchor at 10 fathoms in the river of *Copalita*, where we made account to water. And the same night we departed with thirty men in the pinnace, and rowed to *Aguatulco*, which is but two leagues from the aforesaid river; and standeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the northward of the equinoctial line.

The 27. in the morning by the break of day, we came into the road of *Aguatulco*, where we found a bark of 50 tons, which was come from *Sonsonate* laden with *cacaos* and *anil*¹, which they had there landed; and the men were all fled on shore. We landed there and burnt their town, with the church and custom-house, which was very fair and large; in which house were 600 bags of *anil* to dye cloth, every bag whereof was worth forty crowns; and 400 bags of *cacaos*, every bag whereof is worth ten crowns. These *cacaos* go among them for meat and money; for 150 of them are in value one real of plate in ready payment. They are very like unto an almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste; they eat them and make drink of them. This the owner

¹ Indigo (Arab. *nil*, with the article *al* prefixed).

of the ship told us. I found in this town, before we burnt it, a flasket full of boxes of balm. After we had spoiled and burnt the town, wherein there were some hundred houses, the owner of the ship came down out of the hills with a flag of truce unto us, which before with the rest of all the townsmen was run away at our first coming, and at length came aboard our pinnace upon Captain *Havers'* word of safe return. We carried him to the river of *Copalita* where our ships rode ; and when he came to our General he caused him to be set on shore in safety the same night, because he came upon the captain's word. The 28. day we set sail from *Copalita*, because the sea was so great there that we could not fill water, and ran the same night into the road of *Aguatulco*. The 29. our General landed and went on shore with thirty men two miles into the woods, where we took a *mestizo*, whose name was *Michael de Truxillo*, who was Customer of that town, and we found with him two chambers full of his stuff ; we brought him and his stuff aboard. And whereas I say he was a *mestizo*, it is to be understood that a *mestizo* is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother.

The second day of August we had watered, and examined the said *mestizo*, and set him on shore again, and departed from the port of *Aguatulco* the same night, which standeth, as I said before, in 15 degrees and 40 minutes to the northward of the line.

Here we overslipped the haven of *Acapulco*, from whence the ships are set forth for the *Philippinas*. The 24. day of August our General, with thirty of us, went with the pinnace unto an haven called *Puerto de Natividad*, where we had intelligence by *Michael Sancius* that there should be a pinnace ; but before we could get thither the said pinnace was gone to fish for pearls 12 leagues

farther, as we were informed by certain Indians which we found there. We took a *mulatto* in this place in his bed, which was sent with letters of advice concerning us along the coast of *Nueva Galicia*¹; whose horse we killed, took his letters, left him behind, set fire on the houses, and burnt two new ships of 200 tons the piece which were in building there on the stocks, and came aboard of our ships again. The 26. of August we came into the bay of *St. Iago*, where we watered at a fresh river, along which river many plantains are growing. Here is great abundance of fresh fish. Here, also, certain of our company dragged for pearls and caught some quantity.

The second of September we departed from *St. Iago* at four of the clock in the evening. This bay of *St. Iago* standeth in 19 degrees and 18 minutes to the northward of the line. The third of September we arrived in a little bay, a league to the westward of *Port de Navidad*, called *Malacca*, which is a very good place to ride in; and the same day, about twelve of the clock, our General landed with 30 men or thereabout, and went up to a town of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which town is called *Acatlan*. There were in it about twenty or thirty houses and a church, which we defaced, and came aboard again the same night. All the people were fled out of the town at the sight of us. The 4. of September we departed from the road of *Malacca* and sailed along the coast.

The 8. we came to the road of *Chaccalla*, in which bay there are two little houses by the water's side. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape *de los Corrientes*. The ninth, in the morning, our General sent up Captain *Havers* with 40 men of us before day, and, *Michael Sancius* being our guide, we went unto a place about

¹ Now the state of Jalisco.

two leagues up into the country in a most villainous desert path through the woods and wilderness, and in the end we came to a place where we took three householders with their wives and children and some Indians, one carpenter, which was a Spaniard, and a Portugal; we bound them all and made them to come to the seaside with us. Our General made their wives to fetch us plantains, limons, and oranges, pineapples, and other fruits, whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbands depart, except *Sembrano*, the Spanish carpenter, and *Diego*, the Portugal; and the tenth day we departed the road. The 12. day we arrived at a little island called the Isle of *St. Andrew*, on which there is great store of fowl and wood, where we dried and salted as many of the fowls as we thought good. We also killed there abundance of seals and *iguanos*, which are a kind of serpents, with four feet, and a long, sharp tail, strange to them which have not seen them; but they are very good meat. We rid here until the 17. day, at which time we departed.

The 24. day we arrived in the road of *Mazatlan*, which standeth in 23 degrees and an half, just under the tropic of *Cancer*. It is a very great river within, but is barred at the mouth; and upon the north side of the bar without is good fresh water; but there is very evil filling of it, because at a low water it is shoaled half a mile off the shore. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay, and good fruits up into the country, whereof we had some, though not without danger.

The 27. day of September we departed from the road of *Mazatlan*, and ran to an island which is a league to the northward the said *Mazatlan*, where we trimmed our ships and new built our pinnace; and there is a little island a quarter of a league from it, on which are seals, where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was *Domingo*,

being sent to wash shirts with one of our men to keep him, made a scape and swam to the main, which was an English mile distant ; at which place we had seen thirty or forty Spaniards and Indians, which were horsemen and kept watch there, which came from a town called *Chiametta*, which was 11 leagues up into the country, as *Michael Sancius* told us. We found upon the island where we trimmed our pinnace fresh water, by the assistance of God in that our great need, by digging two or three foot deep in the sand, where no water nor sign of water was before to be perceived. Otherwise we had gone back 20 or 30 leagues to water, which might have been occasion that we might have missed our prey we had long waited for. But God raised one *Flores*, a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with us, to make a motion to dig in the sands. Now our General, having had experience once before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practice, and in digging three foot deep we found very good and fresh water. So we watered our ships, and might have filled a thousand tuns more if we had would. We stayed in this island until the 9. day of October, at which time we departed at night for the Cape of *St. Lucar*, which is on the west side of the point of *California*.

The 14. of October we fell with the Cape of *St. Lucar*, which cape is very like the *Needles* at the Isle of *Wight* ; and within the said cape is a great bay, called by the Spaniards *Aguada Segura* ; into which bay falleth a fair fresh river, about which many Indians use to keep. We watered in the river, and lay off and on from the said Cape of *St. Lucar* until the fourth of November, and had the winds hanging still westerly.

The fourth of November the *Desire* and the *Content*, wherein were the number of — Englishmen only living, beating up and down upon the headland of

California, which standeth in 23 degrees and two thirds to the northward; between seven and eight of the clock in the morning one of the company of our Admiral, which was the trumpeter of the ship, going up into the top, espied a sail bearing in from the sea with the cape. Whereupon he cried out, with no small joy to himself and the whole company, *A sail! a sail!* With which cheerful word the master of the ship and divers others of the company went also up into the maintop. Who, perceiving the speech to be very true, gave information unto our General of these happy news, who was no less glad than the cause required; whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole company to put all things in readiness. Which being performed, he gave them chase some three or four hours, standing with our best advantage and working for the wind.

In the afternoon we gat up unto them, giving them the broadside with our great ordnance and a volley of small shot, and presently laid the ship aboard, whereof the King of *Spain* was owner, which was Admiral of the South Sea, called the *Santa Anna*, and thought to be 700 tons in burthen. Now, as we were ready on their ship's side to enter her, being not past 50 or 60 men at the uttermost in our ship, we perceived that the captain of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and laid their sails close on their poop, their midship, with their forecastle, and having not one man to be seen, stood close under their fights, with lances, javelins, rapiers, and targets, and an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw overboard upon our heads and into our ship so fast, and being so many of them, that they put us off the ship again with the loss of two of our men, which were slain, and with the hurting of four or five.

But for all this we new-trimmed our sails, and

fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordnance and also with our small shot, raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their captain still, like a valiant man, with his company, stood very stoutly unto his close fights, not yielding as yet. Our General, encouraging his men afresh with the whole noise of trumpets, gave them the third encounter with our great ordnance and all our small shot, to the great discomforting of our enemies, raking them through in divers places, killing and spoiling many of their men. They being thus discomforted and spoiled, and their ship being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, within five or six hours' fight set out a flag of truce and parled for mercy, desiring our General to save their lives and to take their goods, and that they would presently yield.

Our General, of his goodness, promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sails, and to hoise out their boat and to come aboard. Which news they were full glad to hear of, and presently struck their sails, hoised their boat out, and one of their chief merchants came aboard unto our General, and, falling down upon his knees, offered to have kissed our General's feet, and craved mercy. Our General most graciously pardoned both him and the rest upon promise of their true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the ship; and sent for the captain and their pilot, who, at their coming, used the like duty and reverence as the former did. The General, of his great mercy and humanity, promised their lives and good usage. The said captain and pilot presently certified the General what goods they had within board: to wit, 122,000 *pesos* of gold;

and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with was in silks, satins, damasks, with musk and divers other merchandise, and great store of all manner of victuals, with the choice of many conserves of all sorts for to eat, and sundry sorts of very good wines. These things being made known to the General by the afore-said captain and pilot, they were commanded to stay aboard the *Desire*, and on the sixth day of November following we went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards *Aguada Segura* or *Puerto Seguro*.

Here the whole company of the Spaniards, both of men and women to the number of 190 persons, were set on shore; where they had a fair river of fresh water, with great store of fresh fish, fowl, and wood, and also many hares and coney upon the main land. Our General also gave them great store of victuals, of *garvansas*¹, peasen, and some wine. Also they had all the sails of their ship to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of planks as should be sufficient to make them a bark. Then we fell to hoising in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and allotting to every man his portion. In division whereof, the eighth of this month, many of the company fell into a mutiny against our General, especially those which were in the *Content*, which nevertheless were after a sort pacified for the time.

On the 17. day of November, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Majesty, our General commanded all his ordnance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his own ship where himself went, and also in the *Content*, which was our Vice-Admiral. This being done, the same night we had many fireworks and more ordnance discharged, to the great admiration

¹ Chick peas.

of all the Spaniards which were there; for the most part of them had never seen the like before.

This ended, our General discharged the captain, gave him a royal reward, with provision for his defence against the Indians, and his company, both of swords, targets, pieces, shot, and powder, to his great contentment; but before his departure, he took out of this great ship two young lads born in *Japan*, which could both write and read their own language. The eldest, being about twenty years old, was named *Christopher*, the other was called *Cosmus*, about seventeen years of age, both of very good capacity. He took also with him, out of their ship, three boys born in the islands of *Manilla*, the one about fifteen, the other about thirteen, and the youngest about nine years old. The name of the eldest was *Alphonso*, the second *Anthony de Dasi*, the third remaineth with the Right Honourable the Countess of *Essex*. He also took from them one *Nicholas Roderigo*, a Portugal, who hath not only been in *Canton* and other parts of *China*, but also in the islands of *Japan*, being a country most rich in silver mines, and hath also been in the *Philippinas*.

He took also from them a Spaniard, whose name was *Thomas de Ersola*, which was a very good pilot from *Acapulco* and the coast of *Nueva España* unto the islands of *Ladrones*, where the Spaniards do put in to water, sailing between *Acapulco* and the *Philippinas*. In which islands of *Ladrones*, they find fresh water, plantains, and potato roots; howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19. day of November afore-said, about three of the clock in the afternoon, our General caused the king's ship to be set on fire, which, having to the quantity of 500 tons of goods in her, we saw burnt unto the water, and then gave them a piece of ordnance and set sail joyfully homewards towards

England with a fair wind, which by this time was come about to east-north-east. And night growing near we left the *Content* astern of us, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here, thinking she would have overtaken us, we lost her company and never saw her after. We were sailing from this haven of *Aguada Segura*, in *California*, unto the isles of *Ladrones*, the rest of November and all December, and so forth until the third of January, 1588, with a fair wind for the space of 45 days; and we esteemed it to be between 1700 and 1800 leagues. The third day of January by six of the clock in the morning we had sight of one of the islands of *Ladrones* called the island of *Guana*, standing in 13 degrees and two-thirds toward the north; and sailing with a gentle gale before the wind, by one or two of the clock in the afternoon we were come up within two leagues of the island, where we met with sixty or seventy sails of *canoas* full of savages, who came off to sea unto us, and brought with them in their boats plantains, *cocos*, potato-roots, and fresh fish, which they had caught at sea, and held them up unto us for to truck or exchange with us; which when we perceived we made fast little pieces of old iron upon small cords and fishing-lines, and so veered the iron into their *canoas*, and they caught hold of them and took off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make fast unto the same line either a potato-root or a bundle of plantains, which we haled in, and thus our company exchanged with them until they had satisfied themselves with as much as did content them; yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were so thick about the ship that it stemmed and brake one or two of their *canoas*; but the men saved themselves, being in every *canoa* four, six, or eight persons, all naked, and excellent swimmers and divers. They are

of a tawny colour and marvellous fat, and bigger ordinarily of stature than the most part of our men in *England*, wearing their hair marvellous long; yet some of them have it made up and tied with a knot on the crown, and some with two knots, much like unto their images which we saw them have carved in wood, and standing in the head of their boats like unto the images of the devil. Their *canoas* were as artificially made as any that ever we had seen, considering they were made and contrived without any edge-tool. They are not above half-a-yard in breadth, and in length some seven or eight yards, and their heads and sterns are both alike; they are made out with rafts of canes and reeds on the starboard side, with mast and sail. Their sail is made of mats of sedges, square or triangle-wise, and they sail as well right against the wind as before the wind. These savages followed us so long, that we could not be rid of them, until in the end our General commanded some half-dozen arquebuses to be made ready, and himself struck one of them and the rest shot at them; but they were so yare¹ and nimble, that we could not discern whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backward into the sea, and prevent us by diving.

The 14. day of January lying at hull with our ship all the middle watch, from twelve at night until four in the morning, by the break of day we fell with an headland of the isles of the *Philippinas*, which is called *Cabo del Spirito Santo*, which is of very great bigness and length, high land in the midst of it, and very low land as the cape lieth east and west, trending far into the sea to the westward. This cape or island is distant from the isle of *Guana*, one of the *Ladrones*, 310 leagues. We were in sailing this course eleven

¹ Brisk.

days, with scant winds and some foul weather, bearing no sail two or three nights. This island standeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woody through the whole land; and it is short of the chiefest island of the *Philippinas*, called *Manilla*, about 60 leagues. *Manilla* is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards to the number of 600 or 700 persons; which dwell in a town unwalled, which hath three or four small block-houses, part made of wood and part of stone, being indeed of no great strength; they have one or two small galleys belonging to the town. It is a very rich place of gold and many other commodities; and they have yearly traffic from *Acapulco* in *Nueva España*, and also twenty or thirty ships from *China* and from the *Sanguelos*¹, which bring them many sorts of merchandise. The merchants of *China* and the *Sanguelos* are part *Moors* and part heathen people. They bring great store of gold with them, which they traffic and exchange for silver, and give weight for weight. These *Sanguelos* are men of marvellous capacity in devising and making all manner of things, especially in all handicrafts and sciences; and every one is so expert, perfect, and skilful in his faculty, as few or no Christians are able to go beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing and embroidering upon satin, silk, or lawn, either beast, fowl, fish, or worm, for liveliness and perfectness, both in silk, silver, gold and pearl, they excel. Also the 14. day at night we entered the straits between the island of *Luçon* and the island of *Camlaia*. The 15. of January we fell with an island called *Capul*, and had betwixt the said island and another island but a narrow passage, and a marvellous rippling of a very great tide with a ledge of rocks lying off the point of the island of *Capul*; and no danger, but

¹ People of Sanga (in Japan).

water enough a fair breadth off, and within the point a fair bay and a very good harbrough in four fathoms water hard aboard the shore within a cable's length. About ten of the clock in the morning we came to an anchor.

Our ship was no sooner come to an anchor, but presently there came a *canoa* rowing aboard us, wherein was one of the chief *caciques* of the island, whereof there be seven; who, supposing that we were Spaniards, brought us potato-roots, which they call *camotas*, and green *cocos*, in exchange whereof we gave his company pieces of linen, to the quantity of a yard for four *cocos*, and as much linen for a basket of potato-roots of a quart in quantity, which roots are very good meat, and excellent sweet either roasted or boiled. This *cacique's* skin was carved and cut with sundry and many streaks and devices all over his body. We kept him still aboard, and caused him to send those men which brought him aboard back to the island to cause the rest of the principals to come aboard; who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the island came down with their *cocos* and potato-roots, and the rest of the principals likewise came aboard and brought with them hens and hogs; and they used the same order with us which they do with the Spaniards. For they took for every hog (which they call *balboye*), eight reals of plate, and for every hen or cock one real of plate. Thus we rode at anchor all that day, doing nothing but buying roots, *cocos*, hens, hogs, and such things as they brought, refreshing ourselves marvellously well.

The same day at night, being the 15. of January, 1588, *Nicolas Roderigo*, the Portugal, whom we took out of the great *Santa Anna*, at the Cape of *California*, desired to speak with our General in secret; which when our General understood he sent for him, and asked him what he had to say unto him. The Portugal

made him this answer, that although he had offended his worship heretofore, yet now he had vowed his faith and true service unto him, and in respect thereof he neither could nor would conceal such treason as was in working against him and his company, and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great *Santa Anna* for a pilot, whose name was *Thomas de Ersola*, had written a letter, and secretly sealed it and locked it up in his chest, meaning to convey it by the inhabitants of this island to *Manilla*, the contents whereof were *that there had been two English ships along the coast of Chili, Peru, Nueva España, and Nueva Galicia, and that they had taken many ships and merchandise in them, and burnt divers towns, and spoiled all that ever they could come unto, and that they had taken the king's ship which came from Manilla and all his treasure, with all the merchandise that was therein, and had set all the people on shore, taking himself away perforce.* Therefore he willed them *that they should make strong their bulwarks with their two galleys, and all such provision as they could possibly make.* He further signified, *that we were riding at an island called Capul, which was at the end of the island of Manilla, being one ship with small force in it, and that the other ship, as he supposed, was gone for the North-west Passage, standing in 55 degrees; and that if they could use any means to surprise us, being there at an anchor, they should despatch it; for our force was but small, and our men but weak, and that the place where we rode was but fifty leagues from them. Otherwise if they let us escape, within few years they must make account to have their town besieged and sacked with an army of English.* This information being given, our General called for him, and charged him with these things. Which at the first he utterly denied; but in the end, the matter being made manifest, and known of

certainty by especial trial and proofs, the next morning our General willed that he should be hanged ; which was accordingly performed the 16. of January. We rode for the space of nine days about this island of *Capul*, where we had divers kinds of fresh victuals, with excellent fresh water in every bay, and great store of wood. The people of this island go almost all naked, and are tawny of colour. The men wear only a strap about their waists, of some kind of linen of their own weaving, which is made of plantain leaves, and another strap coming from their back † underneath, and is made fast to their girdles. * * * These people wholly worship the devil, and often times have conference with him, which appeareth unto them in most ugly and monstrous shape.

On the 23. day of January, our General, Master *Thomas Cavendish*, caused all the principals of this island, and of an hundred islands more which he had made to pay tribute unto him (which tribute was in hogs, hens, potatoes, and *cocos*) to appear before him, and made himself and his company known unto them, that they were Englishmen, and enemies to the Spaniards ; and thereupon spread his ensign and sounded up the drums, which they much marvelled at ; to conclude, they promised both themselves and all the islands thereabout to aid him, whensoever he should come again to overcome the Spaniards. Also our General gave them, in token that we were enemies to the Spaniards, money back again for all their tribute which they had paid ; which they took marvellous friendly, and rowed about our ships to show us pleasure marvellous swiftly ; at the last our General caused a saker to be shot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment took their leaves of us.

The next day being the 24. of January, we set sail

about six of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coast of the island of *Manilla*, shaping our course northwest, between the isle of *Manilla* and the isle of *Masbat*.

The 28. day in the morning about seven of the clock, riding at an anchor betwixt two islands, we spied a frigate under her two courses, running out between two other islands, which as we imagined came from *Manilla*, sailing close aboard the shore along the mainland of *Panama*; we chased this frigate along the shore, and got very fast upon it, until in the end we came so near that it stood into the shore close by a wind, until she was becalmed and was driven to strike her sail, and banked up with her oars; whereupon we came unto an anchor with our ship, a league and an half from the place where the frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with half-a-dozen shot and as many men with swords, which did row the boat; thus we made after the frigate which had hoised sail and ran into a river, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the shore, our boat came into very shallow water, where many weirs and sticks were set up in divers places in the sea, from whence two or three *canoas* came forth, whereof one made somewhat near unto us, with three or four Indians in it. We called unto them, but they would not come nearer unto us, but rowed from us; whom we durst not follow too far for fear of bringing ourselves too much to the leeward of our ship. Here, as we looked about us, we espied another *balsa* or *canoa* of a great bigness, which they which were in her did set along, as we do usually set a barge, with long staves or poles, which was builded up with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oars; wherein were about five or six Indians and one Spaniard. Now as we were come almost at the *balsa*,

we ran aground with our boat ; but one or two of our men leaped overboard and freed it again presently, and keeping thwart her head, we laid her aboard and took into us the Spaniard, but the Indians leaped into the sea and dived and rose far off again from us. Presently upon the taking of this *canoa*, there showed upon the sand a band of soldiers marching with an ensign having a red cross like the flag of *England*, which were about fifty or sixty Spaniards, which were lately come from *Manilla* to that town which is called *Ragaun* in a bark to fetch a new ship of the king's, which was building in a river within the bay, and stayed there but for certain irons that did serve for the rudder of the said ship, which they looked for every day.

This band of men shot at us from the shore with their muskets, but hit none of us, and we shot at them again ; they also manned a frigate and sent it out after our boat to have taken us. But we with sail and oars went from them ; and when they perceived that they could not fetch us, but that they must come within danger of the ordnance of our ship, they stood in with the shore again and landed their men, and presently sent their frigate about the point, but whither we knew not. So we came aboard with this one Spaniard, which was neither soldier nor sailor, but one that was come among the rest from *Manilla*, and had been in the hospital there a long time before, and was a very simple soul, and such a one as could answer to very little that he was asked, concerning the state of the country. Here we rode at anchor all that night, and perceived that the Spaniards had dispersed their band into two or three parts, and kept great watch in several steads with fires and shooting off their pieces. This island hath much plain ground in it in many places, and many fair and straight trees do grow upon it, fit

for to make excellent good masts for all sorts of ships. There are also mines of very fine gold in it, which are in the custody of the Indians. And to the southward of this place there is another very great island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabit it are all negroes, and the island is called the Island of *Negroes*, and is almost as big as England, standing in nine degrees; the most part of it seemeth to be very low land, and by all likelihood is very fruitful.

The 29. day of January, about six of the clock in the morning, we set sail, sending our boat before until it was two of the clock in the afternoon, passing all this time as it were through a strait betwixt the said two islands of *Panama* and the Island of *Negroes*, and about 16 leagues off we espied a fair opening, trending south-west and by south, at which time our boat came aboard, and our General sent commendations to the Spanish captain which we came from the evening before by the Spaniard which we took, and willed him to provide good store of gold; for he meant for to see him with his company at *Manilla* within few years, and that he did but want a bigger boat to have landed his men, or else he would have seen him then; and so caused him to be set on shore. The 8. day of February by eight of the clock in the morning we espied an island near *Gilolo*, called *Batochina*, which standeth in one degree from the equinoctial line northward. The 14. day of February we fell with eleven or twelve very small islands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and passed by some islands which be sunk and have the dry sands lying in the main sea. These islands, near the *Malucos*, stand in 3 degrees and 10 minutes to the southward of the line.

On the 17. day, one *John Gameford*, a cooper, died,

which had been sick of an old disease a long time. The 20. day we fell with certain other islands which had many small islands among them, standing four degrees to the southward of the line. On the 21. day of February, being Ash Wednesday, Captain *Havers* died of a most severe and pestilent ague which held him furiously some seven or eight days; to the no small grief of our General and of all the rest of the company, who caused two falcons and one saker to be shot off, with all the small shot in the ship; who, after he was shrouded in a sheet and a prayer said, was heaved overboard with great lamentation of us all. Moreover, presently after his death myself with divers others in the ship fell marvellously sick, and so continued in very great pain for the space of three weeks or a month by reason of the extreme heat and untemperateness of the climate.

The first day of March, having passed through the straits of *Java Minor* and *Java Major*, we came to an anchor under the south-west parts of *Java Major*; where we espied certain of the people which were fishing by the sea-side in a bay which was under the island. Then our General taking into the ship's boat certain of his company, and a negro which could speak the *Morisco* tongue, which he had taken out of the great *Santa Anna*, made towards those fishers, which having espied our boat ran on shore into the wood for fear of our men; but our General caused his negro to call unto them; who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore-side and made answer. Our General by the negro enquired of him for fresh water, which they found, and caused the fisher to go to the king and to certify him of a ship that was come to have traffic for victuals, and for diamonds, pearls, or any other rich jewels that he had; for which

he should have either gold or other merchandise in exchange. The fisherman answered that we should have all manner of victuals that we would request. Thus the boat came aboard again. Within a while after we went about to furnish our ship thoroughly with wood and water.

About the eighth of March two or three *canoas* came from the town unto us with eggs, hens, fresh fish, oranges and limes, and brought word we should have had victuals more plentifully, but that they were so far to be brought to us where we rid. Which when our General heard he weighed anchor and stood in nearer for the town. And as we were under sail we met with one of the king's *canoas* coming toward us; whereupon we shook the ship in the wind and stayed for the *canoa* until it came aboard of us, and stood into the bay which was hard by and came to an anchor. In this *canoa* was the king's secretary, who had on his head a piece of dyed linen cloth folded up like unto a Turk's *tuliban*¹; he was all naked saving about his waist; his breast was carved with the broad arrow upon it; he went barefooted; he had an interpreter with him, which was a *mestizo*, that is, half an Indian and half a Portugal, who could speak very good Portuguese. This secretary signified unto our General that he had brought him an hog, hens, eggs, fresh fish, sugar-canes, and wine, which wine was as strong as any *aqua vitæ*, and as clear as any rock water. He told him further that he would bring victuals so sufficiently for him, as he and his company would request, and that within the space of four days. Our General used him singularly well, banquetted him most royally with the choice of many and sundry conserves, wines both sweet and other, and caused his musicians to make him music. This done

¹ = turban (Turkish, *dulbend*).

our General told him that he and his company were Englishmen, and that we had been at *China* and had had traffic there with them, and that we were come thither to discover, and purposed to go to *Malacca*. The people of *Java* told our General that there were certain Portugals in the island which lay there as factors continually to traffic with them, to buy negroes, cloves, pepper, sugar, and many other commodities. This secretary of the king with his interpreter lay one night aboard our ship. The same night, because they lay aboard, in the evening at the setting of the watch, our General commanded every man in the ship to provide his arquebus and his shot, and so with shooting off forty or fifty small shot and one saker, himself set the watch with them. This was no small marvel unto these heathen people, who had not commonly seen any ship so furnished with men and ordnance. The next morning we dismissed the secretary and his interpreter with all humanity.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, according to their appointment came the king's *canoas*; but the wind being somewhat scant they could not get aboard that night, but put into a bay under the island until the next day. And presently after the break of day there came to the number of nine or ten of the king's *canoas* so deeply laden with victuals as they could swim, with two great live oxen, half a score of wonderful great and fat hogs, a number of hens which were alive, drakes, geese, eggs, plantains, sugar-canes, sugar in plates, *cocos*, sweet oranges and sour, limes, great store of wine and *aqua vitæ*, salt to season victuals withal, and almost all manner of victuals else, with divers of the king's officers which were there. Among all the rest of the people, in one of these *canoas* came two Portugals, which were of middle stature, and men

of marvellous proper personage; they were each of them in a loose jerkin, and hose, which came down from the waist to the ankle, because of the use of the country, and partly because it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance (for they account it as a thing of great dislike among these heathens to wear either hose or shoes on their feet): they had on each of them a very fair and a white lawn shirt, with falling bands on the same, very decently, only their bare legs excepted. These Portugals were no small joy unto our General and all the rest of our company; for we had not seen any Christian, that was our friend, of a year and an half before. Our General used and entreated them singularly well, with banquets and music. They told us that they were no less glad to see us than we to see them, and enquired of the state of their country, and what was become of *Don Antonio*, their king, and whether he were living or no; for that they had not of long time been in *Portugal*, and that the Spaniards had always brought them word that he was dead. Then our General satisfied them in every demand; assuring them that their king was alive, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queen¹, and that there was war between *Spain* and *England*, and that we were come under the King of *Portugal* into the South Sea, and had warred upon the Spaniards there, and had fired, spoiled, and sunk all the ships along the coast that we could meet withal, to the number of eighteen or twenty sails. With this report they were sufficiently satisfied.

On the other side they declared unto us the state of the island of *Java*. First the plentifulness and great choice and store of victuals of all sorts, and of all manner of fruits, as before is set down. Then the great and rich

¹ Antonio was then a refugee at Elizabeth's court.

merchandise which are there to be had. Then they described the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the king of that part of the island was *Raja Bolamboam*, who was a man had in great majesty and fear among them. The common people may not bargain, sell, or exchange anything with any other nation, without special licence from their king; and if any so do, it is present death for him. The king himself is a man of great years, and hath an hundred wives; his son hath fifty. The custom of the country is, that whensoever the king doth die they take the body so dead and burn it, and preserve the ashes of him, and within five days next after, the wives of the said king so dead, according to the custom and use of their country, everyone of them go together to a place appointed, and the chief of the women, which was nearest unto him in account, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth thither they go all, and turn their faces to the eastward, and everyone with a dagger in their hand (which dagger they call a *crise*, and is as sharp as a razor) stab themselves to the heart, and with their hands all-to bebathe themselves in their own blood, and falling grovelling on their faces so end their days. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strange.

The men of themselves be very politic and subtle, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they undertake, and wonderfully at commandment and fear of their king. For example; if their king command them to undertake any exploit, be it never so dangerous or desperate, they dare not nor will not refuse it, though they die every man in the execution of the same. For he will cut off the heads of every one of them which return alive without bringing of

their purpose to pass; which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the south-east parts of the world; for they never fear any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himself hurt with lance or sword, he will willingly run himself upon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort end his days, or overcome his enemy. Moreover, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be fair of complexion and go more apparelled.

After they had thus described the state of the island, and the orders and fashions of the people, they told us farther, that if their king *Don Antonio* would come unto them they would warrant him to have all the *Malucos* at commandment, besides *China*, *Sangles*, and the isles of the *Philippinas*, and that he might be assured to have all the Indians on his side that are in the country. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of *Java* which brought us victuals in their *canoas*, they took their leave of us with promise of all good entertainment at our returns, and our General gave them three great pieces of ordnance at their departing. Thus the next day, being the 16. of March, we set sail towards the *Cape of Good Hope*, called by the Portugals *Cabo de Buena Esperança*, on the southermost coast of *Africa*.

The rest of March and all the month of April we spent in traversing that mighty and vast sea, between the isle of *Java* and the main of *Africa*, observing the heavens, the *Crosiers* or South-pole, the other stars, the fowls, which are marks unto the seamen of fair weather, foul weather, approaching of lands or islands, the winds, the tempests, the rains and thunders, with the alteration of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a storm at the west, and it blew so hard that it was as much as the ship could stir close by under the wind; and the storm continued all that day and all that night. The next day, being the 11. of May, in the morning one of the company went into the top, and espied land bearing north and north and by west of us, and about noon we espied land to bear west of us, which, as we did imagine, was the Cape of *Buena Esperança*, whereof, indeed, we were short some 40 or 50 leagues. And by reason of the scantness of the wind we stood along to the south-east until midnight, at which time the wind came fair, and we haled along westward. The 12. and 13. days we were becalmed, and the sky was very hazy and thick until the 14. day at three of the clock in the afternoon, at which time the sky cleared, and we espied the land again which was the cape called *Cabo Falso*, which is short of the Cape *de Buena Esperança* 40 or 50 leagues. This cape is very easy to be known; for there are right over it three very high hills standing but a small way one off another, and the highest standeth in the midst, and the ground is much lower by the seaside. The Cape of *Good Hope* beareth west and by south from the said *Cabo Falso*.

The 16. day of May, about four of the clock in the afternoon, the wind came up at east a very stiff gale, which held until it was Saturday, with as much wind as ever the ship could go before; at which time, by six of the clock in the morning, we espied the promontory or headland called the Cape *de Buena Esperança*, which is a reasonable high land, and at the westernmost point, a little off the main, do shew two hummocks, the one upon the other, and three other hummocks lying further off into the sea, yet low land between and adjoining unto the sea. The Cape of *Buena Esperança* is set

down and accounted for 2000 leagues from the island of *Java* in the Portugal sea-charts; but it is not so much almost by 150 leagues, as we found by the running of our ship. We were in running of these 1850 leagues just nine weeks.

The 8. day of June, by break of day, we fell in sight of the island of *St. Helena*, seven or eight leagues short of it, having but a small gale of wind, or almost none at all, insomuch as we could not get into it that day, but stood off and on all that night. The next day, being the 9. of June, having a pretty easy gale of wind, we stood in with the shore, our boat being sent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clock in the afternoon we came unto an anchor in twelve fathoms water, two or three cables' length from the shore, in a very fair and smooth bay under the north-west side of the island. This island is very high land, and lieth in the main sea, standing as it were in the midst of the sea between the mainland of *Africa* and the main of *Brasilia* and the coast of *Guinea*, and is in 15 degrees and 48 minutes to the southward of the equinoctial line, and is distant from the Cape of *Buena Esperança* between 500 and 600 leagues.

The same day, about two or three of the clock in the afternoon, we went on shore, where we found a marvellous fair and pleasant valley, wherein divers handsome buildings and houses were set up, and especially one which was a church, which was tiled and whited on the outside very fair and made with a porch, and within the church at the upper end was set an altar, whereon stood a very large table set in a frame having in it the picture of our Saviour Christ upon the cross and the image of our Lady praying, with divers other histories curiously painted in the same. The sides of the church were all hanged with stained cloths having many

devices drawn in them. There are two houses adjoining to the church, on each side one, which serve for kitchens to dress meat in, with necessary rooms and houses of office. The coverings of the said houses are made flat, whereon is planted a very fair vine, and through both the said houses runneth a very good and wholesome stream of fresh water. There is also, right over against the said church, a fair causey¹ made up with stones reaching unto a valley by the sea side, in which valley is planted a garden wherein grow great store of pompions and melons. And upon the said causey is a frame erected whereon hang two bells wherewith they ring to mass; and hard unto it is a cross set up, which is squared, framed, and made very artificially of free stone, whereon is carved in ciphers what time it was builded, which was in the year of our Lord 1571.

This valley is the fairest and largest low plot in all the island, and it is marvellous sweet and pleasant, and planted in every place either with fruit-trees or with herbs. There are fig-trees, which bear fruit continually and marvellous plentifully; for on every tree you shall have blossoms, green figs, and ripe figs all at once; and it is so all the year long. The reason is that the island standeth so near the sun. There be also great store of limon-trees, orange-trees, pomegranate-trees, pomecitron-trees, date-trees, which bear fruit as the fig-trees do, and are planted carefully and very artificially with very pleasant walks under and between them, and the said walks be overshadowed with the leaves of the trees. And in every void place is planted parsley, sorrel, basil, fennel, anise-seed, mustard-seed, radishes, and many special good herbs; and the fresh

¹ Causeway, Fr. *chaussée*.

water brook runneth through divers places of this orchard, and may with very small pains be made to water any one tree in the valley.

This fresh-water stream cometh from the tops of the mountains, and falleth from the cliff into the valley the height of a cable, and hath many arms out of it, which refresh the whole island and almost every tree in it. The island is altogether high mountains and steep valleys, except it be in the tops of some hills and down below in some of the valleys, where marvellous store of all these kinds of fruits before spoken of do grow. There is greater store growing in the tops of the mountains than below in the valleys; but it is wonderful laboursome and also dangerous travelling up unto them and down again, by reason of the height and steepness of the hills.

There is also upon this island great store of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haste to fly away though one come very near them, but only to run away and get up into the steep cliffs; we killed some of them with a fowling-piece. They differ very much from our partridges which are in *England* both in bigness and also in colour; for they be within a little as big as an hen, and are of an ash colour, and live in coveys twelve, sixteen, and twenty together. You cannot go ten or twelve score but you shall see or spring one or two coveys at the least. There are likewise no less store of pheasants in the island, which are also marvellous big and fat, surpassing those which are in our country in bigness and in numbers of a company. They differ not very much in colour from the partridges before spoken of. We found moreover in this place a great store of *Guinea* cocks, which we call turkeys, of colour black and white, with red heads; they are much about the same bigness which ours be

of in England. Their eggs be white, and as big as a [common] turkey's egg.

There are in this island thousands of goats, which the Spaniards call *cabritos*, which are very wild; you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may behold them going in a flock almost a mile long. Some of them, whether it be the nature of the breed of them, or of the country, I wot not, are as big as an ass; with a mane like a horse and a beard hanging down to the very ground. They will climb up the cliffs, which are so steep that a man would think it a thing unpossible for any living thing to go there. We took and killed many of them, for all their swiftness; for there be thousands of them upon the mountains. Here are in like manner great store of swine, which be very wild and very fat, and of a marvellous bigness. They keep altogether upon the mountains, and will very seldom abide any man to come near them, except it be by mere chance when they be found asleep, or otherwise, according to their kind, be taken laid in the mire.

We found in the houses at our coming three slaves which were negroes and one which was born in the island of *Java*, which told us that the *East Indian* fleet, which were in number five sails, the least whereof were in burden 800 or 900 tons, all laden with spices and *Calicut* cloth, with store of treasure and very rich stones and pearls, were gone from the said island of *St. Helena* but twenty days before we came hither.

This island hath been found of long time by the *Portugals*, and hath been altogether planted by them for their refreshing as they come from the *East Indies*. And when they come they have all things plentiful for their relief, by reason that they suffer none to inhabit there that might spend up the fruit of the island,

except some very few sick persons in their company, which they stand in doubt will not live until they come home, whom they leave there to refresh themselves, and take away the year following with the other fleet if they live so long. They touch here rather in their coming home from the *East Indies* than at their going thither, because they are throughly furnished with corn when they set out of *Portugal*, but are but meanly victualled at their coming from the *Indies*, where there groweth little corn.

The 20. day of June, having taken in wood and water, and refreshed ourselves with such things as we found there, and made clean our ship, we set sail about eight of the clock in the night toward *England*. At our setting sail we had the wind at south-east, and we haled away north-west and by west. The wind is commonly off the shore at this island of *St. Helena*. On Wednesday, being the third day of July, we went away north-west, the wind being still at south-east; at which time we were in one degree and 48 minutes to the southward of the equinoctial line. The 12. day of the said month of July it was very little wind, and toward night it was calm, and blew no wind at all, and so continued until it was Monday, being the 15. day of July. On Wednesday, the 17. day of the abovesaid month, we had the wind scant at west-north-west. We found the wind continually to blow at east, and north-east, and east-north-east after we were in 3 or 4 degrees to the northward; and it altered not until we came between 30 and 40 degrees to the northward of the equinoctial line.

On Wednesday, the 21. day of August, the wind came up at south-west a fair gale, by which day at noon we were in 38 degrees of northerly latitude. On Friday, in the morning, being the 23. day of August,

at four of the clock, we haled east, and east and by south for the northermost islands of the *Azores*. On Saturday, the 24. day of the said month, by five of the clock in the morning, we fell in sight of the two islands of *Flores* and *Corvo*, standing in 39 degrees and an half, and sailed away north-east. The third of September we met with a Flemish hulk, which came from *Lisbon*, and declared unto us the overthrowing of the Spanish Fleet, to the singular rejoicing and comfort of us all. The ninth day of September, after a terrible tempest, which carried away most part of our sails, by the merciful favour of the Almighty we recovered our long-wished port of *Plymouth* in *England*, from whence we set forth at the beginning of our voyage.

CAVENDISH—LAST VOYAGE.

The LAST VOYAGE of the Worshipful MR. THOMAS CAVENDISH, ESQUIRE, intended for the South Sea, the PHILIPPINES, and the coast of CHINA, with three tall ships and two barks. Written by MR. JOHN JANE, a man of good observation, employed in the same and many other voyages.

THE six and twentieth of August, 1591, we departed from *Plymouth* with three tall ships and two barks, the *Galeon*, wherein Master *Cavendish* went himself, being Admiral, the *Roebuck*, Vice-Admiral, whereof Master *Cock* was captain, the *Desire*, Rear-Admiral, whereof was captain Master *John Davis* (with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage), the *Black Pinnace*, and a bark of Master *Adrian Gilbert*¹, whereof Master *Randolph Cotton* was captain.

The 29. of November we fell with the Bay of *Salvador*, upon the coast of *Brazil*, twelve leagues on this side *Cabo Frio*, where we were becalmed until the second of December; at which time we took a small bark bound for the River of *Plate* with sugar, haberdash wares, and negroes. The master of this bark brought us unto an isle called *Placentia*, 30 leagues west from *Cabo Frio*, where we arrived the fifth of December, and rifled six or seven houses inhabited by Portugals. The 11. we departed from this place, and the

¹ Brother of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

14. we arrived at the isle of *St. Sebastian*; from whence Master *Cock* and Captain *Davis* presently departed with the *Desire* and the *Black pinnace*, for the taking of the town of *Santos*. The 15. at evening we anchored at the bar of *Santos*, from whence we departed with our boats to the town; and the next morning about nine of the clock we came to *Santos*, where being discovered, we were enforced to land with twenty-four gentlemen, our long boat being far astern, by which expedition we took all the people of the town at mass, both men and women, whom we kept all that day in the church as prisoners. The cause why Master *Cavendish* desired to take this town was to supply his great wants; for being in *Santos*, and having it in quiet possession, we stood in assurance to supply all our needs in great abundance. But such was the negligence of our governor, Master *Cock*, that the Indians were suffered to carry out of the town whatsoever they would, in open view, and no man did control them; and the next day after we had won the town our prisoners were all set at liberty, only four poor old men were kept as pawns to supply our wants. Thus in three days the town that was able to furnish such another fleet with all kind of necessaries, was left unto us nakedly bare, without people and provision.

Eight or ten days after, Master *Cavendish* himself came thither, where he remained until the 22. of January, seeking by entreaty to have that whereof we were once possessed. But in conclusion we departed out of the town through extreme want of victual, not being able any longer to live there, and were glad to receive a few *canisters* or baskets of *cassavi* meal; so that in every condition we went worse furnished from the town than when we came unto it. The 22. of January we departed from *Santos*, and burnt *St. Vincent* to the

ground. The 24. we set sail, shaping our course for the Straits of *Magellan*.

The seventh of February we had a very great storm, and the eighth our fleet was separated by the fury of the tempest. Then our captain called unto him the master of our ship, whom he found to be a very honest and sufficient man, and conferring with him he concluded to go for *Port Desire*, which is in the southerly latitude of 48 degrees; hoping that the General would come thither, because that in his first voyage he had found great relief there. For our captain could never get any direction what course to take in any such extremities, though many times he had entreated for it, as often I have heard him with grief report. In sailing to this port by good chance we met with the *Roebuck*, wherein Master *Cock* had endured great extremities, and had lost his boat, and therefore desired our captain to keep him company, for he was in very desperate case. Our captain hoisted out his boat and went aboard him to know his estate; and returning told us the hardness thereof, and desired the master and all the company to be careful in all their watches not to lose the *Roebuck*, and so we both arrived at *Port Desire* the sixth of March.

The 16. of March the *Black pinnace* came unto us, but Master *Gilbert's* bark came not, but returned home to *England*, leaving their captain aboard the *Roebuck* without any provision more than the apparel that he wore; who came from thence aboard our ship to remain with our captain, by reason of the great friendship between them. The 18. the *Galeon* came into the road, and Master *Cavendish* came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at sea; for his long-boat and light-horseman were lost at sea, as also a pinnace which he had built at *Santos*. And being aboard the

Desire he told our captain of all his extremities, and spake most hardly of his company, and of divers gentlemen that were with him, purposing no more to go aboard his own ship, but to stay in the *Desire*. We all sorrowed to hear such hard speeches of our good friends; but having spoken with the gentlemen of the *Galeon* we found them faithful, honest, and resolute in proceeding, although it pleased our General otherwise to conceive of them.

The 20. of March we departed from *Port Desire*, Master *Cavendish* being in the *Desire* with us. The 8. of April, 1592, we fell with the Straits of *Magellan*, enduring many furious storms between *Port Desire* and the Strait. The 14. we passed through the first strait. The 16. we passed the second strait, being 10 leagues distant from the first. The 18. we doubled *Cape Froward*, which cape lieth in 53 degrees and an half. The 21. we were enforced by the fury of the weather to put into a small cove with our ships, 4 leagues from the said cape, upon the south shore, where we remained until the 15. of May; in the which time we endured extreme storms, with perpetual snow, where many of our men died with cursed famine and miserable cold, not having wherewith to cover their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but living by muscles, water, and weeds of the sea, with a small relief of the ship's store in meal sometimes. And all the sick men in the *Galeon* were most uncharitably put ashore into the woods in the snow, rain, and cold, when men of good health could scarcely endure it, where they ended their lives in the highest degree of misery, Master *Cavendish* all this while being aboard the *Desire*. In these great extremities of snow and cold, doubting what the end would be, he asked our captain's opinion, because he was a man that had good experience of the north-west parts, in

his three several discoveries that way, employed by the merchants of *London*¹. Our captain told him that this snow was a matter of no long continuance, and gave him sufficient reason for it, and that thereby he could not much be prejudiced or hindered in his proceeding. Notwithstanding, he called together all the company, and told them *that he purposed not to stay in the Straits, but to depart upon some other voyage, or else to return again for Brazil.* But his resolution was to go for the Cape of *Buena Esperança*. The company answered *that if it pleased him, they did desire to stay God's favour for a wind, and to endure all hardness whatsoever, rather than to give over the voyage, considering they had been here but a small time, and because they were within 40 leagues of the South Sea, it grieved them now to return; notwithstanding, what he purposed that they would perform.* So he concluded to go for the Cape of *Buena Esperança*, and to give over this voyage. Then our captain, after Master *Cavendish* was come aboard the *Desire* from talking with the company, told him *that if it pleased him to consider the great extremity of his estate, the slenderness of his provisions, with the weakness of his men, it was no course for him to proceed in that new enterprise; for if the rest of your ships, said he, be furnished answerable to this, it is impossible to perform your determination; for we have no more sails than masts, no victuals, no ground-tackling², no cordage more than is over head, and among seventy and five persons there is but the master alone that can order the ship, and but fourteen sailors. The rest are gentlemen, serving-men, and artificers. Therefore it will be a desperate case to take so hard an enterprise in hand.* These persuasions did our captain not only use to Master *Cavendish*, but also to Master *Cock*. In fine, upon a petition delivered

¹ In 1585, 1586, and 1587.

² Anchor tackling.

in writing by the chief of the whole company, the General determined to depart out of the Straits of *Magellan*, and to return again for *Santos*, in *Brazil*.

So the 15. of May we set sail, the General then being in the *Galeon*. The 18. we were free of the Straits, but at *Cape Froward* it was our hard hap to have our boat sunk at our stern in the night, and to be split and sore spoiled, and to lose all our oars. The 20. of May, being thwart of *Port Desire*,¹ in the night the General altered his course, as we suppose, by which occasion we lost him ; for in the evening he stood close by a wind to seaward, having the wind at north-north-east, and we standing the same way, the wind not altering, could not the next day see him ; so that we then persuaded ourselves that he was gone for *Port Desire* to relieve himself, or that he had sustained some mischance at sea, and was gone thither to remedy it¹. Whereupon our captain called the General's men unto him, with the rest, and asked their opinion what was to be done. Everyone said that they thought that the General was gone for *Port Desire*. Then the master, being the General's man, and careful of his master's service, as also of good judgment in sea matters, told the company how dangerous it was to go for *Port Desire*, if we should there miss the General. *For*, said he, *we have no boat to land ourselves, nor any cables nor anchors that I dare trust in so quick streams as are there*. Yet in all likelihood concluding that the General was gone thither, we stayed our course for *Port Desire*, and by chance met with the *Black pinnace*, which had

¹ Cavendish reached St. Vincent in Brazil, and landed twenty-five men to collect provisions, none of whom regained the ship. After making an ineffectual attack on some ships at Espirito Santo, he sailed for St. Helena, where he hoped to take prizes. Failing to reach it, he made for England, but died on the voyage. See Appendix.

likewise lost the fleet, being in very miserable case; so we both concluded to seek the General at *Port Desire*.

The 26. day of May we came to *Port Desire*, where not finding our General as we hoped, being most slenderly victualled, without sails, boat, oars, nails, cordage, and all other necessaries for our relief, we were stricken into a deadly sorrow. But referring all to the providence and fatherly protection of the Almighty, we entered the harbour, and by God's favour found a place of quiet road, which before we knew not. Having moored our ship with the *pinnace's* boat, we landed upon the south shore, where we found a standing pool of fresh water, which by estimation might hold some ten tuns, whereby we were greatly comforted. From this pool we fet¹ more than forty tuns of water, and yet we left the pool as full as we found it. And because at our first being in this harbour we were at this place and found no water, we persuaded ourselves that God had sent it for our relief. Also there were such extraordinary low ebbs as we had never seen, whereby we got muscles in great plenty. Likewise God sent about our ships great abundance of smelts, so that with hooks made of pins every man caught as many as he could eat; by which means we preserved our ship's victuals, and spent not any during the time of our abode here.

Our captain and master falling into the consideration of our estate and dispatch to go to the General, found our wants so great, as that in a month we could not fit our ship to set sail; for we must needs set up a smith's forge, to make bolts, spikes, and nails, besides the repairing of our other wants. Whereupon they concluded it to be their best course to take the *pinnace*,

¹ Fetched (old past tense).

and to furnish her with the best of the company, and to go to the General with all expedition, leaving the ship and the rest of the company until the General's return; for he had vowed to our captain that he would return again for the Straits, as he had told us. The captain and master of the *pinnace*, being the General's men, were well contented with the motion.

But the General having in our ship two most pestilent fellows, when they heard of this determination they utterly disliked it, and in secret dealt with the company of both ships, vehemently persuading them that our captain and master would leave them in the country to be devoured of the cannibals, and that they were merciless and without charity; whereupon the whole company joined in secret with them in a night to murder our captain and master, with myself, and all those which they thought were their friends. There were marks taken in his cabin how to kill him with muskets through the ship's side, and bullets made of silver for the execution, if their other purposes should fail. All agreed hereunto, except it were the boatswain of our ship, who when he knew the matter and the slender ground thereof, revealed it unto our master, and so to the captain. Then the matter being called in question, those two most murderous fellows were found out, whose names were *Charles Parker* and *Edward Smith*.

The captain being thus hardly beset, in peril of famine, and in danger of murdering, was constrained to use lenity, and by courteous means to pacify this fury; shewing, that to do the General service, unto whom he had vowed faith in this action, was the cause why he purposed to go unto him in the *pinnace*, considering that the *pinnace* was so necessary a thing for him, as that he could not be without her, because he was fearful

of the shore in so great ships. Whereupon all cried out, with cursing and swearing, that the *pinnace* should not go unless the ship went. Then the captain desired them to shew themselves Christians, and not so blasphemously to behave themselves, without regard or thanksgiving to God for their great deliverance, and present sustenance bestowed upon them, alleging many examples of God's sharp punishment for such ingratitude; and withal promised to do anything that might stand with their good liking. By which gentle speeches the matter was pacified, and the captain and master, at the request of the company, were content to forgive this great treachery of *Parker* and *Smith*, who after many admonitions concluded in these words: *The Lord judge between you and me.* Which after came to a most sharp revenge even by the punishment of the Almighty. Thus by a general consent it was concluded not to depart, but there to stay for the General's return. Then our captain and master, seeing that they could not do the General that service which they desired, made a motion to the company that they would lay down under their hands the losing of the General, with the extremities wherein we then stood. Whereunto they consented, and wrote under their hands as followeth.

The TESTIMONIAL of the Company of THE DESIRE, touching their losing of their General, which appeareth to have been utterly against their meanings.

THE 26. of August, 1591, we whose names be hereunder written, with divers others departed from *Plymouth* under Master *Thomas Cavendish*, our General, with four ships of his, to wit, the *Galeon*, the *Roebuck*, the *Desire*, and the *Black pinnace*, for the performance of a voyage into the South Sea. The 19. of November we fell with the bay of *Salvador*, in *Brazil*. The 16. of December we took the town of *Santos*, hoping there to revictual

ourselves, but it fell not out to our contentment. The 24. of January we set sail from *Santos*, shaping our course for the Straits of *Magellan*. The 8. of February, by violent storms the said fleet was parted; the *Roe-buck* and the *Desire* arrived in *Port Desire* the 6. of March. The 16. of March the *Black pinnace* arrived there also, and the 18. of the same our Admiral came into the road, with whom we departed the 20. of March in poor and weak estate. The 8. of April, 1522, we entered the Straits of *Magellan*. The 21. of April we anchored beyond *Cape Froward*, within forty leagues of the *South Sea*, where we rode until the 15. of May, in which time we had great store of snow, with some gusty weather, the wind continuing still at west-north-west against us. In this time we were enforced, for the preserving of our victuals, to live for the most part upon muscles, our provision was so slender; so that many of our men died in this hard extremity. Then our General returned for *Brazil* there to winter, and to procure victuals for this voyage against the next year. So we departed the *Straits* the 15. of May. The 21. being thwart of *Port Desire*, thirty leagues off the shore, the wind then at north-east and by north, at five of the clock at night, lying north-east, we suddenly cast about, lying south-east and by south, and sometimes south-east; the whole fleet following the Admiral, our ship coming under his lee shot ahead him, and so framed sail fit to keep company. This night we were severed, by what occasion we protest we know not, whether we lost them or they us. In the morning we only saw the *Black pinnace*; then supposing that the Admiral had overshot us, all this day we stood to the eastwards, hoping to find him, because it was not likely that he would stand to the shore again so suddenly. But missing him, towards night we stood to the shoreward, hoping by that course to find him. The 22. of May at night we had a violent storm, with the wind at north-west, and we were enforced to hull, not being able to bear sail, and this night we perished our main trestle-trees¹, so that we could no more use our main-topsail,

¹ Horizontal timbers fixed on each side of the masthead, supporting the top-mast.

lying most dangerously in the sea. The pinnace likewise received a great leak, so that we were forced to seek the next shore for our relief. And because famine was like to be the best end, we desired to go for *Port Desire*, hoping with seals and penguins to relieve ourselves, and so to make shift to follow the General, or there to stay his coming from *Brazil*. The 24. of May we had much wind at north. The 25. was calm, and the sea very lofty, so that our ship had dangerous foul weather. The 26. our fore-shrouds brake, so that if we had not been near the shore, it had been impossible for us to get out of the sea. And now being here moored in *Port Desire*, our shrouds are all rotten, not having a running rope whereto we may trust, and being provided only of one shift of sails all worn; our top-sails not able to abide any stress of weather, neither have we any pitch, tar, or nails, nor any store for the supplying of these wants, and we live only upon seals and muscles, having but five hogsheads of pork within board, and meal three ounces for a man a day, with water for to drink. And forasmuch as it hath pleased God to separate our fleet, and to bring us into such hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect relief, though otherwise we are hopeless of comfort; yet because the wonderful works of God in his exceeding great favour towards us his creatures are far beyond the scope of man's capacity, therefore by him we hope to have deliverance in this our deep distress. Also forasmuch as those upon whom God will bestow the favour of life, with return home to their country, may not only themselves remain blameless, but also manifest the truth of our actions, we have thought good in Christian charity to lay down under our hands the truth of all our proceedings, even till the time of this our distress.

Given in *Port Desire* the second of June, 1592, beseeching the Almighty God of His mercy to deliver us from this misery, how or when it shall please His Divine Majesty.

John Davis, Captain, Randolph Cotton, John Perry, William Maber, gunner, Charles Parker, Rowland Miller, Edward Smith, Thomas Purpet, Matthew Stubbs, John

Jenkinson, Thomas Edwards, Edward Granger, John Lewis, William Hayman, George Straker, Thomas Walbie, William Wyeth, Richard Alard, Stephen Popham, Alexander Cole, Thomas Watkins, George Cunington, John Whiting, James Ling, the boatswain, Francis Smith, John Layes, the boatswain's mate, — Fisher, John Austin, Francis Copstone, Richard Garret, James Eversby, Nicolas Parker, — Leonard, John Pick, — Benjamin, William Maber, James Nutt, Christopher Hawser.

After they had delivered this relation unto our captain under their hands, then we began to travail for our lives; and we built up a smith's forge, and made a coal-pit, and burnt coals, and there we made nails, bolts, and spikes, others made ropes of a piece of our cable, and the rest gathered muscles, and took smelts for the whole company. Three leagues from this harborough there is an isle with four small isles about it, where there are great abundance of seals, and at the time of the year the penguins come thither in great plenty to breed. We concluded with the *pinnacle* that she should sometimes go thither to fetch seals for us, upon which condition we would share our victuals with her, man for man; whereunto the whole company agreed. So we parted our poor store, and she laboured to fetch us seals to eat, wherewith we lived when smelts and muscles failed: for in the neap streams we could get no muscles. Thus in most miserable calamity we remained until the sixth of August, still keeping watch upon the hills to look for our General, and so great was our vexation and anguish of soul, as I think never flesh and blood endured more. Thus our misery daily increasing, time passing, and our hope of the General being very cold, our captain and master were fully persuaded that the General might perhaps go directly for the *Straits*, and not come to this harborough; whereupon they thought no course more convenient than to

go presently for the *Straits*, and there to stay his coming, for in that place he could not pass, but of force we must see him; whereunto the company most willingly consented, as also the captain and master of the *pinnace*. So that upon this determination we made all possible speed to depart.

The sixth of August we set sail, and went to *Penguin* Isle, and the next day we salted twenty hogshheads of seals, which was as much as our salt could possibly do; and so we departed for the *Straits* the poorest wretches that ever were created. The seventh of August toward night we departed from *Penguin* Isle, shaping our course for the *Straits*, where we had full confidence to meet with our General. The ninth we had a sore storm, so that we were constrained to hull, for our sails were not [fit] to endure any force. The 14. we were driven in among certain islands never before discovered, by any known relation, lying 50 leagues or better from the shore, east and northerly from the *Straits*; in which place, unless it had pleased God of his wonderful mercy to have ceased the wind, we must of necessity have perished. But the wind shifting to the east, we directed our course for the *Straits*, and the 18. of August we fell with the cape in a very thick fog, and the same night we anchored ten leagues within the cape. The 19. day we passed the first and the second straits. The 21. we doubled *Cape Froward*. The 22. we anchored in *Savage Cove*, so named because we found many savages there; notwithstanding the extreme cold of this place, yet do all these wild people go naked, and live in the woods like satyrs, painted and disguised, and fly from you like wild deer. They are very strong, and threw stones at us of three or four pound weight an incredible distance. The 24. in the morning we departed from this cove, and the same day we came

into the north-west reach, which is the last reach of the *Straits*. The 25. we anchored in a good cove, within fourteen leagues of the South Sea: in this place we purposed to stay for the General, for the strait in this place is scarce three miles broad, so that he could not pass but we must see him. After we had stayed here a fortnight in the deep of winter, our victuals consuming, for our seals stunk most vilely, and our men died pitifully through cold and famine, for the greatest part of them had not clothes to defend the extremity of the winter's cold; being in this heavy distress, our captain and master thought it the best course to depart from the *Straits* into the South Sea, and to go for the Isle of *Santa Maria*, which is to the northward of *Valdivia*, in 37 degrees and a quarter, where we might have relief, and be in a temperate clime, and there stay for the General, for of necessity he must come by that isle. So we departed the 13. of September, and came in sight of the South Sea. The 14. we were forced back again, and recovered a cove three leagues within the *Straits* from the South Sea. Again we put forth, and being eight or ten leagues free of the land, the wind rising furiously at west-north-west, we were enforced again into the *Straits*, only for want of sails; for we never durst bear sail in any stress of weather, they were so weak. So again we recovered the cove three leagues within the *Straits*; where we endured most furious weather, so that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeless of life. Yet it pleased God to calm the storm, and we unrived our sheets, tacks, halliers, and other ropes, and moored our ship to the trees close by the rocks. We laboured to recover our anchor again, but could not by any means, it lay so deep in the water, and, as we think, clean covered with ooze. Now had we but one anchor which had but one

whole fluke, a cable spliced in two places, and a piece of an old cable. In the midst of these our troubles it pleased God that the wind came fair the first of October; whereupon with all expedition we loosed our moorings, and weighed our anchor, and so towed off into the channel; for we had mended our boat in *Port Desire*, and had five oars of the *pinnacle*. When we had weighed our anchor, we found our cable broken. Only one strand held: then we praised God; for we saw apparently His mercies in preserving us. Being in the channel, we rived our ropes, and again rigged our ship; no man's hand was idle, but all laboured even for the last gasp of life. Here our company was divided; some desired to go again for *Port Desire*, and there to be set on shore, where they might travail for their lives, and some stood with the captain and master to proceed. Whereupon the captain said to the master: *Master, you see the wonderful extremity of our estate, and the great doubts among our company of the truth of your reports, as touching relief to be had in the South Sea. Some say in secret, as I am informed, that we undertake these desperate attempts through blind affection that we bear to the General. For mine own part I plainly make known unto you that the love which I bear to the General caused me first to enter into this action, whereby I have not only heaped upon my head this bitter calamity now present, but also have in some sort procured the dislike of my best friends in England, as it is not unknown to some in this company. But now being thus entangled by the providence of God for my former offences (no doubt) I desire that it may please His Divine Majesty to shew us such merciful favour, that we may rather proceed, than otherwise; or if it be His will that our mortal being shall now take an end, I rather desire that it may be in proceeding than in returning. And because I see in reason, that*

the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Christian charity entreat you all, first to forgive me in whatsoever I have been grievous unto you ; secondly, that you will rather pray for our General, than use hard speeches of him ; and let us be fully persuaded, that not for his cause and negligence, but for our own offences against the Divine Majesty, we are presently punished ; lastly, let us forgive one another and be reconciled as children in love and charity, and not think upon the vanities of this life ; so shall we in leaving this life live with our glorious Redeemer, or abiding in this life, find favour with God. And now, good master, forasmuch as you have been in this voyage once before with your master the General, satisfy the company of such truths as are to you best known ; and you, the rest of the General's men, which likewise have been with him in his first voyage, if you hear anything contrary to the truth, spare not to reprove it, I pray you. And so I beseech the Lord to bestow His mercy upon us. Then the master began in these speeches : Captain, your request is very reasonable, and I refer to your judgment my honest care and great pains taken in the General's service, my love towards him, and in what sort I have discharged my duty, from the first day to this hour. I was commanded by the General to follow your directions, which hitherto I have performed. You all know that when I was extremely sick, the General was lost in my mate's watch, as you have well examined ; sithence which time in what anguish and grief of mind I have lived God only knoweth, and you are in some part a witness. And now if you think good to return, I will not gainsay it ; but this I assure you, if life may be preserved by any means, it is in proceeding. For at the Isle of Santa Maria I do assure you of wheat, pork, and roots enough. Also I will bring you to an isle where pelicans be in great abundance, and at Santos we shall have meal

in great plenty, besides all our possibility of intercepting some ships upon the coast of Chili and Peru. But if we return there is nothing but death to be hoped for ; therefore do as you like. I am ready, but my desire is to proceed.

These his speeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyage, there was a general consent of proceeding ; and so on the second of October we put into the South Sea, and were free of all land. This night the wind began to blow very much at west-north-west, and still increased in fury, so that we were in great doubt what course to take ; to put into the Straits we durst not for lack of ground-tackle¹ ; to bear sail we doubted, the tempest was so furious, and our sails so bad. The *pinnace* came room with us, and told us that she had received many grievous seas, and that her ropes did every hour fail her, so as they could not tell what shift to make ; we being unable in any sort to help them, stood under our courses in view of the lee-shore, still expecting our ruinous end. The fourth of October the storm growing beyond all reason furious, the *pinnace* being in the wind of us, strake suddenly ahull, so that we thought she had received some grievous sea, or sprung a leak, or that her sails failed her, because she came not with us ; but we durst not hull in that unmerciful storm, but sometimes tried under our main course², sometimes with a haddock³ of our sail, for our ship was very leeward, and most laboursome in the sea. This night we lost the *pinnace*, and never saw her again. The fifth, our foresail was split, and all to torn ; then our master took the mizen, and brought it to the foremast, to make our ship work ; and with our sprit-sail we mended our foresail, the storm continuing without all reason in fury, with hail, snow, rain, and wind, such and so mighty, as that in nature it could

¹ Anchor tackle.

² Main-sail.

³ Small fraction.

not possibly be more, the seas such and so lofty, with continual breach, that many times we were doubtful whether our ship did sink or swim.

The tenth of October being by the account of our captain and master very near the shore, the weather dark, the storm furious, and most of our men having given over to travail, we yielded ourselves to death, without further hope of succour. Our captain sitting in the gallery very pensive, I came and brought him some *Rosa solis*¹ to comfort him; for he was so cold that he was scarce able to move a joint. After he had drunk, and was comforted in heart, he began for the ease of his conscience to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grievous sighs he concluded in these words: *Oh, most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech Thee, that the intolerable burden of my sins may, through the blood of Jesus Christ, be taken from me; and end our days with speed, or show us some merciful sign of Thy love and our preservation.* Having thus ended, he desired me not to make known to any of the company his intolerable grief and anguish of mind, because they should not thereby be dismayed. And so suddenly, before I went from him, the sun shined clear; so that he and the master both observed the true elevation of the pole, whereby they knew by what course to recover the Straits. Wherewithal our captain and master were so revived, and gave such comfortable speeches to the company, that every man rejoiced, as though we had received a present deliverance.

The next day, being the 11. of October, we saw *Cabo Deseado*, being the cape on the south shore (the north shore is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks,

¹ Prop. *ros solis* (sun-dew). A cordial flavoured with this plant.

isles, and shoals). This cape being within two leagues to leeward of us, our master greatly doubted that we could not double the same ; whereupon the captain told him : *You see there is no remedy ; either we must double it, or before noon we must die ; therefore loose your sails, and let us put it to God's mercy.* The master, being a man of good spirit, resolutely made quick despatch and set sail. Our sails had not been half an hour aboard, but the footrope of our foresail brake, so that nothing held but the eyelet-holes¹. The seas continually brake over the ship's poop, and flew into the sails with such violence, that we still expected the tearing of our sails, or oversetting of the ship, and withal to our utter discomfort, we perceived that we fell still more and more to leeward, so that we could not double the cape ; we were now come within half a mile of the cape, and so near the shore that the counter-surf of the sea would rebound against the ship's side, so that we were much dismayed with the horror of our present end. Being thus at the very pinch of death, the wind and seas raging beyond measure, our master veered some of the main sheet ; and whether it was by that occasion, or by some current, or by the wonderful power of God, as we verily think it was, the ship quickened her way, and shot past that rock, where we thought she would have shored. Then between the cape and the point there was a little bay ; so that we were somewhat farther from the shore. And when we were come so far as the cape, we yielded to death ; yet our good God, the Father of all mercies, delivered us, and we doubled the cape about the length of our ship, or very little more. Being shot past the cape, we presently took in our sails, which only God had preserved unto us ; and when we were shot in between the high lands, the wind

¹ The round holes worked in a sail to admit the reef-lines.

blowing trade, without any inch of sail, we spooned before the sea, three men being not able to guide the helm, and in six hours we were put five-and-twenty leagues within the *Straits*, where we found a sea answerable to the ocean.

In this time we freed our ship from water, and after we had rested a little our men were not able to move; their sinews were stiff and their flesh dead, and many of them (which is most lamentable to be reported) were so eaten with lice as that in their flesh did lie clusters of lice as big as peas, yea, and some as big as beans. Being in this misery, we were constrained to put into a cove for the refreshing our men. Our master, knowing the shore and every cove very perfectly, put in with the shore and moored to the trees as beforetime we had done, laying our anchor to the seaward. Here we continued until the 20. of October; but not being able any longer to stay through extremity of famine, on the 21. we put off into the channel, the weather being reasonable calm; but before night it blew most extremely at west-north-west. The storm growing outrageous, our men could scarcely stand by their labour; and, the *Straits* being full of turning reaches, we were constrained by discretion of the captain and master in their accounts to guide the ship in the hell-dark night, when we could not see any shore, the channel being in some places scarce three miles broad. But our captain, as we first passed through the *Straits*, drew such an exquisite plot of the same as I am assured it cannot in any sort be bettered, which plot he and the master so often perused, and so carefully regarded, as that in memory they had every turning and creek; and in the deep dark night, without any doubting, they conveyed the ship through that crooked channel. So that I conclude the world hath not any so skilful pilots

for that place as they are ; for otherwise we could never have passed in such sort as we did.

The 25. we came to an island in the *Straits* named *Penguin Isle*, whither we sent our boat to seek relief ; for there were great abundance of birds, and the weather was very calm. So we came to an anchor by the island in seven fathoms. While our boat was at shore, and we had great store of penguins, there arose a sudden storm, so that our ship did drive over a breach, and our boat sank at the shore. Captain *Cotton* and the lieutenant, being on shore, leapt into the boat and freed the same, and threw away all the birds, and with great difficulty recovered the ship. Myself also was in the boat the same time, where for my life I laboured to the best of my power. The ship all this while driving upon the lee-shore, when we came aboard we helped to set sail and weighed the anchor ; for before our coming they could scarce hoise up their yards, yet with much ado they set their fore-course. Thus, in a mighty fret of weather, the 27. of October we were free of the *Straits*, and the 30. of October we came to *Penguin Isle*, being three leagues from *Port Desire*, the place which we purposed to seek for our relief.

When we came to this isle we sent our boat on shore, which returned laden with birds and eggs ; and our men said that the penguins were so thick upon the isle that ships might be laden with them ; for they could not go without treading upon the birds, whereat we greatly rejoiced. Then the captain appointed *Charles Parker* and *Edward Smith*, with twenty others, to go on shore and stay upon the isle for the killing and drying of those penguins, and promised after the ship was in harborough to send the rest, not only for expedition, but also to save the small store of victuals in the ship. But *Parker*, *Smith*, and the rest of their faction suspected

that this was a device of the captain to leave his men on shore, that by these means there might be victuals for the rest to recover their country. And when they remembered that this was the place where they would have slain their captain and master, *Surely*, thought they, *for revenge hereof will they leave us on shore.* Which when our captain understood, he used these speeches unto them:—*I understand that you are doubtful of your security through the perverseness of your own guilty consciences. It is an extreme grief unto me that you should judge me bloodthirsty, in whom you have seen nothing but kind conversation. If you have found otherwise, speak boldly, and accuse me of the wrongs that I have done; if not, why do you then measure me by your own uncharitable consciences? All the company knoweth, indeed, that in this place you practised to the utmost of your powers to murder me and the master causeless, as God knoweth; which evil in this place we did remit you. And now I may conceive, without doing you wrong, that you again purpose some evil in bringing these matters to repetition. But God hath so shortened your confederacy as that I nothing doubt you. It is for your master's sake that I have forborne you in your unchristian practices. And here I protest before God that for his sake alone I will yet endure this injury, and you shall in no sort be prejudiced, or in anything be by me commanded. But when we come into England (if God so favour us) your master shall know your honesties. In the mean space be void of your suspicions, for, God I call to witness, revenge is no part of my thought.* They gave him thanks, desiring to go into the harborough with the ship, which he granted. So there were ten left upon the isle, and the last of October we entered the harborough. Our master at our last being here, having taken careful notice of every creek in the river,

in a very convenient place, upon sandy ooze, ran the ship on ground, laying our anchor to seaward, and with our running ropes moored her to stakes upon the shore which he had fastened for that purpose; where the ship remained till our departure.

The third of November our boat, with water, wood, and as many as she could carry, went for the Isle of *Penguins*; but, being deep, she durst not proceed, but returned again the same night. Then *Parker, Smith, Townsend, Purpet*, with five others, desired that they might go by land, and that the boat might fetch them when they were against the isle, it being scarce a mile from the shore. The captain bade them do what they thought best, advising them to take weapons with them; *For*, said he, *although we have not at any time seen people in this place, yet in the country there may be savages.* They answered, *that here were great store of deer and ostriches; but if there were savages, they would devour them.* Notwithstanding, the captain caused them to carry weapons, calivers, swords, and targets. So the sixth of November they departed by land, and the boat by sea; but from that day to this day we never heard of our men. The 11. while most of our men were at the isle, only the captain and master with six others being left in the ship, there came a great multitude of savages to the ship, throwing dust in the air, leaping and running like brute beasts, having vizards on their faces like dogs' faces, or else their faces are dogs' faces indeed. We greatly feared lest they would set our ship on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat we much marvelled. They came to windward of our ship and set the bushes on fire, so that we were in a very stinking smoke; but as soon as they came within our shot, we shot at them, and, striking one of them in the thigh, they all presently fled, so that we never heard

nor saw more of them. Hereby we judged that these cannibals had slain our nine men. When we considered what they were that thus were slain, and found that they were the principal men that would have murdered our captain and master, with the rest of their friends, we saw the just judgment of God, and made supplication to His Divine Majesty to be merciful unto us. While we were in this harborough our captain and master went with the boat to discover how far this river did run, that, if need should enforce us to leave our ship, we might know how far we might go by water. So they found that farther than 20 miles they could not go with the boat. At their return they sent the boat to the Isle of *Penguins*; whereby we understood that the penguins dried to our heart's content, and that the multitude of them was infinite. This penguin hath the shape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two stumps in the place of wings, by which he swimmeth under water with as great swiftness as any fish. They live upon smelts, whereof there is great abundance upon this coast. In eating they be neither fish nor flesh. They lay great eggs, and the bird is of a reasonable bigness, very near twice so big as a duck. All the time that we were in this place we fared passing well with eggs, penguins, young seals, young gulls, besides other birds such as I know not; of all which we had great abundance. In this place we found a herb called scurvy-grass, which we fried with eggs, using train oil instead of butter. This herb did so purge the blood, that it took away all kind of swellings, of which many died, and restored us to perfect health of body, so that we were in as good case as when we came first out of *England*. We stayed in this harbour until the 22. of December, in which time we had dried 20,000 penguins; and the captain, the master, and myself had

made some salt, by laying salt water upon the rocks in holes, which in six days would be kernald. Thus God did feed us even as it were with *manna* from heaven.

The 22. of December we departed with our ship for the isle, where with great difficulty, by the skilful industry of our master, we got 14,000 of our birds, and had almost lost our captain in labouring to bring our birds aboard; and had not our master been very expert in the set of those wicked tides, which run after many fashions, we had also lost our ship in the same place. But God of His goodness hath in all our extremities been our protector. So the 22. at night, we departed with 14,000 dried penguins, not being able to fetch the rest, and shaped our course for *Brazil*. Now our captain rated our victuals, and brought us to such allowance as that our victuals might last six months; for our hope was that within six months we might recover our country, though our sails were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces and an half of meal for a man a day, and to have so twice a week, so that five ounces did serve for a week. Three days a week we had oil, three spoonfuls for a man a day; and two days in a week peasen, a pint between four men a day, and every day five penguins for four men, and six quarts of water for four men a day. This was our allowance, wherewith, we praise God, we lived, though weakly and very feeble. The 30. of January we arrived at the island of *Placentia*, in *Brazil*, the first place that outward bound we were at; and having made the shoal, our ship lying off at sea, the captain with 24 of the company went with the boat on shore, being a whole night before they could recover it. The last of January at sun-rising they suddenly landed, hoping to take the Portugals in their houses, and by that means to recover some *cassavi* meal, or

other victuals for our relief; but when they came to the houses they were all razed and burnt to the ground, so that we thought no man had remained on the island. Then the captain went to the gardens, and brought from thence fruits and roots for the company, and came aboard the ship, and brought her into a fine creek which he had found out, where we might moor her by the trees, and where there was water and hoops to trim our cask. Our case being very desperate, we presently laboured for despatch away; some cut hoops, which the coopers made, others laboured upon the sails and ship, every man travailing for his life, and still a guard was kept on shore to defend those that laboured, every man having his weapon likewise by him. The third of February our men with 23 shot went again to the gardens, being three miles from us upon the north shore, and fetched *cassavi* roots out of the ground, to relieve our company instead of bread, for we spent not of our meal while we staid here. The fifth of February, being Monday, our captain and master hastened the company to their labour; so some went with the coopers to gather hoops, and the rest laboured aboard. This night many of our men in the ship dreamed of murder and slaughter. In the morning they reported their dreams, one saying to another, *This night I dreamed that thou wert slain*; another answered, *And I dreamed that thou wert slain*; and this was general through the ship. The captain hearing this, who likewise had dreamed very strangely himself, gave very strict charge that those which went on shore should take weapons with them, and saw them himself delivered into the boat, and sent some of purpose to guard the labourers. All the forenoon they laboured in quietness, and when it was ten of the clock, the heat being extreme, they came to a rock near the wood's side (for all this country is nothing

but thick woods), and there they boiled *cassavi* roots, and dined ; after dinner some slept, some washed themselves in the sea, all being stripped to their shirts, and no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a piece charged. Suddenly, as they were thus sleeping and sporting, having gotten themselves into a corner out of sight of the ship, there came a multitude of Indians and Portugals upon them, and slew them sleeping ; only two escaped, one very sore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we understood of this miserable massacre. With all speed we manned our boat, and landed to succour our men ; but we found them slain, and laid naked on a rank one by another, with their faces upward, and a cross set by them. And withal we saw two very great pinnaces come from the River *Janeiro* very full of men ; whom we mistrusted came from thence to take us, because there came from *Janeiro* soldiers to *Santos*, when the General had taken the town, and was strong in it. Of 76 persons which departed in our ship out of *England*, we were now left but 27, having lost 13 in this place, with their chief furniture, as muskets, calivers, powder, and shot. Our cask was all in decay, so that we could not take in more water than was in our ship for want of cask, and that which we had was marvellous ill-conditioned ; and being there moored by trees, for want of cables and anchors, we still expected the cutting of our moorings, to be beaten from our decks with our own furniture, and to be assailed by them of *Janeiro* ; what distress we were now driven into I am not able to express. To depart with eight tuns of water in such bad cask was to starve at sea, and in staying our case was ruinous. These were hard choices ; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the hands of the Lord than into the hands of men ; for His exceeding mercies

we had tasted, and of the others' cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart, the sixth of February we were off in the channel, with our ordnance and small shot in a readiness for any affair that should come, and having a small gale of wind, we recovered the sea in most deep distress. Then bemoaning our estate one to another, and recounting over all our extremities, nothing grieved us more than the loss of our men twice, first by the slaughter of the cannibals at *Port Desire*, and at this isle of *Placentia* by the Indians and Portugals. And considering what they were that were lost, we found that all those that conspired the murdering of our captain and master were now slain by the savages, the gunner only excepted. Being thus at sea, when we came to Cape *Frio*, the wind was contrary; so that three weeks we were grievously vexed with cross winds, and our water consuming, our hope of life was very small. Some desired to go to *Bahia*, and to submit themselves to the Portugals, rather than to die for thirst; but the captain with fair persuasions altered their purpose of yielding to the Portugals. In this distress it pleased God to send us rain in such plenty as that we were well watered, and in good comfort to return. But after we came near unto the sun, our dried penguins began to corrupt, and there bred in them a most loathsome and ugly worm of an inch long. This worm did so mightily increase, and devour our victuals, that there was in reason no hope how we should avoid famine, but be devoured of these wicked creatures. There was nothing that they did not devour, only iron excepted—our clothes, boots, shoes, hats, shirts, stockings; and for the ship they did so eat the timbers as that we greatly feared they would undo us, by gnawing through the ship's side. Great was the care and diligence of our captain, master, and company

to consume these vermin, but the more we laboured to kill them the more they increased, so that at the last we could not sleep for them, but they would eat our flesh, and bite like *mosquitos*. In this woeful case, after we had passed the equinoctial toward the north, our men began to fall sick of such a monstrous disease, as I think the like was never heard of; for in their ankles it began to swell, from thence in two days it would be in their breasts, so that they could not draw their breath; . . . whereupon our men grew mad with grief. Our captain with extreme anguish of his soul was in such woeful case, that he desired only a speedy end, and though he were scarce able to speak for sorrow, yet he persuaded them to patience, and to give God thanks, and like dutiful children to accept of His chastisement. For all this divers grew raging mad, and some died in most loathsome and furious pain. It were incredible to write our misery as it was; there was no man in perfect health, but the captain and one boy. The master being a man of good spirit, with extreme labour bore out his grief, so that it grew not upon him. To be short, all our men died except sixteen, of which there were but five able to move. The captain was in good health, the master indifferent, Captain *Cotton* and myself swollen and short-winded, yet better than the rest that were sick, and one boy in health; upon us five only the labour of the ship did stand. The captain and master, as occasion served, would take in and heave out the top-sails, the master only attended on the sprit-sail, and all of us at the capstan without sheets and tacks. In fine, our misery and weakness was so great, that we could not take in nor heave out a sail; so our top-sail and sprit-sails were torn all in pieces by the weather. The master and captain taking their turns at the helm, were mightily distressed and monstrously

grieved with the most woeful lamentation of our sick men. Thus, as lost wanderers upon the sea, the 11. of June, 1593, it pleased God that we arrived at *Berehaven*, in *Ireland*, and there ran the ship on shore; where the Irish men helped us to take in our sails, and to moor our ship for floating; which slender pains of theirs cost the captain some ten pounds before he could have the ship in safety. Thus without victuals, sails, men, or any furniture, God only guided us into *Ireland*, where the captain left the master and three or four of the company to keep the ship, and within five days after he and certain others had passage in an English fisher-boat to *Padstow*, in *Cornwall*. In this manner our small remnant by God's only mercy were preserved, and restored to our country, to whom be all honour and glory, world without end.

RALEIGH (b. 1552? d. 1618).

BOTH of Raleigh's attempts at colonization in 'Virginia' had failed. Lane and his company, sent out under Greenville's command in 1585, had voted for returning with Drake when the latter visited them in 1586, and were accordingly brought back by him in a body. Raleigh's second set of colonists, taken out by White in 1587, were no longer to be found when White searched for them in 1590. Raleigh still cherished the hope of discovering and reinforcing them, but his ships were engaged in the more profitable business of capturing Spanish prizes; and early in 1594 an adventurer similarly employed, named George Popham, found on board a homeward-bound Spanish vessel three letters containing news which speedily came to Raleigh's ears, and gave an entirely new turn to his designs. Of these letters we have nothing but the English version appended by Raleigh to the 'Discovery of Guiana,' and perhaps made by him. Two were written by a resident at Gran Canaria, described as 'Alonso.' The first, addressed to Alonso's brother at San Lucar, stated, amongst other things, as follows:—

'There have been certain letters received here of late, of a land newly discovered called *Nuevo Dorado*, from the sons of certain inhabitants of this city, who were in the discovery; they write of wonderful riches to be found in the said *Dorado*, and that gold there is in great abundance. The course to fall with it is fifty leagues to the windward of *Margarita*.'

The second letter was addressed by the same correspondent to 'certain merchants of San Lucar,' and ran thus:—

'SIRS,

We have no news worth the writing, saving of a discovery lately made by the Spaniards in a new land called *Nuevo Dorado*, which is two days' sailing to the windward of *Margarita*; there is gold in such abundance as the like hath not been heard of. We have it for certain in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, unto their parents here in this city. I purpose, God willing, to bestow ten or twelve days in search of the said *Dorado*, as I pass in my voyage towards *Carthagen*a, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I have sent you therewith part of the information of the said discovery that was sent to his Majesty.'

The third letter, written by a Breton named George Burién, resident at Gran Canaria, to a cousin at San Lucar, ran thus:—

'SIR, AND MY VERY GOOD COUSIN,

There came of late certain letters from a new discovered country not far from *Trinidad*, which, they write, hath gold in great abundance. The news seemeth to be very certain, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this city. Part of the information of the discovery that went to his Majesty goeth inclosed in *Alonso's* letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.'

The document enclosed in Alonso's second letter comprised an account of the formalities observed by Domingo de Vera, camp-master to Antonio de Berrio, Governor of Trinidad, when taking possession of part of the mainland opposite to that island, and near the mouth of the Orinoco, on behalf of the Spanish king, on April 23, 1593, together with part of De Vera's journal of his subsequent exploration. On April 27 De Vera reached an Indian village, received the submission of the chief, and set up a cross. On May 1 he reached a village described as 'the town of Carapana,' whence they advanced to another village where the chief was named Topiawari, who submitted in like manner. The rest of the journal shall be given as it appears in Raleigh's Appendix.

'The fourth of May we came to a province about five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people. The principal of this people came and met us in peaceable manner, and he is called *Renato*. He brought us to a very large house where he entertained us well, and gave us much gold; and the interpreter asking him from whence that gold was, he answered, from a province not passing a day's journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sun, and so much gold as all yonder plain will not contain it. In which country, when they enter into the *borrachera*¹, they take of the said gold in dust, and anoint themselves all over therewith to make the braver shew; and to the end the gold may cover them they anoint their bodies with stamped herbs of a glutinous substance; and they have war with those Indians. They promised us that if we would go unto them they would aid us; but they were such infinite number as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they got that same gold, they told us they went to a certain down, or plain, and pulled or digged up the grass by the root; which done, they took of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they carried to wash at the river; and that which came in powder they kept for their *borracheras*, and that which was in pieces they wrought into eagles.

'The eighth of May we went from thence and marched about five leagues; at the foot of a hill we found a principal called *Arataco*, with three thousand Indians, men and women, all in peace and with much victual, as hens and venison, in great abundance, and many sorts of wine. He entreated us to go to his house, and to rest that night in his town, being of five hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence he had those hens. He said they were brought from a mountain not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea, so many as grass on the ground, and that those men had the points of their shoulders higher than the crowns of their heads, and had so many hens as was wonderful; and if we would have any, we should send them Jew's harps, for they would give for every one two hens. We took an Indian, and gave him five hundred harps; the hens were so many that he brought us as were not to be numbered. We said we would go thither. They told us they were now in their *borrachera* and would kill us; we asked the Indian that brought the hens if it were true, and he said it was most true. We asked him how they made their *borrachera*. He said they had many eagles of gold hanging on their breasts, and pearls in their ears, and that they danced being all covered with gold. The said

¹ Drinking-bout.

Indian said unto us, if we would see them, we should give him some hatchets, and he would bring us of those eagles. The master of the camp gave him one hatchet (he would give him no more because they should not understand we went to seek gold); he brought us an eagle that weighed 27 pounds of good gold. The master of the camp took it and shewed to the soldiers, and then threw it from him, making shew not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and said unto him, *give me a pick-axe and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders mean to do.* The interpreter told the master of the camp, who commanded one to be given him. He then told us those Indians were coming to kill us for our merchandise. Hereupon the master of the camp caused his company to be set in order, and began to march.

'The eleventh day of May we went about seven leagues from thence to a province where we found a great company of Indians appavelled. They told us that if we came to fight they would fill up those plains with Indians to fight with us; but if we came in peace we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians, and there they told us of all the riches that was. I do not here set it down, because there is no place for it; but it shall appear by the information that goes to his Majesty. For if it should here be set down, four leaves of paper would not contain it.'

It will be noticed that in both the letters which assign a name to the newly discovered land of gold, it is called the *New Dorado*; and it is described as at the mouth of the Orinoco. Name and situation alike indicate it as an entirely different place from another El Dorado, heard of sixty years earlier, and supposed to lie on the opposite side of South America, at no great distance from the Andes of northern Peru. The information which first led the Spaniards to seek for a country called 'El Dorado,' or the 'Golden Land¹,' was obtained from an Indian prisoner by Benalcázar, the conqueror of northern Peru, shortly after his entry into Quito in 1533; and there can be little doubt that

¹ Some antiquaries consider the original form of the name to have been Rio Dorado or 'Golden River,' streams in which grains of gold are found being sufficiently numerous in America. But as Acosta (Lib. ii. cap. 6) uses 'Terra Aurea' as the Latin equivalent of the name (in 1588), there can be little doubt that the complete name was originally 'El Pais Dorado' or 'El Reyno Dorado.' The transition

it related to the district of Bogotá or New Granada, which had not then been reached by the Spaniards. This district, however, did not satisfy the current accounts of the wealth of El Dorado—accounts which ultimately went so far as to allege that its people sprinkled themselves with gold dust by way of personal adornment; and when Gonzalo Pizarro, in 1539, started from Quito for the valley of the Amazon with the ostensible object of visiting a district called the ‘Cinnamon province,’ from a cinnamon-like plant which abounded there, it was suspected that the undiscovered ‘El Dorado’ was his real destination. This opinion is expressed by Oviedo, who wrote an account of the expedition to Cardinal Bembo from San Domingo in 1543, in which the story of the ‘Golden Chief’ appears for the first time.

‘It was not so much the cinnamon which moved Gonzalo Pizarro to go in search of it, as the hope of finding, together with this spice, or cinnamon, a great chief who is called *El Dorado*, of whom there is much talk in those parts; and they say that he continually goes covered with gold ground small, or as minute as well-pounded salt, because he considers that there is no vestment or ornament to compare with this; and that thin plates of gold are there cheap and common, and that other chiefs can and do array themselves in these when they please; but to dust one’s self over with gold is a very singular and very costly thing, because every day he covers himself with it afresh, and at night washes it off and lets it go to waste; and that this practice hinders not nor offends nor encumbers his noble deportment in any way; and with a certain gum, or sweet-smelling liquor, he anoints himself in the morning, and over that unction he throws that powdered gold, and his whole person remains covered with gold from the sole of his foot to his head, as resplendent as a golden figure wrought by the hand of a most excellent goldsmith. So that it is understood, by this, and by report, that in that country there are most rich mines of gold.’ (Ramusio, *Navigazioni*, vol. iii. p. 416.)

Hakluyt (see p. 195) remarks that the substance of the account obtained by Raleigh from Berrio was to be found in this letter of Oviedo, written half a century previously;

from this to ‘El Dorado’ in the sense of ‘El Xefe Dorado,’ or ‘El Rey Dorado,’ is easy enough, and the fable related by Oviedo was invented to explain the name as thus applied.

whether this is so or not the reader can judge. Oviedo recognizes only one gilded personage—the Chief or King: in Berrio's account the whole company of drinkers are sprinkled with gold-dust. Raleigh might well have read the account in Ramusio, and he states (p. 171) that the story of the original El Dorado had long been known to him, when Robert Dudley, son of the deceased Earl of Leicester (see p. 195), communicated to him verbally the substance of the report intercepted by Popham at sea in 1594.

Raleigh determined to forestall the Spaniards, and lost no time in making preparations. In the same year (1594) he despatched one of his captains, named Jacob Whiddon, to Trinidad. Whiddon obtained what information he could from the Indians, and parleyed with the Spaniards, but the latter captured eight of his men, whom he had left in his pinnace while he went in pursuit of an expected prize (p. 184); and his voyage did little to promote Raleigh's schemes. He returned in the same year, and went out again with Raleigh's expedition in 1595. He seems to have sunk under the labours of the expedition, and Raleigh buried him at Trinidad on his own return.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

RALEIGH'S DISCOVERY OF GUIANA.

The DISCOVERY of the large, rich, and beautiful EMPIRE of GUIANA; with a Relation of the great and golden CITY of MANOA, which the Spaniards call EL DORADO, and the PROVINCES of EMERIA, AROMAIA, AMAPAIA, and other Countries, with their rivers, adjoining. Performed in the year 1595 by SIR WALTER RALEIGH, KNIGHT, CAPTAIN of her Majesty's GUARD, Lord Warden of the STANNARIES, and her Highness' LIEUTENANT-GENERAL of the COUNTY of CORNWALL.

To the Right Honourable my singular good Lord and kinsman CHARLES HOWARD, Knight of the Garter, Baron, and Councillor, and of the Admirals of ENGLAND the most renowned; and to the Right Honourable SIR ROBERT CECIL, KNIGHT, Councillor in her Highness' Privy Councils.

FOR your Honours' many honourable and friendly parts, I have hitherto only returned promises; and now, for answer of both your adventures, I have sent you a bundle of papers, which I have divided between your Lordship and Sir *Robert Cecil*, in these two respects chiefly; first, for that it is reason that wasteful factors, when they have consumed such stocks as they had in trust, do yield some colour for the same in their account; secondly, for that I am assured that whatsoever shall be done, or written, by me, shall need a double protection and defence. The trial that I had of both your loves, when I was left of all, but of malice

and revenge, makes me still presume that you will be pleased (knowing what little power I had to perform aught, and the great advantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge, which others shall but object out of malice. In my more happy times as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loves sought me out in the darkest shadow of adversity, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune soared not away from me in my many miseries; all which though I cannot requite, yet I shall ever acknowledge; and the great debt which I have no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confess to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they have yielded very grievous effects; and if aught might have been deserved in former times, to have counterpoised any part of offences, the fruit thereof, as it seemeth, was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stock only remained. I did therefore, even in the winter of my life, undertake these travails, fitter for bodies less blasted with misfortunes, for men of greater ability, and for minds of better encouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recover but the moderation of excess, and the least taste of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had known other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther means I might yet use but even to appease so powerful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one year more to hold fast my soul in my teeth till it were performed. Of that little remain I had, I have wasted in effect all herein. I have undergone many constructions; I have been accompanied with many sorrows, with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, and peril; it appeareth, notwithstanding, that I made no other bravado of going to the sea, than was meant, and that I was never

hidden in *Cornwall*, or elsewhere, as was supposed. They have grossly belied me that forejudged that I would rather become a servant to the Spanish king than return; and the rest were much mistaken, who would have persuaded that I was too easeful and sensual to undertake a journey of so great travail. But if what I have done receive the gracious construction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall think all too little, and that there were wanting to the rest many miseries. But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, do all by one grain of gall continue in eternal distaste, I do not then know whether I should bewail myself, either for my too much travail and expense, or condemn myself for doing less than that which can deserve nothing. From myself I have deserved no thanks, for I am returned a beggar, and withered; but that I might have bettered my poor estate, it shall appear from the following discourse, if I had not only respected her Majesty's future honour and riches.

It became not the former fortune, in which I once lived, to go journeys of picory¹; it had sorted ill with the offices of honour, which by her Majesty's grace I hold this day in *England*, to run from cape to cape and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes. Many years since I had knowledge, by relation, of that mighty, rich, and beautiful empire of *Guiana*, and of that great and golden city, which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*, and the naturals *Manoa*, which city was conquered, re-edified, and enlarged by a younger son of *Guayna-capac*, Emperor of *Peru*, at such time as *Francisco Pizarro* and others conquered the said empire from his two elder brethren, *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*, both then contending for the same, the

¹ Fr. *picorée* (marauding).

one being favoured by the *orejones* of *Cuzco*, the other by the people of *Caxamalca*. I sent my servant *Jacob Whiddon*, the year before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captain *Parker*, sometime my servant, and now attending on your Lordship, that such a place there was to the southward of the great bay of *Charuas*, or *Guanipa*: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off than they supposed, and many impediments to them unknown and unheard. After I had displanted *Don Antonio de Berreo*, who was upon the same enterprise, leaving my ships at *Trinidad*, at the port called *Curiapan*, I wandered 400 miles into the said country by land and river; the particulars I will leave to the following discourse.

The country hath more quantity of gold, by manifold, than the best parts of the *Indies*, or *Peru*. All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Majesty's vassals, and seem to desire nothing more than her Majesty's protection and the return of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory than the voyages of the *West Indies*; an easier way to invade the best parts thereof than by the common course. The king of *Spain* is not so impoverished by taking three or four port towns in *America* as we suppose; neither are the riches of *Peru* or *Nueva España* so left by the sea side as it can be easily washed away with a great flood, or spring tide, or left dry upon the sands on a low ebb. The port towns are few and poor in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are only rich when the fleets are to receive the treasure for *Spain*; and we might think the Spaniards very simple, having so many horses and slaves, if they could not upon two days' warning carry all the gold they have into the land, and far enough from the reach of our footmen, especially

the *Indies* being, as they are for the most part, so mountainous, full of woods, rivers, and marishes. In the port towns of the province of *Venezuela*, as *Cumana*, *Coro*, and *St. Iago* (whereof *Coro* and *St. Iago* were taken by Captain *Preston*, and *Cumana* and *St. Josepho* by us) we found not the value of one real of plate in either. But the cities of *Barquasimeta*, *Valencia*, *St. Sebastian*, *Cororo*, *St. Lucia*, *Laguna*, *Maracaiba*, and *Truxillo*, are not so easily invaded. Neither doth the burning of those on the coast impoverish the king of *Spain* any one ducat; and if we sack the *River of Hacha*, *St. Martha*, and *Carthagena*, which are the ports of *Nuevo Reyno* and *Popayan*, there are besides within the land, which are indeed rich and prosperous, the towns and cities of *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *St. Christophoro*, the great cities of *Pamplona*, *Santa Fé de Bogota*, *Tunxa*, and *Mozo*, where the emeralds are found, the towns and cities of *Marequita*, *Velez*, *la Villa de Leiva*, *Palma*, *Honda*, *Angostura*, the great city of *Timana*, *Tocaima*, *St. Aguila*, *Pasto*, [*St.*] *Jago*, the great city of *Popayan* itself, *Los Remedios*, and the rest. If we take the ports and villages within the bay of *Uraba* in the kingdom or rivers of *Darien* and *Caribana*, the cities and towns of *St. Juan de Rodas*, of *Cassaris*, of *Antiochia*, *Caramanta*, *Cali*, and *Anserma* have gold enough to pay the king's part, and are not easily invaded by way of the ocean. Or if *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* be taken, in the province of *Castilla del Oro*, and the villages upon the rivers of *Cenu* and *Chagre*; *Peru* hath, besides those, and besides the magnificent cities of *Quito* and *Lima*, so many islands, ports, cities, and mines as if I should name them with the rest it would seem incredible to the reader. Of all which, because I have written a particular treatise of the *West Indies*, I will omit the repetition at this time,

seeing that in the said treatise I have anatomized the rest of the sea towns as well of *Nicaragua*, *Yucatan*, *Nueva España*, and the islands, as those of the inland, and by what means they may be best invaded, as far as any mean judgment may comprehend.

But I hope it shall appear that there is a way found to answer every man's longing; a better *Indies* for her Majesty than the king of *Spain* hath any; which if it shall please her Highness to undertake, I shall most willingly end the rest of my days in following the same. If it be left to the spoil and sackage of common persons, if the love and service of so many nations be despised, so great riches and so mighty an empire refused; I hope her Majesty will yet take my humble desire and my labour therein in gracious part, which, if it had not been in respect of her Highness' future honour and riches, could have laid hands on and ransomed many of the kings and *caciqui* of the country, and have had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption. But I have chosen rather to bear the burden of poverty than reproach; and rather to endure a second travail, and the chances thereof, than to have defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, until I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royal heart either to follow or forslow¹ the same. I will therefore leave it to His ordinance that hath only power in all things; and do humbly pray that your honours will excuse such errors as, without the defence of art, overrun in every part the following discourse, in which I have neither studied phrase, form, nor fashion; that you will be pleased to esteem me as your own, though over dearly bought, and I shall ever remain ready to do you all honour and service.

¹ Neglect, decline (lose through sloth).

TO THE READER.

BECAUSE there have been divers opinions conceived of the gold ore brought from *Guiana*, and for that an alderman of *London* and an officer of her Majesty's mint hath given out that the same is of no price, I have thought good by the addition of these lines to give answer as well to the said malicious slander as to other objections. It is true that while we abode at the island of *Trinidad* I was informed by an Indian that not far from the port where we anchored there were found certain mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, and were thereunto persuaded the rather for that they had seen both English and Frenchmen gather and embark some quantities thereof. Upon this likelihood I sent forty men, and gave order that each one should bring a stone of that mine, to make trial of the goodness; which being performed, I assured them at their return that the same was *marcasite*, and of no riches or value. Notwithstanding, divers, trusting more to their own sense than to my opinion, kept of the said *marcasite*, and have tried thereof since my return, in divers places. In *Guiana* itself I never saw *marcasite*; but all the rocks, mountains, all stones in the plains, woods, and by the rivers' sides, are in effect thorough-shining, and appear marvellous rich; which, being tried to be no *marcasite*, are the true signs of rich minerals, but are no other than *El madre del oro*, as the Spaniards term them, which is the mother of gold, or, as it is said by others, the scum of gold. Of divers sorts of these many of my company brought also into *England*, every one taking the fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part, I did not countermand any man's desire or opinion, and I could have afforded them little if I should have denied them the pleasing of their own fancies

therein ; but I was resolved that gold must be found either in grains, separate from the stone, as it is in most of the rivers in *Guiana*, or else in a kind of hard stone, which we call the *white spar*, of which I saw divers hills, and in sundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor instruments fit for labour. Near unto one of the rivers I found of the said *white spar* or flint a very great ledge or bank, which I endeavoured to break by all the means I could, because there appeared on the outside some small grains of gold ; but finding no mean to work the same upon the upper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rock, I found a clift in the same, from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out some small quantity thereof ; of which kind of white stone, wherein gold is engendered, we saw divers hills and rocks in every part of *Guiana* wherein we travelled. Of this there have been made many trials ; and in *London* it was first assayed by Master *Westwood*, a refiner dwelling in *Wood Street*, and it held after the rate of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds a ton. Another sort was afterward tried by Master *Bulmar*, and Master *Dimock*, assay-master ; and it held after the rate of three and twenty thousand pounds a ton. There was some of it again tried by Master *Palmer*, Comptroller of the *Mint*, and Master *Dimock* in *Goldsmiths' Hall*, and it held after six and twenty thousand and nine hundred pounds a ton. There was also at the same time, and by the same persons, a trial made of the dust of the said mine ; which held eight pounds and six ounces weight of gold in the hundred. There was likewise at the same time a trial of an image of copper made in *Guiana*, which held a third part of gold, besides divers trials made in the country, and by others in *London*. But because there came ill with the good, and belike the said alder-

man was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandal all the rest, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath also been concluded by divers that if there had been any such ore in *Guiana*, and the same discovered, that I would have brought home a greater quantity thereof. First, I was not bound to satisfy any man of the quantity, but only such as adventured, if any store had been returned thereof; but it is very true that had all their mountains been of massy gold it was impossible for us to have made any longer stay to have wrought the same; and whosoever hath seen with what strength of stone the best gold ore is environed, he will not think it easy to be had out in heaps, and especially by us, who had neither men, instruments, nor time, as it is said before, to perform the same.

There were on this discovery no less than an hundred persons, who can all witness that when we passed any branch of the river to view the land within, and stayed from our boats but six hours, we were driven to wade to the eyes at our return; and if we attempted the same the day following, it was impossible either to ford it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftness, and also for that the borders were so pestered with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place either to land or to embark; for in June, July, August, and September it is impossible to navigate any of those rivers; for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods overflown, as if any boat but touch upon any tree or stake it is impossible to save any one person therein. And ere we departed the land it ran with such swiftness as we drave down, most commonly against the wind, little less than an hundred miles a day. Besides, our vessels were no other than wherries, one little barge, a small cock-boat,

and a bad *galiota* which we framed in haste for that purpose at *Trinidad*; and those little boats had nine or ten men apiece, with all their victuals and arms. It is further true that we were about four hundred miles from our ships, and had been a month from them, which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our return in fifteen days.

Others have devised that the same ore was had from *Barbary*, and that we carried it with us into *Guiana*. Surely the singularity of that device I do not well comprehend. For mine own part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages as to devise thereby to cozen myself, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subjected to perils, to diseases, to ill savours, to be parched and withered; and withal to sustain the care and labour of such an enterprise, except the same had more comfort than the fetching of *marcasite* in *Guiana*, or buying of gold ore in *Barbary*. But I hope the better sort will judge me by themselves, and that the way of deceit is not the way of honour or good opinion. I have herein consumed much time, and many crowns; and I had no other respect or desire than to serve her Majesty and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had been of like belief to these detractors we should little have feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatened. But if we now consider of the actions both of *Charles the Fifth*, who had the maidenhead of *Peru* and the abundant treasures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affairs of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath endangered, how many armies, garrisons, and navies he hath, and doth maintain, the great losses which he hath repaired, as in Eighty-eight above an hundred sail of great ships with

their artillery, and that no year is less infortunate, but that many vessels, treasures, and people are devoured, and yet notwithstanding he beginneth again like a storm to threaten shipwrack to us all; we shall find that these abilities rise not from the trades of sacks and *Seville* oranges, nor from aught else that either *Spain*, *Portugal*, or any of his other provinces produce; it is his Indian gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of *Europe*; it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and setteth bound loyalty at liberty in the greatest monarchies of *Europe*. If the Spanish king can keep us from foreign enterprises, and from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion, or by besieging us in *Britain*, *Ireland*, or elsewhere, he hath then brought the work of our peril in great forwardness.

Those princes that abound in treasure have great advantages over the rest, if they once constrain them to a defensive war, where they are driven once a year or oftener to cast lots for their own garments; and from all such shall all trades and intercourse be taken away, to the general loss and impoverishment of the kingdom and commonweal so reduced. Besides, when our men are constrained to fight, it hath not the like hope as when they are pressed and encouraged by the desire of spoil and riches. Farther, it is to be doubted how those that in time of victory seem to affect their neighbour nations will remain after the first view of misfortunes or ill success; to trust, also, to the doubtfulness of a battle is but a fearful and uncertain adventure, seeing therein fortune is as likely to prevail as virtue. It shall not be necessary to allege all that might be said, and therefore I will thus conclude; that whatsoever kingdom shall be enforced to defend itself may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for

a season may be preserved with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the ground and be dissolved. I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power and persuasion, to advance all those attempts that might either promise return of profit to ourselves, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentiful trades of the Spanish nation; who, in my weak judgement, by such a war were as easily endangered and brought from his powerfulness as any prince in *Europe*, if it be considered from how many kingdoms and nations his revenues are gathered, and those so weak in their own beings and so far severed from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in haste, and that the time which our enemies embrace cannot be had again to advantage, I will hope that these provinces, and that empire now by me discovered, shall suffice to enable her Majesty and the whole kingdom with no less quantities of treasure than the king of *Spain* hath in all the *Indies*, *East* and *West*, which he possesseth; which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards enforce the same, and if her Majesty will undertake it, I will be contented to lose her Highness' favour and good opinion for ever, and my life withal, if the same be not found rather to exceed than to equal whatsoever is in this discourse promised and declared. I will now refer the reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labours and endeavours of such as thereby seek the profit and honour of her Majesty, and the English nation, shall by men of quality and virtue receive such construction and good acceptance as themselves would like to be rewarded withal in the like.

THE DISCOVERY¹ OF GUIANA².

ON Thursday, the sixth of February, in the year 1595, we departed *England*, and the Sunday following had sight of the north cape of *Spain*, the wind for the most part continuing prosperous; we passed in sight of the *Burlings*, and the *Rock*, and so onwards for the *Canaries*, and fell with *Fuerteventura* the 17. of the same month, where we spent two or three days, and relieved our companies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the *Grand Canaria*, and so to *Teneriffe*, and stayed there for the *Lion's Whelp*, your Lordship's ship, and for Captain *Amyas Preston* and the rest. But when after seven or eight days we found them not, we departed and directed our course for *Trinidad*, with mine own ship, and a small barque of Captain *Cross's* only; for we had before lost sight of a small *galego* on the coast of *Spain*, which came with us from *Plymouth*. We arrived at *Trinidad* the 22. of March, casting anchor at Point *Curiapan*, which the Spaniards call *Punta de Gallo*, which is situate in eight degrees or thereabouts. We abode there four or five days, and in all that time we came not to the speech of any Indian or Spaniard. On the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed from the Point *Carao* towards *Curiapan*,

¹ Exploration. Cp. First Series, page 141, line 7.

² The name is derived from the Guayano Indians, on the Orinoco.

but for fear of the Spaniards none durst come to speak with us. I myself coasted it in my barge close aboard the shore and landed in every cove, the better to know the island, while the ships kept the channel. From *Curiapan* after a few days we turned up north-east to recover that place which the Spaniards call *Puerto de los Españoles*¹, and the inhabitants *Conquerabia*; and as before, revictualling my barge, I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speech with some of the inhabitants, and also to understand the rivers, watering-places, and ports of the island, which, as it is rudely done, my purpose is to send your Lordship after a few days. From *Curiapan* I came to a port and seat of Indians called *Parico*, where we found a fresh water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals *Piche*, and by the Spaniards *Tierra de Brea*. In the way between both were divers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt river that had store of oysters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oysters grow upon those boughs and sprays, and not on the ground; the like is commonly seen in other places of the *West Indies*, and elsewhere. This tree is described by *Andrew Thevet*, in his *France Antarctique*, and the form figured in the book as a plant very strange; and by *Pliny* in his twelfth book of his *Natural History*. But in this island, as also in *Guiana*, there are very many of them.

At this point, called *Tierra de Brea* or *Piche*, there is that abundance of stone pitch that all the ships of the world may be therewith laden from thence; and we made trial of it in trimming our ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sun as the pitch of *Norway*, and therefore for ships trading the

¹ Now Port of Spain.

south parts very profitable. From thence we went to the mountain foot called *Annaperima*, and so passing the river *Carone*, on which the Spanish city was seated, we met with our ships at *Puerto de los Españoles* or *Conquerabia*.

This island of *Trinidad* hath the form of a sheepphook, and is but narrow; the north part is very mountainous; the soil is very excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the *Indies* yield. It hath store of deer, wild porks, fruit, fish, and fowl; it hath also for bread sufficient maize, *cassavi*, and of those roots and fruits which are common everywhere in the *West Indies*. It hath divers beasts which the *Indies* have not; the Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the rivers; but they having a purpose to enter *Guiana*, the magazine of all rich metals, cared not to spend time in the search thereof any further. This island is called by the people thereof *Cairi*, and in it are divers nations. Those about *Parico* are called *Jajo*, those at *Punta de Carao* are of the *Arwacas*¹, and between *Carao* and *Curiapan* they are called *Salvajos*. Between *Carao* and *Punta de Galera* are the *Nepojos*, and those about the Spanish city term themselves *Carinepagotes*². Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and rivers, I leave to speak here, being impertinent to my purpose, and mean to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the island, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the ships at *Puerto de los Españoles*, we found at the landing-place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the descent; and they offering a sign of peace, I sent Captain *Whiddon* to speak with them, whom afterwards to my great grief I left buried in the

¹ Arawaks.

² Carib-people.

said island after my return from *Guiana*, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into terms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength than for aught else; and in the end, upon pledge, some of them came aboard. The same evening there staid also aboard us in a small *canoe* two Indians, the one of them being a *cacique* or lord of the people, called *Cantyman*, who had the year before been with Captain *Whiddon*, and was of his acquaintance. By this *Cantyman* we understood what strength the Spaniards had, how far it was to their city, and of *Don Antonio de Berreo*, the governor, who was said to be slain in his second attempt of *Guiana*, but was not.

While we remained at *Puerto de los Españoles* some Spaniards came aboard us to buy linen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our manner. By means whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of *Guiana* as I could, or as they knew; for those poor soldiers having been many years without wine, a few draughts made them merry, in which mood they vaunted of *Guiana* and the riches thereof, and all what they knew of the ways and passages; myself seeming to purpose nothing less than the entrance or discovery thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound only for the relief of those English which I had planted in *Virginia*, whereof the bruit was come among them; which I had performed in my return, if extremity of weather had not forced me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes. The one was to be revenged of *Berreo*, who the year before, 1594, had betrayed eight of Captain *Whiddon's* men, and took them while he departed from

them to seek the *Edward Bonaventure*, which arrived at *Trinidad* the day before from the *East Indies*: in whose absence *Berreó* sent a *canoa* aboard the pinnace only with Indians and dogs inviting the company to go with them into the woods to kill a deer. Who, like wise men, in the absence of their captain followed the *Indians*, but were no sooner one arquebus shot from the shore, but *Berreó's* soldiers lying in ambush had them all, notwithstanding that he had given his word to Captain *Whiddon* that they should take water and wood safely. The other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the Spaniards I daily learned more and more of *Guiana*, of the rivers and passages, and of the enterprise of *Berreó*, by what means or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While we thus spent the time I was assured by another *cacique* of the north side of the island, that *Berreó* had sent to *Margarita* and *Cumana* for soldiers, meaning to have given me a *cassado*¹ at parting, if it had been possible. For although he had given order through all the island that no Indian should come aboard to trade with me upon pain of hanging and quartering (having executed two of them for the same, which I afterwards found), yet every night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty: how he had divided the island and given to every soldier a part; that he made the ancient *caciques*, which were lords of the country, to be their slaves; that he kept them in chains, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true. For in the city, after I entered the same, there were five of the lords or little kings, which they call *caciques* in the *West Indies*, in one chain, almost dead of famine, and wasted with

¹ *Cachado* (*cachada*) = a blow.

torments. These are called in their own language *acarewana*, and now of late since English, French, and Spanish, are come among them, they call themselves *captains*, because they perceive that the chiefest of every ship is called by that name. Those five *captains* in the chain were called *Wannawanare*, *Carroaori*, *Maquarima*, *Tarroopanama*, and *Aterima*. So as both to be revenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter *Guiana* by small boats, to depart 400 or 500 miles from my ships, and to leave a garrison in my back interested in the same enterprise, who also daily expected supplies out of *Spain*, I should have savoured very much of the ass; and therefore taking a time of most advantage, I set upon the *Corps du garde* in the evening, and having put them to the sword, sent Captain *Calfield* onwards with sixty soldiers, and myself followed with forty more, and so took their new city, which they called *St. Joseph*, by break of day. They abode not any fight after a few shot, and all being dismissed, but only *Berreio* and his companion¹, I brought them with me aboard, and at the instance of the Indians I set their new city of *St. Joseph* on fire. The same day arrived Captain *George Gifford* with your lordship's ship, and Captain *Keymis*, whom I lost on the coast of *Spain*, with the *galego*, and in them divers gentlemen and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

We then hasted away towards our purposed discovery, and first I called all the captains of the island together that were enemies to the Spaniards; for there were some which *Berreio* had brought out of other countries, and planted there to eat out and waste those that were natural of the place. And by my Indian interpreter, which I carried out of *England*, I made them understand that I was the servant of a queen

¹ The Portuguese captain Alvaro Jorge (see p. 240).

who was the great *cacique* of the north, and a virgin, and had more *caciqui* under her than there were trees in that island; that she was an enemy to the *Castellani* in respect of their tyranny and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed; and having freed all the coast of the northern world from their servitude, had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the country of *Guiana* from their invasion and conquest. I shewed them her Majesty's picture, which they so admired and honoured, as it had been easy to have brought them idolatrous thereof. The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations, both in my passing to *Guiana* and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her Majesty is very famous and admirable; whom they now call EZRABETA CASSIPUNA AQUEREWANA, which is as much as 'Elizabeth, the Great Princess, or Greatest Commander.' This done, we left *Puerto de los Españoles*, and returned to *Curiapan*, and having *Berre*o my prisoner, I gathered from him as much of *Guiana* as he knew. This *Berre*o is a gentleman well descended, and had long served the Spanish king in *Milan*, *Naples*, the *Low Countries*, and elsewhere, very valiant and liberal, and a gentleman of great assuredness, and of a great heart. I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small means I had.

I sent Captain *Whiddon* the year before to get what knowledge he could of *Guiana*: and the end of my journey at this time was to discover and enter the same. But my intelligence was far from truth, for the country is situate about 600 English miles further from the sea than I was made believe it had been. Which afterwards understanding to be true by *Berre*o, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would

never have been brought to attempt the same. Of which 600 miles I passed 400, leaving my ships so far from me at anchor in the sea, which was more of desire to perform that discovery than of reason, especially having such poor and weak vessels to transport ourselves in. For in the bottom of an old *galego* which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship-boat of the *Lion's Whelp*, we carried 100 persons and their victuals for a month in the same, being all driven to lie in the rain and weather in the open air, in the burning sun, and upon the hard boards, and to dress our meat, and to carry all manner of furniture in them. Wherewith they were so pestered and unsavoury, that what with victuals being most fish, with the wet clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the sun, I will undertake there was never any prison in *England* that could be found more unsavoury and loathsome, especially to myself, who had for many years before been dieted and cared for in a sort far more differing.

If Captain *Preston* had not been persuaded that he should have come too late to *Trinidad* to have found us there (for the month was expired which I promised to tarry for him there ere he could recover the coast of *Spain*) but that it had pleased God he might have joined with us, and that we had entered the country but some ten days sooner ere the rivers were overflowed, we had adventured either to have gone to the great city of *Manoa*, or at least taken so many of the other cities and towns nearer at hand, as would have made a royal return. But it pleased not God so much to favour me at this time. If it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein. And if any else shall be enabled thereunto, and conquer the same, I assure him thus much; he

shall perform more than ever was done in *Mexico* by *Cortes*, or in *Peru* by *Pizarro*, whereof the one conquered the empire of *Mutezuma*, the other of *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*. And whatsoever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be lord of more gold, and of a more beautiful empire, and of more cities and people, than either the king of *Spain* or the *Great Turk*.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this empire of *Guiana* is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known, that the emperor now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of *Peru*, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches, *Pedro de Cieza*, *Francisco Lopez*, and others have written large discourses. For when *Francisco Pizarro*, *Diego Almagro* and others conquered the said empire of *Peru*, and had put to death *Atabalipa*, son to *Guayna Capac*, which *Atabalipa* had formerly caused his eldest brother *Guascar* to be slain, one of the younger sons of *Guayna Capac* fled out of *Peru*, and took with him many thousands of those soldiers of the empire called *orejones*¹, and with those and many others which followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of *America* which is situate between the great river of *Amazons* and *Baraquan*, otherwise called *Orenoque* and *Marañon*².

The empire of *Guiana* is directly east from *Peru* towards the sea, and lieth under the equinoctial line; and it hath more abundance of gold than any part of *Peru*, and as many or moe³ great cities than ever *Peru* had when it flourished most. It is governed by the

¹ *Orejones* = 'having large ears,' the name given by the Spaniards to the Peruvian warriors, who wore ear-pendants.

² *Baraquan* is the alternative name to *Orenoque*, *Marañon* to *Amazons*.

³ More.

same laws, and the emperor and people observe the same religion, and the same form and policies in government as were used in *Peru*, not differing in any part. And I have been assured by such of the Spaniards as have seen *Manoa*, the imperial city of *Guiana*, which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*, that for the greatness, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, it far exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation. It is founded upon a lake of salt water of 200 leagues long, like unto *Mare Caspium*. And if we compare it to that of *Peru*, and but read the report of *Francisco Lopez* and others, it will seem more than credible; and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120. chapter of *Lopez* in his *General History of the Indies*, wherein he describeth the court and magnificence of *Guayna Capac*, ancestor to the emperor of *Guiana*, whose very words are these:—

‘Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y cocina era de oro y de plata, y cuando menos de plata y cobre, por mas recio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro, que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio y tamaño de cuantos animales, aves, arboles, y yerbas produce la tierra, y de cuantos peces cria la mar y agua de sus reynos. Tenia asimesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata; rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciesen leña rajada para quemar. En fin no habia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuviese de oro contrahecha; y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un verjel en una isla cerca de la Puna, donde se iban a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la hortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata; invencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto, tenia infinitisima cantidad de plata y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar; ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Españoles se lo tomaban, y enviaban a España.’ That is, ‘All the vessels of his house, table, and kitchen, were of gold and silver, and

the meanest of silver and copper for strength and hardness of metal. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bigness of all the beasts, birds, trees, and herbs, that the earth bringeth forth; and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdom breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chests, and troughs of gold and silver, heaps of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out¹ to burn. Finally, there was nothing in his country whereof he had not the counterfeit in gold. Yea, and they say, the *Ingas* had a garden of pleasure in an island near *Puna*, where they went to recreate themselves, when they would take the air of the sea, which had all kinds of garden-herbs, flowers, and trees of gold and silver; an invention and magnificence till then never seen. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantity of silver and gold unwrought in *Cuzco*, which was lost by the death of *Guascar*, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards took it, and sent it into *Spain*.

And in the 117. chapter; *Francisco Pizarro* caused the gold and silver of *Atabalipa* to be weighed after he had taken it, which *Lopez* setteth down in these words following:—‘Hallaron cincuenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y un millon y trecientos y veinte y seis mil y quinientos pesos de oro.’ Which is, ‘They found 52,000 marks of good silver, and 1,326,500 *pesos* of gold.’ Now, although these reports may seem strange, yet, if we consider the many millions which are daily brought out of *Peru* into *Spain*, we may easily believe the same. For we find that by the abundant treasure of that country the Spanish king vexes all the princes of *Europe*, and is become, in a few years, from a poor king of *Castile*, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase if other princes forslow the good occasions offered, and suffer him to add this empire to the rest, which by far

¹ Rather, ‘split into logs.’

exceedeth all the rest. If his gold now endanger us, he will then be irresistible. Such of the Spaniards as afterwards endeavoured the conquest thereof, whereof there have been many, as shall be declared hereafter, thought that this *Inga*, of whom this emperor now living is descended, took his way by the river of *Amazons*, by that branch which is called *Papamene*¹. For by that way followed *Orellana*, by the commandment of *Gonzalo Pizarro*, in the year 1542, whose name the river also beareth this day. Which is also by others called *Marañon*, although *Andrew Thevet* doth affirm that between *Marañon* and *Amazons* there are 120 leagues; but sure it is that those rivers have one head and beginning, and the *Marañon*, which *Thevet* describeth, is but a branch of *Amazons* or *Orellana*, of which I will speak more in another place. It was attempted by *Ordas*; but it is now little less than 70 years since that *Diego Ordas*, a Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, attempted the same; and it was in the year 1542 that *Orellana* discovered the river of *Amazons*; but the first that ever saw *Manoa* was *Juan Martinez*, master of the munition to *Ordas*. At a port called *Morequito*², in *Guiana*, there lieth at this day a great anchor of *Ordas* his ship. And this port is some 300 miles within the land, upon the great river of *Orenoque*. I rested at this port four days, twenty days after I left the ships at *Curiapan*.

The relation of this *Martinez*, who was the first that discovered *Manoa*, his success, and end, is to be seen in the Chancery of *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, whereof *Berreio* had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest encouragement as well to *Berreio* as to others that

¹ The *Papamene* is a tributary not of the Amazon river but of the *Meta*, one of the principal tributaries of the *Orinoco*.

² Probably San Miguel.

formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. *Orellana*, after he failed of the discovery of *Guiana* by the said river of *Amazons*, passed into *Spain*, and there obtained a patent of the king for the invasion and conquest, but died by sea about the islands; and his fleet being severed by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. *Diego Ordas* followed the enterprise, and departed *Spain* with 600 soldiers and thirty horse. Who, arriving on the coast of *Guiana*, was slain in a mutiny, with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious part, insomuch as his ships perished and few or none returned; neither was it certainly known what became of the said *Ordas* until *Berreio* found the anchor of his ship in the river of *Orenoque*; but it was supposed, and so it is written by *Lopez*, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diversely conceived and reported. And hereof it came that *Martinez* entered so far within the land, and arrived at that city of *Inga* the emperor; for it chanced that while *Ordas* with his army rested at the port of *Morequito* (who was either the first or second that attempted *Guiana*), by some negligence the whole store of powder provided for the service was set on fire, and *Martinez*, having the chief charge, was condemned by the General *Ordas* to be executed forthwith. *Martinez*, being much favoured by the soldiers, had all the means possible procured for his life; but it could not be obtained in other sort than this, that he should be set into a *canoa* alone, without any victual, only with his arms, and so turned loose into the great river. But it pleased God that the *canoa* was carried down the stream, and certain of the *Guianians* met it the same evening; and, having not at any time seen any Christian nor any man of that colour, they carried *Martinez* into the land to be wondered at, and so from town to town,

until he came to the great city of *Manoa*, the seat and residence of *Inga* the emperor. The emperor, after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian, for it was not long before that his brethren *Guascar* and *Atabalipa* were vanquished by the Spaniards in *Peru*: and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well entertained.

He lived seven months in *Manoa*, but was not suffered to wander into the country anywhere. He was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, until he came to the entrance of *Manoa* itself, and was fourteen or fifteen days in the passage. He avowed at his death that he entered the city at noon, and then they uncovered his face; and that he travelled all that day till night thorough the city, and the next day from sun rising to sun setting, yere¹ he came to the palace of *Inga*. After that *Martinez* had lived seven months in *Manoa*, and began to understand the language of the country, *Inga* asked him whether he desired to return into his own country, or would willingly abide with him.

But *Martinez*, not desirous to stay, obtained the favour of *Inga* to depart; with whom he sent divers *Guianians* to conduct him to the river of *Orenoque*, all loaden with as much gold as they could carry, which he gave to *Martinez* at his departure. But when he was arrived near the river's side, the borderers which are called *Orenoqueponi*² robbed him and his *Guianians* of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at wars, which *Inga* had not conquered) save only of two great bottles of gourds, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought, which those *Orenoqueponi* thought had been no other thing than his drink or meat, or grain for food, with which *Martinez* had liberty to pass.

And so in *canoas* he fell

¹ Ere.

² 'on the Orinoco.' *Poni* is a Carib postposition meaning 'on.'

down from the river of *Orenoque* to *Trinidad*, and from thence to *Margarita*, and so to *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*; where, remaining a long time for passage into *Spain*, he died. In the time of his extreme sickness, and when he was without hope of life, receiving the sacrament at the hands of his confessor, he delivered these things, with the relation of his travels, and also called for his *calabazas* or gourds of the gold beads, which he gave to the church and friars, to be prayed for.

This *Martinez* was he that christened the city of *Manoa* by the name of *El Dorado*, and, as *Berreio* informed me, upon this occasion, those *Guianians*, and also the borderers, and all other in that tract which I have seen, are marvellous great drunkards; in which vice I think no nation can compare with them; and at the times of their solemn feasts, when the emperor carouseth with his captains, tributaries, and governors, the manner is thus. All those that pledge him are first stripped naked and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white *balsamum* (by them called *curca*), of which there is great plenty, and yet very dear amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof we have had good experience. When they are anointed all over, certain servants of the emperor, having prepared gold made into fine powder, blow it thorough hollow canes upon their naked bodies, until they be all shining from the foot to the head; and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue in drunkenness sometimes six or seven days together¹. The same is also confirmed by a letter written into *Spain* which was intercepted, which Master *Robert Dudley* told me he had seen. Upon this sight, and for

¹ The substance of this report is in the end of the 'Navigation of the Great River of Marañon,' written by Gonzalo Fernando de Oviedo to Cardinal Bembo (Ramusio, vol. iii. fol. 416). (Note by Hakluyt.)

the abundance of gold which he saw in the city, the images of gold in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold which they use in the wars, he called it *El Dorado*.

After the death of *Ordas* and *Martinez*, and after *Orellana*, who was employed by *Gonzalo Pizarro*, one *Pedro de Orsúa*, a knight of *Navarre*, attempted *Guiana*, taking his way into *Peru*, and built his brigandines upon a river called *Oia*, which riseth to the southward of *Quito*, and is very great. This river falleth into *Amazons*, by which *Orsúa* with his companies descended, and came out of that province which is called *Motilonos*¹; and it seemeth to me that this empire is reserved for her Majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard success which all these and other Spaniards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speak briefly, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This *Pedro de Orsúa* had among his troops a Biscayan called *Aguirre*, a man meanly born, who bare no other office than a sergeant or *alferez*²: but after certain months, when the soldiers were grieved with travels and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of *Amazons*, this *Aguirre* raised a mutiny, of which he made himself the head, and so prevailed as he put *Orsúa* to the sword and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandment, with a purpose not only to make himself emperor of *Guiana*, but also of *Peru* and of all that side of the *West Indies*. He had of his party 700 soldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captains and companies, to deliver up towns and forts in *Peru*; but neither finding by the said river any passage into *Guiana*, nor any possibility to return

¹ ' Friars ' (Indians so named from their cropped heads).

² *Al-faris* (Arab.), horseman, mounted officer.

towards *Peru* by the same *Amazons*, by reason that the descent of the river made so great a current, he was enforced to disemboque at the mouth of the said *Amazons*, which cannot be less than 1,000 leagues from the place where they embarked. From thence he coasted the land till he arrived at *Margarita* to the north of *Mompatar*, which is at this day called *Puerto de Tyranno*, for that he there slew *Don Juan de Villa Andreda*, Governor of *Margarita*, who was father to *Don Juan Sarmiento*, Governor of *Margarita* when Sir *John Burgh* landed there and attempted the island. *Aguirre* put to the sword all other in the island that refused to be of his party, and took with him certain *cimarrones*¹ and other desperate companions. From thence he went to *Cumana* and there slew the governor, and dealt in all as at *Margarita*. He spoiled all the coast of *Caracas* and the province of *Venezuela* and of *Rio de la Hacha*; and, as I remember, it was the same year that Sir *John Hawkins* sailed to *St. Juan de Ullua* in the *Jesus of Lubeck*²; for himself told me that he met with such a one upon the coast, that rebelled, and had sailed down all the river of *Amazons*. *Aguirre* from thence landed about *Santa Marta* and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to invade *Nuevo Reyno de Granada* and to sack *Pamplona*, *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *Tunja*, and the rest of the cities of *Nuevo Reyno*, and from thence again to enter *Peru*; but in a fight in the said *Nuevo Reyno* he was overthrown, and, finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his own children, foretelling them that they should not live to be defamed or upbraided by the Spaniards after his death, who would have termed them the children of a traitor or tyrant; and that, sithence he could not make them princes, he would yet deliver

¹ Fugitive slaves.

² See First Series, p. 69.

them from shame and reproach. These were the ends and tragedies of *Ordas*, *Martinez*, *Orellana*, *Orsúa*, and *Aguirre*. Also soon after *Ordas* followed *Jeronimo Ortal de Saragosa*, with 130 soldiers; who failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of *Paria*, and peopled about *S. Miguel de Neveri*. It was then attempted by *Don Pedro de Silva*, a Portuguese of the family of *Ruy Gomes de Silva*, and by the favour which *Ruy Gomes* had with the king he was set out. But he also shot wide of the mark; for being departed from *Spain* with his fleet, he entered by *Marañon* or *Amazons*, where by the nations of the river, and by the *Amazons*, he was utterly overthrown, and himself and all his army defeated; only seven escaped, and of those but two returned.

After him came *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, and landed at *Cumana*, in the *West Indies*, taking his journey by land towards *Orenoque*, which may be some 120 leagues; but yere he came to the borders of the said river, he was set upon by a nation of the Indians, called *Wikiri*, and overthrown in such sort, that of 300 soldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and negroes, there returned but eighteen. Others affirm that he was defeated in the very entrance of *Guiana*, at the first civil town of the empire called *Macureguarai*. Captain *Preston*, in taking *Santiago de Leon* (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great town, and far within the land) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of *Hernandez de Serpa*, and saved among those that escaped; who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spaniards thereabouts of the great riches of *Guiana*, and *El Dorado*, the city of *Inga*. Another Spaniard was brought aboard me by Captain *Preston*, who told me in the hearing of himself and divers

other gentlemen, that he met with *Berreio's* camp-master at *Caracas*, when he came from the borders of *Guiana*, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of gold, curiously wrought, and swords of *Guiana* decked and inlaid with gold, feathers garnished with gold, and divers rarities, which he carried to the Spanish king.

After *Hernandez de Serpa*, it was undertaken by the *Adelantado*, *Don Gonzalez Ximenes de Quesada*, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of *Nuevo Reyno*, whose daughter and heir *Don Antonio de Berreo* married. *Gonzalez* sought the passage also by the river called *Papamene*, which riseth by *Quito*, in *Peru*, and runneth south-east 100 leagues, and then falleth into *Amazons*. But he also, failing the entrance, returned with the loss of much labour and cost. I took one Captain *George*, a Spaniard, that followed *Gonzalez* in this enterprise. *Gonzalez* gave his daughter to *Berreio*, taking his oath and honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life. Who since, as he hath sworn to me, hath spent 300,000 ducats in the same, and yet never could enter so far into the land as myself with that poor troop, or rather a handful of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boys, and of all sorts; neither could any of the forepassed undertakers, nor *Berreio* himself, discover the country, till now lately by conference with an ancient king, called *Carapana*¹, he got the true light thereof. For *Berreio* came about 1,500 miles yere he understood aught, or could find any passage or entrance into any part thereof; yet he had experience of all these fore-named, and divers others, and was persuaded of their errors and mistakings. *Berreio* sought it by the river *Cassanar*,

¹ *Carapana* (= *Caribana*, *Carib* land) was an old European name for the Atlantic coast near the mouth of the Orinoco, and hence was applied to one of its chiefs (see p. 207). *Berrio* called this district 'Emeria.'

which falleth into a great river called *Pato*: *Pato* falleth into *Meta*, and *Meta* into *Baraquan*, which is also called *Orenoque*. He took his journey from *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, where he dwelt, having the inheritance of *Gonzalez Ximenes* in those parts; he was followed with 700 horse, he drove with him 1,000 head of cattle, he had also many women, Indians, and slaves. How all these rivers cross and encounter, how the country lieth and is bordered, the passage of *Ximenes* and *Berreio*, mine own discovery, and the way that I entered, with all the rest of the nations and rivers, your lordship shall receive in a large chart or map, which I have not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secrete, and not to suffer it to pass your own hands; for by a draught thereof all may be prevented by other nations; for I know it is this very year sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I fear it not much. It was also told me yere I departed *England*, that *Villiers*, the Admiral, was in preparation for the planting of *Amazons*, to which river the French have made divers voyages, and returned¹ much gold and other rarities. I spake with a captain of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in *Falmouth* the same year that my ships came first from *Virginia*; there was another this year in *Helford*, that also came from thence, and had been fourteen months at an anchor in *Amazons*; which were both very rich.

Although, as I am persuaded, *Guiana* cannot be entered that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river of *Amazons*, and so it doth on every hand far from the country itself; for those Indians of *Trinidad* have plates of gold from *Guiana*, and those cannibals of *Dominica* which dwell in the islands by which our ships pass

¹ Brought back.

yearly to the *West Indies*, also the Indians of *Paria*, those Indians called *Tucaris*, *Chochi*, *Apotomios*, *Cumanagotos*, and all those other nations inhabiting near about the mountains that run from *Paria* thorough the province of *Venezuela*, and in *Maracapaná*, and the cannibals of *Guanipa*, the Indians called *Assawai*, *Coaca*, *Ajai*, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) have plates of gold of *Guiana*. And upon the river of *Amazons*, *Thevet* writeth that the people wear *croissants* of gold, for of that form the *Guianians* most commonly make them; so as from *Dominica* to *Amazons*, which is above 250 leagues, all the chief Indians in all parts wear of those plates of *Guiana*. Undoubtedly those that trade [with] *Amazons* return much gold, which (as is aforesaid) cometh by trade from *Guiana*, by some branch of a river that falleth from the country into *Amazons*, and either it is by the river which passeth by the nations called *Tisnados*, or by *Caripuna*.

I made enquiry amongst the most ancient and best travelled of the *Orenoqueponi*, and I had knowledge of all the rivers between *Orenoque* and *Amazons*, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is believed, of others not. And though I digress from my purpose, yet I will set down that which hath been delivered me for truth of those women, and I spake with a *cacique*, or lord of people, that told me he had been in the river, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the south side of the river in the provinces of *Topago*, and their chiefest strengths and retracts are in the islands situate on the south side of the entrance, some 60 leagues within the mouth of the said river. The memories of the like women are very ancient as well in *Africa* as in *Asia*. In *Africa* those that had *Medusa*

for queen ; others in *Scythia*, near the rivers of *Tanais* and *Thermodon*. We find, also, that *Lampedo* and *Marthesia* were queens of the *Amazons*. In many histories they are verified to have been, and in divers ages and provinces ; but they which are not far from *Guiana* do accompany with men but once in a year, and for the time of one month, which I gather by their relation, to be in April ; and that time all kings of the borders assemble, and queens of the *Amazons* ; and after the queens have chosen, the rest cast lots for their valentines. This one month they feast, dance, and drink of their wines in abundance ; and the moon being done they all depart to their own provinces. * * * * They are said to be very cruel and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These *Amazons* have likewise great store of these plates of gold, which they recover by exchange chiefly for a kind of green stones, which the Spaniards call *piedras hijadas*, and we use for spleen-stones¹ ; and for the disease of the stone we also esteem them. Of these I saw divers in *Guiana* ; and commonly every king or *cacique* hath one, which their wives for the most part wear, and they esteem them as great jewels.

But to return to the enterprise of *Berreio*, who, as I have said, departed from *Nuevo Reyno* with 700 horse, besides the provisions above rehearsed. He descended by the river called *Cassanar*, which riseth in *Nuevo Reyno* out of the mountains by the city of *Tunja*, from which mountain also springeth *Pato* ; both which fall into the great river of *Meta*, and *Meta* riseth from a mountain joining to *Pamplona*, in the same *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*. These, as also *Guaiare*, which issueth out of the mountains by *Timana*, fall

¹ Stones reduced to powder and taken internally to cure maladies of the spleen.

all into *Baraquan*, and are but of his heads; for at their coming together they lose their names, and *Baraquan* farther down is also rebaptized by the name of *Orenoque*. On the other side of the city and hills of *Timana* riseth *Rio Grande*, which falleth into the sea by *Santa Marta*. By *Cassanar* first, and so into *Meta*, *Berreó* passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the country served them for to march; and where otherwise, he was driven to embark them in boats which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the current down the river of *Meta*, and so into *Baraquan*. After he entered that great and mighty river, he began daily to lose of his companies both men and horse; for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and divers islands sharp pointed with rocks. But after one whole year, journeying for the most part by river, and the rest by land, he grew daily to fewer numbers; for both by sickness, and by encountering with the people of those regions thorough which he travelled, his companies were much wasted, especially by divers encounters with the *Amapaians*¹. And in all this time he never could learn of any passage into *Guiana*, nor any news or fame thereof, until he came to a further border of the said *Amapaia*, eight days' journey from the river *Caroli*², which was the furthest river that he entered. Among those of *Amapaia*, *Guiana* was famous; but few of these people accosted *Berreó*, or would trade with him the first three months of the six which he sojourned there. This *Amapaia* is also marvellous rich in gold, as both *Berreó* confessed and those of *Guiana* with

¹ *Amapaia* was Berrio's name for the Orinoco valley above the *Caura* river.

² The *Caroni* river, the first great affluent of the Orinoco on the south, about 180 miles from the sea.

whom I had most conference; and is situate upon *Orenoque* also. In this country *Berreio* lost sixty of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained in his former year's travel. But in the end, after divers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace, and they presented *Berreio* with ten images of fine gold among divers other plates and *croissants*, which, as he sware to me, and divers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seen the like either in *Italy*, *Spain*, or the *Low Countries*; and he was resolved that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his camp-master, they would appear very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no iron instruments at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths have to work withal. The particular name of the people in *Amapaia* which gave him these pieces, are called *Anebas*, and the river of *Orenoque* at that place is about twelve English miles broad, which may be from his outfall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

This province of *Amapaia* is a very low and a marish ground near the river; and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches thorough the fenny and boggy ground, there breed divers poisonous worms and serpents. And the Spaniards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievous kind of flux by drinking thereof, and even the very horses poisoned therewith; insomuch as at the end of the six months that they abode there, of all their troops there were not left above 120 soldiers, and neither horse nor cattle. For *Berreio* hoped to have found *Guiana* by 1,000 miles nearer than it fell out to be in the end; by means whereof they sustained much want, and much hunger, oppressed with grievous

diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in *Guiana* that had travelled *Amapaia*, how they lived with that tawny or red water when they travelled thither; and they told me that after the sun was near the middle of the sky, they used to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time or towards the setting of the sun it was dangerous to drink of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of divers other rivers of that nature among them, which were also, while the sun was in the meridian, very safe to drink, and in the morning, evening, and night, wonderful dangerous and infective. From this province *Berreio* hasted away as soon as the spring and beginning of summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of *Orenoque* on the south side; but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountains, as he was not able by any means to march over them, continuing from the east sea into which *Orenoque* falleth, even to *Quito* in *Peru*. Neither had he means to carry victual or munition over those craggy, high, and fast hills, being all woody, and those so thick and spiny, and so full of prickles, thorns, and briars, as it is impossible to creep thorough them. He had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to persuade or treat with them; and more, to his disadvantage, the *caciques* and kings of *Amapaia* had given knowledge of his purpose to the *Guianians*, and that he sought to sack and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of gold. He passed by the mouths of many great rivers which fell into *Orenoque* both from the north and south, which I forbear to name, for tediousness, and because they are more pleasing in describing than reading.

Berreio affirmed that there fell an hundred rivers into *Orenoque* from the north and south: whereof the least was

as big as *Rio Grande*¹, that passed between *Popayan* and *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, *Rio Grande* being esteemed one of the renowned rivers in all the *West Indies*, and numbered among the great rivers of the world. But he knew not the names of any of these, but *Caroli* only; neither from what nations they descended, neither to what provinces they led, for he had no means to discourse with the inhabitants at any time; neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine own travel, and the rest by conference; of some one I learned one, of others the rest, having with me an Indian that spake many languages, and that of *Guiana*² naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest travellers. And by the one and the other I came to understand the situations, the rivers, the kingdoms from the east sea to the borders of *Peru*, and from *Orenoque* southward as far as *Amazons* or *Marañon*, and the regions of *Marinatambal*³, and of all the kings of provinces, and captains of towns and villages, how they stood in terms of peace or war, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other; without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elsewhere. For by the dissension between *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*, *Pizarro* conquered *Peru*, and by the hatred that the *Tlaxcallians* bare to *Mutezuma*, *Cortes* was victorious over *Mexico*; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprise, and of the great honour and riches which they attained unto.

Now *Berreio* began to grow into despair, and looked for no other success than his predecessor in this enterprise; until such time as he arrived at the province of

¹ The Magdalena.

² The Carib.

³ North coasts of Brazil.

Emeria towards the east sea and mouth of the river, where he found a nation of people very favourable, and the country full of all manner of victual. The king of this land is called *Carapana*, a man very wise, subtle, and of great experience, being little less than an hundred years old. In his youth he was sent by his father into the island of *Trinidad*, by reason of civil war among themselves, and was bred at a village in that island, called *Parico*. At that place in his youth he had seen many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went divers times with the Indians of *Trinidad* to *Margarita* and *Cumaná*, in the *West Indies*, for both those places have ever been relieved with victual from *Trinidad*: by reason whereof he grew of more understanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and arms of his country with those of the Christians, and ever after temporised so as whosoever else did amiss, or was wasted by contention, *Carapana* kept himself and his country in quiet and plenty. He also held peace with the *Caribs* or cannibals, his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoever else had war.

Berreio sojourned and rested his weak troop in the town of *Carapana* six weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to *Guiana*, and the riches and magnificence thereof. But being then utterly unable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another year, when he had renewed his provisions, and regathered more force, which he hoped for as well out of *Spain* as from *Nuevo Reyno*, where he had left his son *Don Antonio Ximenes* to second him upon the first notice given of his entrance; and so for the present embarked himself in *canoas*, and by the branches of *Orenoque* arrived at *Trinidad*, having from *Carapana* sufficient pilots to conduct him. From *Trinidad* he coasted

Paria, and so recovered *Margarita*; and having made relation to *Don Juan Sarmiento*, the Governor, of his proceeding, and persuaded him of the riches of *Guiana*, he obtained from thence fifty soldiers, promising presently to return to *Carapana*, and so into *Guiana*. But *Berreio* meant nothing less at that time; for he wanted many provisions necessary for such an enterprise, and therefore departed from *Margarita*, seated himself in *Trinidad*, and from thence sent his camp-master and his sergeant-major back to the borders to discover the nearest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and love; without which, he knew he could neither pass safely, nor in any sort be relieved with victual or aught else. *Carapana* directed his company to a king called *Morequito*, assuring them that no man could deliver so much of *Guiana* as *Morequito* could, and that his dwelling was but five days' journey from *Macureguarai*, the first civil town of *Guiana*.

Now your lordship shall understand that this *Morequito*, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of *Guiana*, had two or three years before been at *Cumaná* and at *Margarita*, in the *West Indies*, with great store of plates of gold, which he carried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his own country, and was daily feasted, and presented by the governors of those places, and held amongst them some two months. In which time one *Vides*, Governor of *Cumaná*, won him to be his conductor into *Guiana*, being allured by those *croissants* and images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of *El Dorado*; whereupon *Vides* sent into *Spain* for a patent to discover and conquer *Guiana*, not knowing of the precedence of *Berreio's* patent; which, as *Berreio* affirmeth, was signed

before that of *Vides*. So as when *Vides* understood of *Berreio*, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and foregone his desire and hope, it was verily thought that *Vides* practised with *Morequito* to hinder and disturb *Berreio* in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter through his seignory, nor any of his companies; neither to victual, nor guide them in any sort. For *Vides*, Governor of *Cumaná*, and *Berreio*, were become mortal enemies, as well for that *Berreio* had gotten *Trinidad* into his patent with *Guiana*, as also in that he was by *Berreio* prevented in the journey of *Guiana* itself. Howsoever it was, I know not, but *Morequito* for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered ten Spaniards and a friar, which *Berreio* had sent to discover *Manoa*, to travel through his country, gave them a guide for *Macureguarai*, the first town of civil and appavelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to *Manoa*, the great city of *Inga*; and being furnished with those things which they had learned of *Carapana* were of most price in *Guiana*, went onward, and in eleven days arrived at *Manoa*, as *Berreio* affirmeth for certain; although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now governeth the province of *Morequito*, for he told me that they got all the gold they had in other towns on this side *Manoa*, there being many very great and rich, and (as he said) built like the towns of Christians, with many rooms.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of *Aromaia*¹, the people of *Morequito* set upon them, and slew them all but one that swam the river, and took from them to the value of 40,000 *pesos* of gold; and one of them only lived to bring the news to *Berreio*, that both his nine soldiers and holy father were benighted in the said province.

¹ The district below the Caroni river.

I myself spake with the captains of *Morequito* that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. *Berreio*, enraged herewithal, sent all the strength he could make into *Aromaia*, to be revenged of him, his people, and country. But *Morequito*, suspecting the same, fled over *Orenoque*, and thorough the territories of the *Saima* and *Wikiri* recovered *Cumaná*, where he thought himself very safe, with *Vides* the governor. But *Berreio* sending for him in the king's name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one *Fajardo*, on the sudden, yere he was suspected, so as he could not then be conveyed away, *Vides* durst not deny him, as well to avoid the suspicion of the practice, as also for that an holy father was slain by him and his people. *Morequito* offered *Fajardo* the weight of three quintals in gold, to let him escape; but the poor *Guianian*, betrayed on all sides, was delivered to the camp-master of *Berreio*, and was presently executed.

After the death of this *Morequito*, the soldiers of *Berreio* spoiled his territory and took divers prisoners. Among others they took the uncle of *Morequito*, called *Topiawari*, who is now king of *Aromaia*, whose son I brought with me into *England*, and is a man of great understanding and policy; he is above an hundred years old, and yet is of a very able body. The Spaniards led him in a chain seventeen days, and made him their guide from place to place between his country and *Emeria*, the province of *Carapana* afore-said, and he was at last redeemed for an hundred plates of gold, and divers stones called *piedras hijadas*, or spleen-stones. Now *Berreio* for executing of *Morequito*, and other cruelties, spoils, and slaughters done in *Aromaia*, hath lost the love of the *Orenoqueponi*, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his soldiers any further into the land than to *Carapana*,

which he called the port of *Guiana*; but from thence by the help of *Carapana* he had trade further into the country, and always appointed ten Spaniards to reside in *Carapana's* town¹, by whose favour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the country thereabouts, as well for mines as for other trades and commodities.

They also have gotten a nephew of *Morequito*, whom they have christened and named *Don Juan*, of whom they have great hope, endeavouring by all means to establish him in the said province. Among many other trades, those Spaniards used *canoas* to pass to the rivers of *Barema*, *Pawroma*, and *Dissequebe*², which are on the south side of the mouth of *Orenoque*, and there buy women and children from the cannibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or four hatchets sell the sons and daughters of their own brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more even their own daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit; for buying a maid of twelve or thirteen years for three or four hatchets, they sell them again at *Margarita* in the *West Indies* for fifty and an hundred *pesos*, which is so many crowns.

The master of my ship, *John Douglas*, took one of the *canoas* which came laden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped; yet of those he brought, there was one as well favoured and as well shaped as ever I saw any in *England*; and afterwards I saw many of them, which but for their tawny colour may be compared to any in *Europe*. They also trade in those rivers for bread of *cassavi*, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at

¹ The Spanish settlement of Santo Tomé de la Guyana, founded by Berrio in 1591 or 1592, but represented by Raleigh as an Indian pueblo.

² Essequibo.

Margarita for ten *pesos*. They also recover great store of cotton, *Brazil* wood, and those beds which they call *hamacas* or *Brazil* beds, wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards use to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we ourselves while we were there. By means of which trades, for ransom of divers of the *Guianians*, and for exchange of hatchets and knives, *Berreio* recovered some store of gold plates, eagles of gold, and images of men and divers birds, and dispatched his camp-master for *Spain*, with all that he had gathered, therewith to levy soldiers, and by the show thereof to draw others to the love of the enterprise. And having sent divers images as well of men as beasts, birds, and fishes, so curiously wrought in gold, he doubted not but to persuade the king to yield to him some further help, especially for that this land hath never been sacked, the mines never wrought, and in the *Indies* their works were well spent, and the gold drawn out with great labour and charge. He also despatched messengers to his son in *Nuevo Reyno* to levy all the forces he could, and to come down the river *Orenoque* to *Emeria*, the province of *Carapana*, to meet him; he had also sent to *Santiago de Leon* on the coast of the *Caracas*, to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see *Guiana*, and that it was the end of my journey, and the cause of my coming to *Trinidad*, as it was indeed, and for that purpose I sent *Jacob Whiddon* the year before to get intelligence: with whom *Berreio* himself had speech at that time, and remembered how inquisitive *Jacob Whiddon* was of his proceedings, and of the country of *Guiana*. *Berreio* was stricken into a great melancholy and sadness, and used all the arguments he could to dissuade me; and also assured the gentlemen of my

company that it would be labour lost, and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first he delivered that I could not enter any of the rivers with any bark or pinnace, or hardly with any ship's boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were daily grounded in their canoes, which drew but twelve inches water. He further said that none of the country would come to speak with us, but would all fly; and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burn their own towns. And besides that, the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current; and that we could not in those small boats by any means carry victual for half the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of *Guiana* had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true; but yet I resolving to make trial of whatsoever happened, directed Captain *George Gifford*, my Vice-Admiral, to take the *Lion's Whelp*, and Captain *Caulfield* his bark, [and] to turn to the eastward, against the mouth of a river called *Capuri*, whose entrance I had before sent Captain *Whiddon* and *John Douglas* the master to discover. Who found some nine foot water or better upon the flood, and five at low water; to whom I had given instructions that they should anchor at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over, which shoal *John Douglas* buoyed and beckoned¹ for them before. But they laboured in vain; for neither

¹ Beaconed, i. e. placed a beacon or signal upon the buoy.

could they turn it up altogether so far to the east, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell yere they could have passed the sands. As we after found by a second experience: so as now we must either give over our enterprise, or leaving our ships at adventure 400 mile behind us, must run up in our ship's boats, one barge, and two wherries. But being doubtful how to carry victuals for so long a time in such baubles, or any strength of men, especially for that *Berre* assured us that his son must be by that time come down with many soldiers, I sent away one *King*, master of the *Lion's Whelp*, with his ship-boat, to try another branch of the river in the bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, which was called *Amana*, to prove if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of *Amana*, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thoroughly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the cannibals of *Guanipa* would assail them with many *canoas*, and that they shot poisoned arrows; so as if he hasted not back, they should all be lost.

In the meantime, fearing the worst, I caused all the carpenters we had to cut down a *galego* boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five foot: for so much we had on the bar of *Capuri* at low water. And doubting of *King's* return, I sent *John Douglas* again in my long barge, as well to relieve him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottom of the bay; for it hath been held for infallible, that whatsoever ship or boat shall fall therein can never disemboque again, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the said bay, as also for that the breeze and easterly wind bloweth directly into the same. Of which opinion I have heard

*John Hampton*¹, of *Plymouth*, one of the greatest experience of *England*, and divers other besides that have traded to *Trinidad*.

I sent with *John Douglas* an old *cacique* of *Trinidad* for a pilot, who told us that we could not return again by the bay or gulf, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the eastward, and he thought by it we might fall into *Capuri*, and so return in four days. *John Douglas* searched those rivers, and found four goodly entrances, whereof the least was as big as the *Thames* at *Woolwich*, but in the bay thitherward it was shoal and but six foot water; so as we were now without hope of any ship or bark to pass over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottom of the *galego*, in which we thrust 60 men. In the *Lion's Whelp's* boat and wherry we carried twenty, Captain *Caulfield* in his wherry carried ten more, and in my barge other ten, which made up a hundred; we had no other means but to carry victual for a month in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dress our meat. Captain *Gifford* had with him Master *Edward Porter*, Captain *Eynos*, and eight more in his wherry, with all their victual, weapons, and provisions. Captain *Caulfield* had with him my cousin *Butshead Gorges*, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers myself had Captain *Thyn*, my cousin *John Greenvile*, my nephew *John Gilbert*, Captain *Whiddon*, Captain *Keymis*, *Edward Hancock*, Captain *Clarke*, Lieutenant *Hughes*, *Thomas Upton*, Captain *Facy*, *Jerome Ferrar*, *Anthony Wells*, *William Connock*, and above fifty more. We could not learn of *Berreio* any other way to enter but in branches so far to windward as it was impossible for us to recover; for we had as much sea to cross over in our wherries, as between

¹ Captain of the *Minion* in the third voyage of Hawkins.

Dover and *Calice*, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong. So as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into the bottom of the Bay of *Guanipa*, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers which *John Douglas* had last discovered; and had with us for pilot an Indian of *Barema*, a river to the south of *Orenoque*, between that and *Amazons*, whose *canoas* we had formerly taken as he was going from the said *Barema*, laden with *cassavi* bread to sell at *Margarita*. This *Arwacan* promised to bring me into the great river of *Orenoque*; but indeed of that which he entered he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seen it in twelve years before, at which time he was very young, and of no judgment. And if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers, yere we had found any way, either out or in, especially after we were past ebbing and flowing, which was in four days. For I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so fair and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if we went by the sun or compass, hoping thereby to go directly one way or other, yet that way we were also carried in a circle amongst multitudes of islands, and every island so bordered with high trees as no man could see any further than the breadth of the river, or length of the breach. But this it chanced, that entering into a river (which because it had no name, we called the *River of the Red Cross*, ourselves being the first Christians that ever came therein), the 22. of May, as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small *canoe* with three Indians, which by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars, I overtook yere they could cross the river. The

rest of the people on the banks, shadowed under the thick wood, gazed on with a doubtful conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their *canoe* with any of ours, nor took out of the *canoe* any of theirs, they then began to show themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffic with us for such things as they had. And as we drew near, they all stayed ; and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek which came from their town into the great river.

As we abode here awhile, our Indian pilot, called *Ferdinando*, would needs go ashore to their village to fetch some fruits and to drink of their artificial wines, and also to see the place and know the lord of it against another time, and took with him a brother of his which he had with him in the journey. When they came to the village of these people the lord of the island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slain them both ; yielding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory to spoil and destroy them. But the pilot being quick and of a disposed body, slipt their fingers and ran into the woods, and his brother, being the better footman of the two, recovered the creek's mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain. With that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot again we would presently cut off his head. This old man, being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save *Ferdinando*, our pilot ; but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with their deer-dogs, and with so main a cry that all the woods echoed with the shout they

made. But at the last this poor chased Indian recovered the river side and got upon a tree, and, as we were coasting, leaped down and swam to the barge half dead with fear. But our good hap was that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted to redeem our pilot withal; for, being natural of those rivers, we assured ourselves that he knew the way better than any stranger could. And, indeed, but for this chance, I think we had never found the way either to *Guiana* or back to our ships; for *Ferdinando* after a few days knew nothing at all, nor which way to turn; yea, and many times the old man himself was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands are generally called *Tivitivas*. There are of them two sorts; the one called *Ciawani*, and the other *Waraweete*.

The great river of *Orenoque* or *Baraquan* hath nine branches which fall out on the north side of his own main mouth. On the south side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disemboqueth by sixteen arms in all, between islands and broken ground; but the islands are very great, many of them as big as the *Isle of Wight*, and bigger, and many less. From the first branch on the north to the last of the south it is at least 100 leagues, so as the river's mouth is 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of *Amazons*. All those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the several north branches are these *Tivitivas*, of which there are two chief lords which have continual wars one with the other. The islands which lie on the right hand are called *Pallamos*, and the land on the left, *Hororotomaka*; and the river by which *John Douglas* returned within the land from *Amana* to *Capuri* they call *Macuri*.

These *Tivitivas* are a very goodly people and very

valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground, as in other places; in the winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the *West Indies* that those people do in the low lands near the gulf of *Uraba*. For between May and September the river of *Orenoque* riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty foot high above the level of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them; and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of anything that is set or sown; and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of aught but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of *palmitos* for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks for the rest of their sustenance. They have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowls; and if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and forms not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I have either seen or read.

Of these people those that dwell upon the branches of *Orenoque*, called *Capuri* and *Macureo*, are for the most part carpenters of *canoas*; for they make the most and fairest *canoas*, and sell them into *Guiana* for gold and into *Trinidad* for *tabacco*, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations. And notwithstanding the moistness of the air in which they live, the hardness of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish, and fowl for their living, in all my life, either in the *Indies* or in *Europe*, did I never behold a more goodly or better-favoured people or a more manly. They were

wont to make war upon all nations, and especially on the *Cannibals*, so as none durst without a good strength trade by those rivers; but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die they use great lamentation; and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrified and fallen from their bones, then they take up the carcase again and hang it in the *cacique's* house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called *Arwacas*, which dwell on the south of *Orenoque*, of which place and nation our Indian pilot was, are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these *Ciawani* we passed up the river with the flood and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river, our galley came on ground; and stuck so fast as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left four-score and ten of our men to have inhabited, like rooks upon trees, with those nations. But the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro we got her afloat and went on. At four days' end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the great *Amana*, which ran more directly without windings and turnings than the other. But soon after the flood of the sea left us; and, being enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current, or to return as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days' work, and

therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the hour's end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of rivers, some falling from the west, others from the east, into *Amana*; but those I leave to the description in the chart of discovery, where every one shall be named with his rising and descent. When three days more were overgone, our companies began to despair, the weather being extreme hot, the river bordered with very high trees that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other. But we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long as we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach. But so long we laboured that many days were spent, and we driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drink at all; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line; for we were now in five degrees.

The further we went on, our victual decreasing and the air breeding great faintness, we grew weaker and weaker, when we had most need of strength and ability. For hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ship's boat of Captain *Gifford* and Captain *Caulfield* had spent all their provisions; so as we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the land where we should be relieved of all we wanted, and if we returned, that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits

good to eat, flowers and trees of such variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of *Herbals*; we relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish. We saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orange-tawny, purple, watchet¹, and of all other sorts, both simple and mixed, and it was unto us a great good-passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling-pieces; without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the *Ciawani*, whom, as I said before, we took to redeem *Ferdinando*, told us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the *Arwacas*, where we should find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine; and persuaded us, that departing from the galley at noon we might return yere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barge, with eight musketeers, Captain *Gifford's* wherry, with himself and four musketeers, and Captain *Caulfield* with his wherry, and as many; and so we entered the mouth of this river; and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all. When we had rowed three hours, we marvelled we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was; he told us, a little further. After three hours more, the sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us; for he confessed that those Spaniards which fled from *Trinidad*, and also those that remained with *Carapana* in *Emeria*, were joined together in some village upon

¹ Pale blue.

that river. But when it grew towards night, and we demanded where the place was, he told us but four reaches more. When we had rowed four and four, we saw no sign; and our poor watermen, even heart-broken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost; for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot; and if we had well known the way back again by night, he had surely gone. But our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety; for it was as dark as pitch, and the river began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage thorough those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town, hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight o'clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace; but whether it was best to return or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more; but the poor old Indian ever assured us that it was but a little further, but this one turning and that turning; and at the last about one o'clock after midnight we saw a light, and rowing towards it we heard the dogs of the village. When we landed we found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with divers *canoas* above 400 miles off, upon a journey towards the head of *Orenoque*, to trade for gold, and to buy women of the *Cannibals*, who afterwards unfortunately passed by us as we rode at an anchor in the port of *Morequito* in the dark of the night, and yet came so near us as his *canoas* grated against our barges; he left one of his company at the port of *Morequito*, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his

house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night; and in the morning, after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld; and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles in length, the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose; and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the water's side as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts; we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness; but for *lagartos*¹ it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents; and the people call it, for the abundance of them, the *River of Lagartos*, in their language. I had a negro, a very proper young fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those *lagartos*. In the meanwhile our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost, for we promised to return before night; and sent the *Lion's Whelp's* ship's boat with Captain *Whiddon* to follow us up the river. But the next day, after we had rowed up and down some fourscore miles, we returned, and went on our way up the great river; and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, Captain *Gifford* being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four *canoas* coming down the river; and with

¹ Alligators and caymans.

no small joy caused his men to try the uttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the four gave over and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods. The two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay hold on these; and so turned into some by-creek, we knew not whither. Those *canoas* that were taken were loaden with bread, and were bound for *Margarita* in the *West Indies*, which those Indians, called *Arwacas*, proposed to carry thither for exchange; but in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their Governor in *Trinidad*, and that we purposed to enter *Guiana*, came away in those *canoas*; one of them was a *cavallero*, as the captain of the *Arwacas* after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meantime, nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us, next unto gold, than the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these *canoas*; for now our men cried, *Let us go on, we care not how far*. After that Captain *Gifford* had brought the two *canoas* to the galley, I took my barge and went to the bank's side with a dozen shot, where the *canoas* first ran themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out Captain *Gifford* and Captain *Thyn* on one hand, and Captain *Caulfield* on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods. And as I was creeping thorough the bushes, I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiner's basket; for I found in it his quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers things for the trial of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined; but in those *canoas* which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered five hundred pound to what soldier soever could take one of those three Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vain in that behalf,

for they put themselves into one of the small *canoas*, and so, while the greater *canoas* were in taking, they escaped. But seeking after the Spaniards we found the *Arwacas* hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their *canoas*. Of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and carried him with me to *Guiana*; by whom I understood where and in what countries the Spaniards had laboured for gold, though I made not the same known to all. For when the springs began to break, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly as by no means we could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stones, which we call the *white spar*, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a work, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, lest if the same had been perceived by the company, there would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots. So as both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost, by those that only respect present profit; and such violence or insolence offered as the nations which are borderers would have changed the desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity, which I hear hath been often objected, whosoever had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to arise, and had been a month and odd days, as we were, from hearing aught from our ships, leaving them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold, or rich stones. And to say the truth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into *Orenoque* were raised with such speed, as if we waded them over the

shoes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day; and to stay to dig our gold with our nails, had been *opus laboris* but not *ingenii*. Such a quantity as would have served our turns we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines to our infinite disadvantage we had made, and that could have been the best profit of farther search or stay; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste, and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.

This *Arwacan* pilot, with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death: for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards *Guiana*, or in *Guiana* itself, might come to speech with us, persuaded all the nations that we were men-eaters and cannibals. But when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other which was rare and strange to them, they began to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed, as they confessed, took from them both their wives and daughters daily. . . . But I protest before the Majesty of the living God, that I neither know nor believe, that any of our company, one or other, did offer insult to any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very young and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceit, stark naked. Nothing got us more love amongst them than this usage; for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a *pina*¹ or a *potato* root without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters; which course, so con-

¹ Pine-apple (see p. 236).

trary to the Spaniards, who tyrannize over them in all things, drew them to admire her Majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. But I confess it was a very impatient work to keep the meaner sort from spoil and stealing when we came to their houses; which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when we departed, to know of the loss or wrong done, and if aught were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at *Trinidad*, for they were before resolved that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence; and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her Majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of roots, which were excellent meat, I gave one of the *canoas* to the *Arwacas*, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped; and when I had dismissed all but the captain, who by the Spaniards was christened *Martin*, I sent back in the same *canoa* the old *Ciawani*, and *Ferdinando*, my first pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victual to carry them back, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it; and then I went on, with my new hired pilot, *Martin* the *Arwacan*. But the next or second day after, we came aground again with our galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victual and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night, and were far more in despair at this time to free her than before, because we had no tide of flood

to help us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps. But we fastened an anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off; and so the fifteenth day we discovered afar off the mountains of *Guiana*, to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slent¹ of a northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river *Orenoque*; out of which this river descended wherein we were. We descried afar off three other *canoas* as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entered up the great river, on the right hand to the westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that we meant to take the way eastward towards the province of *Carapana*; for that way the Spaniards keep, not daring to go upwards to *Guiana*, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the *canoas* thought us to have been those Spaniards that were fled from *Trinidad*, and escaped killing. And when we came so far down as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being near them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and yere they could land came within call, and by our interpreter told them what we were, wherewith they came back willingly aboard us; and of such fish and *tortugas*'² eggs as they had gathered they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could. That night we came to an anchor at the parting of the three goodly rivers (the one was the river of *Amana*, by which we came from the north, and ran athwart towards the south, the other two were of *Orenoque*, which crossed from the west and ran to the sea towards the east) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found

¹ Push² Turtles.

thousands of *tortugas'* eggs, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring; so as our men were now well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and nearness of the land of *Guiana*, which appeared in sight.

In the morning there came down, according to promise, the lord of that border, called *Toparimaca*, with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom we also feasted as we could; at least we drank good Spanish wine, whereof we had a small quantity in bottles, which above all things they love. I conferred with this *Toparimaca* of the next¹ way to *Guiana*, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and a-half to his town; where some of our captains garoused² of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs and fruits digested and purged. They keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons, very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world. When we came to his town we found two *caciques*, whereof one was a stranger that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people, and wife encamped at the port where we anchored; and the other was of that country, a follower of *Toparimaca*. They lay each of them in a cotton *hamaca*, which we call *Brazil* beds, and two women attending them with six cups, and a little ladle to fill them out of an earthen pitcher of wine; and so they drank each of them three of those cups at a time one to the other, and in this sort they drink drunk at their feasts and meetings.

That *cacique* that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where we anchored, and in all my life I have

¹ Nearest.

² Caroused.

seldom seen a better favoured woman. She was of good stature, with black eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her hair almost as long as herself, tied up again in pretty knots; and it seemed she stood not in that awe of her husband as the rest, for she spake and discoursed, and drank among the gentlemen and captains, and was very pleasant, knowing her own comeliness, and taking great pride therein. I have seen a lady in *England* so like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would have sworn might have been the same.

The seat of this town of *Toparimaca* was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called *Arowocai*; the people are of the nation called *Nepoios*, and are followers of *Carapana*. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The lord of this place gave me an old man for pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew the river most perfectly both by day and night. And it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to have such a pilot; for it is four, five, and six miles over in many places, and twenty miles in other places, with wonderful eddies and strong currents, many great islands, and divers shoals, and many dangerous rocks; and besides upon any increase of wind so great a billow, as we were sometimes in great peril of drowning in the galley, for the small boats durst not come from the shore but when it was very fair.

The next day we hasted thence, and having an easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for after we entered *Orenoque*, the river lieth

for the most part east and west, even from the sea unto *Quito*, in *Peru*. This river is navigable with barks little less than 1000 miles; and from the place where we entered it may be sailed up in small pinnaces to many of the best parts of *Nuevo Reyno de Granada* and of *Popayan*. And from no place may the cities of these parts of the *Indies* be so easily taken and invaded as from hence¹. All that day we sailed up a branch of that river, having on the left hand a great island, which they call *Assapana*, which may contain some five-and-twenty miles in length, and six miles in breadth, the great body of the river running on the other side of this island. Beyond that middle branch there is also another island in the river, called *Iwana*, which is twice as big as the Isle of *Wight*; and beyond it, and between it and the main of *Guiana*, runneth a third branch of *Orenoque*, called *Arraroopana*. All three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles broad, reckoning the islands which divide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After we reached to the head of the island called *Assapana*, a little to the westward on the right hand there opened a river which came from the north, called *Europa*, and fell into the great river; and beyond it on the same side we anchored for that night by another island, six miles long and two miles broad, which they call *Ocaywita*. From hence, in the morning, we landed two *Guianians*, which we found in the town of *Toparimaca*, that came with us; who went to give notice of our coming to the lord of that country, called *Putyma*, a follower of *Topiawari*, chief lord of *Aromaia*, who succeeded *Morequito*, whom (as you have heard before)

¹ Raleigh regarded the occupation of 'Guiana' as a step towards the conquest of New Granada and Peru (see p. 247).

Berre put to death. But his town being far within the land, he came not unto us that day; so as we anchored again that night near the banks of another land, of bigness much like the other, which they call *Putapayma*, over against which island, on the main land, was a very high mountain called *Oecope*. We coveted to anchor rather by these islands in the river than by the main, because of the *tortugas'* eggs, which our people found on them in great abundance; and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the main banks being for the most part stony and high and the rocks of a blue, metalline colour, like unto the best steel ore, which I assuredly take it to be. Of the same blue stone are also divers great mountains which border this river in many places.

The next morning, towards nine of the clock, we weighed anchor; and the breeze increasing, we sailed always west up the river, and, after a while, opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champaign and the banks shewed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captain *Gifford*, and with him Captain *Thyn*, Captain *Caulfield*, my cousin *Greenvile*, my nephew *John Gilbert*, Captain *Eynos*, Master *Edward Porter*, and my cousin *Butthead Gorges*, with some few soldiers, to march over the banks of that red land and to discover what manner of country it was on the other side; who at their return found it all a plain level as far as they went or could discern from the highest tree they could get upon. And my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the *cacique Toparimaca*, told me that those were called the plains of the *Sayma*, and that the same level reached to *Cumaná* and *Caracas*, in the *West Indies*, which are a hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations. The first were the *Sayma*, the

next *Assawai*, the third and greatest the *Wikiri*, by whom *Pedro Hernandez de Serpa*, before mentioned, was overthrown as he passed with 300 horse from *Cumaná* towards *Orenoque* in his enterprise of *Guiana*. The fourth are called *Aroras*, and are as black as negroes, but have smooth hair; and these are very valiant, or rather desperate, people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dangerous, of all nations, of which I will speak somewhat, being a digression not unnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious than to find out the true remedies of these poisoned arrows. For besides the mortality of the wound they make, the party shot endureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death, sometimes dying stark mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies; which are presently discoloured as black as pitch, and so unsavory as no man can endure to cure or to attend them. And it is more strange to know that in all this time there was never Spaniard, either by gift or torment, that could attain to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them. But everyone of these Indians know it not, no, not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priests, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the father to the son.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called *tupara*; the same also quencheth marvellously the heat of burning fevers, and healeth inward wounds and broken veins that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the *Guianians* than any other; for *Antonio de Berreo* told me that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the

best way of healing as well thereof as of all other poisons. Some of the Spaniards have been cured in ordinary wounds of the common poisoned arrows with the juice of garlic. But this is a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the *Indies* where poisoned arrows are used, that they must abstain from drink. For if they take any liquor into their body, as they shall be marvellously provoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drink before the wound be dressed, or soon upon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will return again to our journey, which for this third day we finished, and cast anchor again near the continent on the left hand between two mountains, the one called *Aroami* and the other *Aio*. I made no stay here but till midnight; for I feared hourly lest any rain should fall, and then it had been impossible to have gone any further up, notwithstanding that there is every day a very strong breeze and easterly wind. I deferred the search of the country on *Guiana* side till my return down the river.

The next day we sailed by a great island in the middle of the river, called *Manoripano*; and, as we walked awhile on the island, while the galley got ahead of us, there came for us from the main a small *canoa* with seven or eight *Guianians*, to invite us to anchor at their port, but I deferred till my return. It was that *cacique* to whom those *Nepoios* went, which came with us from the town of *Toparimaca*. And so the fifth day we reached as high up as the province of *Aromaia*, the country of *Morequito*, whom *Berreio* executed, and anchored to the west of an island called *Murrecotima*, ten miles long and five broad. And that night the *cacique* *Aramiary*, to whose town we made our long and hungry voyage out of the river of *Amana*, passed by us.

The next day we arrived at the port of *Morequito*, and anchored there, sending away one of our pilots to seek the king of *Aromaia*, uncle to *Morequito*, slain by *Berre* as aforesaid. The next day following, before noon, he came to us on foot from his house, which was fourteen English miles, himself being a hundred and ten years old, and returned on foot the same day; and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation and to bring us down victual, which they did in great plenty, as venison, pork, hens, chickens, fowl, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits and roots, and great abundance of *pinas*, the princess of fruits that grow under the sun, especially those of *Guiana*. They brought us, also, store of bread and of their wine, and a sort of *paraquitos* no bigger than wrens, and of all other sorts both small and great. One of them gave me a beast called by the Spaniards *armadillo*, which they call *cassacam*, which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates somewhat like to a *rhinoceros*, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts as big as a great hunting-horn, which they use to wind instead of a trumpet. *Monardus*¹ writeth that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cureth deafness.

After this old king had rested awhile in a little tent that I caused to be set up, I began by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of *Morequito* his predecessor, and afterward of the Spaniards; and yere I went any farther I made him know the cause of my coming thither, whose servant I was, and that the Queen's pleasure was I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large, as I had done before to those of *Trinidad*, her Majesty's greatness, her justice,

¹ Monardes, *Historia Medicinal* (1574; English Version, 1577).

her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express or they conceive. All which being with great admiration attentively heard and marvellously admired, I began to sound the old man as touching *Guiana* and the state thereof, what sort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policy, how far it extended, and what nations were friends or enemies adjoining, and finally of the distance, and way to enter the same. He told me that himself and his people, with all those down the river towards the sea, as far as *Emeria*, the province of *Carapana*, were of *Guiana*, but that they called themselves *Orenoqueponi*, and that all the nations between the river and those mountains in sight, called *Wacarima*, were of the same cast and appellation; and that on the other side of those mountains of *Wacarima* there was a large plain (which after I discovered in my return) called the valley of *Amariocapana*. In all that valley the people were also of the ancient *Guianians*.

I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the further side of those mountains, beyond the valley of *Amariocapana*. He answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the loss of his country and liberty, especially for that his eldest son was slain in a battle on that side of the mountains, whom he most entirely loved) that he remembered in his father's lifetime, when he was very old and himself a young man, that there came down into that large valley of *Guiana* a nation from so far off as the sun slept (for such were his own words), with so great a multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted, and that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed by shewing a piece of red wood wherewith my tent was supported, and that

they were called *Orejones* and *Epuremei*; that those had slain and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees, and had now made themselves lords of all, even to that mountain foot called *Curaa*, saving only of two nations, the one called *Iwarawaqueri* and the other *Cassipagotos*; and that in the last battle fought between the *Epuremei* and the *Iwarawaqueri* his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aid of the *Iwarawaqueri* a great troop of the *Orenoqueponi*, and was there slain with all his people and friends, and that he had now remaining but one son; and farther told me that those *Epuremei* had built a great town called *Macureguarai* at the said mountain foot, at the beginning of the great plains of *Guiana*, which have no end; and that their houses have many rooms, one over the other, and that therein the great king of the *Orejones* and *Epuremei* kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withal daily to invade and slay them; but that of late years, since the Christians offered to invade his territories and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, saving only the *Iwarawaqueri* and those other nations upon the head of the river of *Caroli* called *Cassipagotos*, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemy.

After he had answered thus far, he desired leave to depart, saying that he had far to go, that he was old and weak, and was every day called for by death, which was also his own phrase. I desired him to rest with us that night, but I could not entreat him; but he told me that at my return from the country above he would again come to us, and in the meantime provide for us the best he could, of all that his country yielded. The same night he returned to *Orocotona*, his own

town; so as he went that day eight-and-twenty miles, the weather being very hot, the country being situate between four and five degrees of the equinoctial. This *Topiawari* is held for the proudest and wisest of all the *Orenoqueponi*, and so he behaved himself towards me in all his answers at my return, as I marvelled to find a man of that gravity and judgment, and of so good discourse, that had no help of learning nor breed.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed westward up to the river, to view the famous river called *Caroli*, as well because it was marvellous of itself, as also for that I understood it led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the *Epuremei*, which are subjects to *Inga*, emperor of *Guiana* and *Manoa*. And that night we anchored at another island called *Caiama*, of some five or six miles in length; and the next day arrived at the mouth of *Caroli*. When we were short of it as low or further down as the port of *Morequito*, we heard the great roar and fall of the river. But when we came to enter with our barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles to the nations of the *Cassipagotos*, we were not able with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's cast in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, and we tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the river. So as we encamped upon the banks adjoining, and sent off our *Orenoquepone* which came with us from *Morequito* to give knowledge to the nations upon the river of our being there, and that we desired to see the lords of *Canuria*, which dwelt within the province upon that river, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards; for it was on this river side that *Morequito* slew the friar, and those nine Spaniards which came from *Manoa*, the city of *Inga*, and took from them

14,000 *pesos* of gold. So as the next day there came down a lord or *cacique*, called *Wanuretona*, with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertain us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my coming known to *Topiawari*, so did I acquaint this *cacique* therewith, and how I was sent by her Majesty for the purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of *Guiana*. And I found that those also of *Caroli* were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the *Epuremei*, which abound in gold. And by this *Wanuretona* I had knowledge that on the head of this river were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this river descended, and were called *Cassipagotos*, *Eparegotos*, and *Arawagotos*¹; and that all those either against the Spaniards or the *Epuremei* would join with us, and that if we entered the land over the mountains of *Curaa* we should satisfy ourselves with gold and all other good things. He told us farther of a nation called *Iwarawaqueri*, before spoken of, that held daily war with the *Epuremei* that inhabited *Macureguarai*, the first civil town of *Guiana*, of the subjects of *Inga*, the emperor.

Upon this river one Captain *George*, that I took with *Berre*, told me that there was a great silver mine, and that it was near the banks of the said river. But by this time as well *Orenoque*, *Caroli*, as all the rest of the rivers were risen four or five feet in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever, to row into the river against the stream. I therefore sent Captain *Thyn*, Captain *Green-vile*, my nephew *John Gilbert*, my cousin *Butshead*

¹ The *Purigotos* and *Arinagotos* are still settled on the upper tributaries of the *Caroni* River. No such lake as that mentioned is known to exist.

Gorges, Captain *Clarke*, and some thirty shot more to coast the river by land, and to go to a town some twenty miles over the valley called *Amnatapoi*; and they found guides there to go farther towards the mountain foot to another great town called *Capurepana*, belonging to a *cacique* called *Haharacoa*, that was a nephew to old *Topiawari*, king of *Aromaia*, our chiefest friend, because this town and province of *Capurepana* adjoined to *Macureguarai*, which was a frontier town of the empire. And the meanwhile myself with Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Caulfield*, *Edward Hancock*, and some half-a-dozen shot marched overland to view the strange overfalls of the river of *Caroli*, which roared so far off; and also to see the plains adjoining, and the rest of the province of *Canuri*. I sent also Captain *Whiddon*, *William Connock*, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral stone amongst the river's side. When we were come to the tops of the first hills of the plains adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters which ran down *Caroli*; and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts, above twenty miles off, and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over the other as a church tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For mine own part I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman; but the rest were all so desirous to go near the said strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects;

hills so raised here and there over the valleys; the river winding into divers branches; the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, easy to march on, either for horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes; cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perching in the river's side; the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone that we stooped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun; and yet we had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard of that mineral spar aforesaid, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks. But we wanted all things requisite save only our desires and good will to have performed more if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also several sorts of stones that appeared very fair, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any gold fixed in them. Yet such as had no judgment or experience kept all that glistened, and would not be persuaded but it was rich because of the lustre; and brought of those, and of *marcasite* withal, from *Trinidad*, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same. Yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the *Caracas*, who told me that it was *El madre del oro*, that is, the mother of gold, and that the mine was farther in the ground.

. But it shall be found a weak policy in me, either to

betray myself or my country with imaginations ; neither am I so far in love with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefs that accompany these voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, were I not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captain *Whiddon*, and our chirurgion, *Nicholas Millechamp*, brought me a kind of stones like sapphires ; what they may prove I know not. I showed them to some of the *Orenoqueponi*, and they promised to bring me to a mountain that had of them very large pieces growing diamond-wise ; whether it be crystal of the mountain, *Bristol* diamond, or sapphire, I do not yet know, but I hope the best ; sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very near.

On the left hand of this river *Caroli* are seated those nations which I called *Iwarawaqueri* before remembered, which are enemies to the *Epuremei* ; and on the head of it, adjoining to the great lake *Cassipa*, are situate those other nations which also resist *Inga*, and the *Epuremei*, called *Cassipagotos*, *Eparegotos*, and *Arawagotos*. I farther understood that this lake of *Cassipa* is so large, as it is above one day's journey for one of their *canoas* to cross, which may be some forty miles ; and that thereinto fall divers rivers, and that great store of grains of gold are found in the summer time when the lake falleth by the banks, in those branches.

There is also another goodly river beyond *Caroli* which is called *Arui*, which also runneth thorough the lake *Cassipa*, and falleth into *Orenoque* farther west, making all that land between *Caroli* and *Arui* an island ; which is likewise a most beautiful country. Next unto *Arui* there are two rivers *Atoica* and *Caura*, and on

that branch which is called *Caura* are a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which though it may be thought a mere fable, yet for mine own part I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of *Aromaia* and *Canuri* affirm the same. They are called *Ewaipanoma*; they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of hair groweth backward between their shoulders. The son of *Topiawari*, which I brought with me into *England*, told me that they were the most mighty men of all the land, and use bows, arrows, and clubs thrice as big as any of *Guiana*, or of the *Orenoqueponi*; and that one of the *Iwarawaqueri* took a prisoner of them the year before our arrival there, and brought him into the borders of *Aromaia*, his father's country. And farther, when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me that it was no wonder among them; but that they were as great a nation and as common as any other in all the provinces, and had of late years slain many hundreds of his father's people, and of other nations their neighbours. But it was not my chance to hear of them till I was come away; and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there I might have brought one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by *Mandeville*, whose reports were holden for fables many years; and yet since the *East Indies* were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible¹. Whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination; for mine own part I saw them not, but I am

¹ Mandeville, or the author who assumed this name, placed his headless men in the East Indian Archipelago. The fable is borrowed from older writers (Herodotus, iv. 191, &c.).

resolved that so many people did not all combine or forethink to make the report.

When I came to *Cumana* in the *West Indies* afterwards by chance I spake with a Spaniard dwelling not far from thence, a man of great travel. And after he knew that I had been in *Guiana*, and so far directly west as *Caroli*, the first question he asked me was, whether I had seen any of the *Ewaipanoma*, which are those without heads. Who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, told me that he had seen many of them; I may not name him, because it may be for his disadvantage, but he is well known to *Monsieur Moucheron's* son of *London*, and to *Peter Moucheron*, merchant, of the Flemish ship that was there in trade; who also heard, what he avowed to be true, of those people.

The fourth river to the west of *Caroli* is *Casnero*: which falleth into the *Orenoque* on this side of *Amapaia*. And that river is greater than *Danubius*, or any of *Europe*: it riseth on the south of *Guiana* from the mountains which divide *Guiana* from *Amazons*, and I think it to be navigable many hundred miles. But we had no time, means, nor season of the year, to search those rivers, for the causes aforesaid, the winter being come upon us; although the winter and summer as touching cold and heat differ not, neither do the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but have always fruit either ripe or green, and most of them both blossom, leaves, ripe fruit, and green, at one time: but their winter only consisteth of terrible rains, and overflowing of the rivers, with many great storms and gusts, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill ere we returned.

On the north side, the first river that falleth into the *Orenoque* is *Cari*. Beyond it on the same side is the

river of *Limo*. Between these two is a great nation of *Cannibals*, and their chief town beareth the name of the river, and is called *Acamacari*. At this town is a continual market of women for three or four hatchets apiece; they are bought by the *Arwacas*, and by them sold into the *West Indies*. To the west of *Limo* is the river *Pao*, beyond it *Caturi*, beyond that, *Voari*, and *Capuri*¹, which falleth out of the great river of *Meta*, by which *Berre* descended from *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*. To the westward of *Capuri* is the province of *Amapaia*, where *Berre* wintered, and had so many of his people poisoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the *Anebas*. Above *Amapaia*, toward *Nuevo Reyno*, fall in *Meta*, *Pato* and *Cassanar*. To the west of those, towards the provinces of the *Ashaguas* and *Catetios*, are the rivers of *Beta*, *Dawney*, and *Ubarro*; and toward the frontier of *Peru* are the provinces of *Thomebamba*, and *Caxamalca*. Adjoining to *Quito* in the north side of *Peru* are the rivers of *Guiacar* and *Goauar*; and on the other side of the said mountains the river of *Papamene* which descendeth into *Marañon* or *Amazons*, passing through the province *Motilonas*, where *Don Pedro de Orsúa*, who was slain by the traitor *Aguirre* before rehearsed, built his brigandines, when he sought *Guiana* by the way of *Amazons*.

Between *Dawney* and *Beta* lieth a famous island in *Orenoque* (now called *Baraquan*, for above *Meta* it is not known by the name of *Orenoque*) which is called *Athule*²; beyond which ships of burden cannot pass by reason of a most forcible overfall, and current of water; but in the eddy all smaller vessels may be drawn even to *Peru* itself. But to speak of more of these rivers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leave the rest to the description.

¹ The Apure river.

² Cataract of Ature.

This river of *Orenoque* is navigable for ships little less than 1,000 miles, and for lesser vessels near 2,000. By it, as aforesaid, *Peru*, *Nuevo Reyno*, and *Popayan*, may be invaded: it also leadeth to the great empire of *Inga*, and to the provinces of *Amapaia* and *Anebas*, which abound in gold. His branches of *Casnero*, *Manta*, *Caura* descend from the middle land and valley which lieth between the easter province of *Peru* and *Guiana*; and it falls into the sea between *Marañon* and *Trinidad* in two degrees and a half. All of which your honours shall better perceive in the general description of *Guiana*, *Peru*, *Nuevo Reyno*, the kingdom of *Popayan*, and *Rodas*, with the province of *Venezuela*, to the bay of *Uraba*, behind *Cartagena*, westward, and to *Amazons* southward. While we lay at anchor on the coast of *Canuri*, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of this river, and had found out so many several people, which were enemies to the *Epuremei* and the new conquerors, I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of *Orenoque* began daily to threaten us with dangers in our return. For no half day passed but the river began to rage and overflow very fearfully, and the rains came down in terrible showers, and gusts in great abundance; and withal our men began to cry out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestow any other apparel than that which he ware on his back, and that was throughly washed on his body for the most part ten times in one day; and we had now been well-near a month every day passing to the westward farther and farther from our ships. We therefore turned towards the east, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the river towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was most material.

The next day following we left the mouth of

Caroli, and arrived again at the port of *Morequito* where we were before; for passing down the stream we went without labour, and against the wind, little less than a hundred miles a day. As soon as I came to anchor, I sent away one for old *Topiawari*, with whom I much desired to have further conference, and also to deal with him for some one of his country to bring with us into *England*, as well to learn the language, as to confer withal by the way, the time being now spent of any longer stay there. Within three hours after my messenger came to him, he arrived also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and every one loaden with somewhat, as if it had been a great market or fair in *England*; and our hungry companies clustered thick and threefold among their baskets, every one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested awhile in my tent, I shut out all but ourselves and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the *Epuremei* and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his country and nations: that the one had conquered *Guiana* already, and the other sought to regain the same from them both; and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of *Guiana*, and to the civil towns and apparelled people of *Inga*. He gave me an answer to this effect: first, that he could not perceive that I meant to go onward towards the city of *Manoa*, for neither the time of the year served, neither could he perceive any sufficient numbers for such an enterprise. And if I did, I was sure with all my company to be buried there, for the emperor was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too few. Besides, he gave me this good counsel and advised me to hold it in mind (as for himself, he knew he could not live till my return), that I should not offer by any means hereafter to invade

the strong parts of *Guiana* without the help of all those nations which were also their enemies; for that it was impossible without those, either to be conducted, to be victualled, or to have aught carried with us, our people not being able to endure the march in so great heat and travail, unless the borderers gave them help, to cart with them both their meat and furniture. For he remembered that in the plains of *Macureguarai* three hundred Spaniards were overthrown, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friends; but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were environed on all sides, and the people setting the long dry grass on fire, smothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discern their enemies for the great smoke. He told me further that four days' journey from his town was *Macureguarai*, and that those were the next and nearest of the subjects of *Inga*, and of the *Epuremei*, and the first town of appavelled and rich people; and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers and carried to other nations far and near, came from the said *Macureguarai* and were there made, but that those of the land within were far finer, and were fashioned after the images of men, beasts, birds, and fishes. I asked him whether he thought that those companies that I had there with me were sufficient to take that town or no; he told me that he thought they were. I then asked him whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to join with us; he answered that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the rivers did remain fordable, upon this condition, that I would leave with him till my return again fifty soldiers, which he undertook to victual. I answered that I had not above fifty good men in all there; the rest were labourers and rowers, and that I had no

provision to leave with them of powder, shot, apparel; or aught else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should be in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knew would use the same measures towards mine that I offered them at *Trinidad*. And although upon the motion Captain *Caulfield*, Captain *Greenvile*, my nephew *John Gilbert* and divers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolved that they must needs have perished. For *Berre* expected daily a supply out of *Spain*, and looked also hourly for his son to come down from *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, with many horse and foot, and had also in *Valencia*, in the *Caracas*, two hundred horse ready to march; and I could not have spared above forty, and had not any store at all of powder, lead, or match to have left with them, nor any other provision, either spade, pickaxe, or aught else to have fortified withal.

When I had given him reason that I could not at this time leave him such a company, he then desired me to forbear him and his country for that time; for he assured me that I should be no sooner three days from the coast but those *Epuremei* would invade him, and destroy all the remain of his people and friends, if he should any way either guide us or assist us against them. He further alleged that the Spaniards sought his death; and as they had already murdered his nephew *Morequito*, lord of that province, so they had him seventeen days in a chain before he was king of the country, and led him like a dog from place to place until he had paid an hundred plates of gold and divers chains of spleen-stones for his ransom¹. And now, since he became owner of that province, that they had many times laid wait to take him, and that they would be now

¹ See page 210.

more vehement when they should understand of his conference with the English. *And because, said he, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay hands on me, they have gotten a nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they have christened Don Juan, and his son Don Pedro, whom they have also apparelled and armed, by whom they seek to make a party against me in mine own country. He also hath taken to wife one Louiana, of a strong family, which are borderers and neighbours; and myself now being old and in the hands of death am not able to travel nor to shift as when I was of younger years.* He therefore prayed us to defer it till the next year, when he would undertake to draw in all the borderers to serve us, and then, also, it would be more seasonable to travel; for at this time of the year we should not be able to pass any river, the waters were and would be so grown ere our return.

He farther told me that I could not desire so much to invade *Macureguarai* and the rest of *Guiana* but that the borderers would be more vehement than I. For he yielded for a chief cause that in the wars with the *Epuremei* they were spoiled of their women, and that their wives and daughters were taken from them; so as for their own parts they desired nothing of the gold or treasure for their labours, but only to recover women from the *Epuremei*. For he farther complained very sadly, as it had been a matter of great consequence, that whereas they were wont to have ten or twelve wives, they were now enforced to content themselves with three or four, and that the lords of the *Epuremei* had fifty or a hundred. And in truth they war more for women than either for gold or dominion. For the lords of countries desire many children of their own bodies to increase their races and kindreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Divers of

his followers afterwards desired me to make haste again, that they might sack the *Epuremei*, and I asked them, of what? They answered, *Of their women for us, and their gold for you.* For the hope of those many of women they more desire the war than either for gold or for the recovery of their ancient territories. For what between the subjects of *Inga* and the Spaniards, those frontiers are grown thin of people; and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for fear of the Spaniards.

After I received this answer of the old man, we fell into consideration whether it had been of better advice to have entered *Macureguarai*, and to have begun a war upon *Inga* at this time, yea or no, if the time of the year and all things else had sorted. For mine own part, as we were not able to march it for the rivers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the winter, or to tarry any longer from our ships, I thought it were evil counsel to have attempted it at that time, although the desire for gold will answer many objections. But it would have been, in mine opinion, an utter overthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Majesty attempted. For then, whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards and were sent by her Majesty to relieve them, they would as good cheap have joined with the Spaniards at our return, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errand, and that both sought but to sack and spoil them. But as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion, is not known to them of the empire. And it is likely that if her Majesty undertake the enterprize they will rather submit themselves to her obedience than to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already

tasted. And therefore, till I had known her Majesty's pleasure, I would rather have lost the sack of one or two towns, although they might have been very profitable, than to have defaced or endangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great good and rich trade which *England* may be possessed of thereby. I am assured now that they will all die, even to the last man, against the Spaniards in hope of our succour and return. Whereas, otherwise, if I had either laid hands on the borderers or ransomed the lords, as *Berreio* did, or invaded the subjects of *Inga*, I know all had been lost for hereafter.

After that I had resolved *Topiawari*, lord of *Aromaia*, that I could not at this time leave with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the enterprise against the *Epuremei* till the next year, he freely gave me his only son to take with me into *England*; and hoped that though he himself had but a short time to live, yet that by our means his son should be established after his death. And I left with him one *Francis Sparrow*, a servant of Captain *Gifford*, who was desirous to tarry, and could describe a country with his pen, and a boy of mine called *Hugh Goodwin* to learn the language. I after asked the manner how the *Epuremei* wrought those plates of gold, and how they could melt it out of the stone. He told me that the most of the gold which they made in plates and images was not severed from the stone, but that on the lake of *Manoa*, and in a multitude of other rivers, they gathered it in grains of perfect gold and in pieces as big as small stones, and they put it to a part of copper, otherwise they could not work it; and that they used a great earthen pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together they fastened canes to the

holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metal ran, and then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I have sent your honours of two sorts such as I could by chance recover, more to shew the manner of them than for the value. For I did not in any sort make my desire of gold known, because I had neither time nor power to have a great quantity. I gave among them many more pieces of gold than I received, of the new money of twenty shillings with her Majesty's picture, to wear, with promise that they would become her servants thenceforth.

I have also sent your honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yieldeth any, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarry and search the hills, so we had neither pioneers, bars, sledges, nor wedges of iron to break the ground, without which there is no working in mines. But we saw all the hills with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no *marcasite*, and therefore such as the Spaniards call *El madre del oro* or 'the mother of gold,' which is an undoubted assurance of the general abundance; and myself saw the outside of many mines of the spar, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world, and of those more than I will speak of.

Having learned what I could in *Canuri* and *Aromaia*, and received a faithful promise of the principallest of those provinces to become servants to her Majesty, and to resist the Spaniards if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of *Cassipa* and those of *Iwarawaqueri*, I then parted from old *Topiawari*, and received his son for a pledge between us, and left with him two of

ours as aforesaid. To *Francis Sparrow* I gave instructions to travel to *Marcureguarai* with such merchandises as I left with them, thereby to learn the place, and if were possible, to go on to the great city of *Manoa*. Which being done, we weighed anchor and coasted the river on *Guiana* side, because we came upon the north side, by the lawns of the *Saima* and *Wikiri*.

There came with us from *Aromaia* a *cacique* called *Putijma*, that commanded the province of *Warapana*, which *Putijma* slew the nine Spaniards upon *Caroli* before spoken of; who desired us to rest in the port of his country, promising to bring us unto a mountain adjoining to his town that had stones of the colour of gold, which he performed. And after we had rested there one night I went myself in the morning with most of the gentlemen of my company overland towards the said mountain, marching by a river's side called *Mana*, leaving on the right hand a town called *Tuteritona*, standing in the province of *Tarracoa*, of which *Wariaaremagoto* is principal. Beyond it lieth another town towards the south, in the valley of *Amariocapana*, which beareth the name of the said valley; whose plains stretch themselves some sixty miles in length, east and west, as fair ground and as beautiful fields as any man hath ever seen, with divers copses scattered here and there by the river's side, and all as full of deer as any forest or park in *England*, and in every lake and river the like abundance of fish and fowl; of which *Irraparragota* is lord.

From the river of *Mana* we crossed another river in the said beautiful valley called *Oiana*, and rested ourselves by a clear lake which lay in the middle of the said *Oiana*; and one of our guides kindling us fire with two sticks, we stayed awhile to dry our shirts, which with the heat hung very wet and heavy on our

shoulders. Afterwards we sought the ford to pass over towards the mountain called *Iconuri*, where *Putijma* foretold us of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call *manati*, being most excellent and wholesome meat. But after I perceived that to pass the said river would require half-a-day's march more, I was not able myself to endure it, and therefore I sent Captain *Keymis* with six shot to go on, and gave him order not to return to the port of *Putijma*, which is called *Chiparepare*, but to take leisure, and to march down the said valley as far as a river called *Cumaca*, where I promised to meet him again, *Putijma* himself promising also to be his guide. And as they marched, they left the towns of *Emperapana* and *Capurepana* on the right hand, and marched from *Putijma's* house, down the said valley of *Amariocapana*; and we returning the same day to the river's side, saw by the way many rocks like unto gold ore, and on the left hand a round mountain which consisted of mineral stone.

From hence we rowed down the stream, coasting the province of *Parino*. As for the branches of rivers which I overpass in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description, with the mountains of *Aio*, *Ara*, and the rest, which are situate in the provinces of *Parino* and *Carricurrina*. When we were come as far down as the land called *Ariacoa*, where *Orenoque* divideth itself into three great branches, each of them being most goodly rivers, I sent away Captain *Henry Thyn*, and Captain *Greenvile* with the galley, the nearest way, and took with me Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Caulfield*, *Edward Porter*, and Captain *Eynos* with mine own barge and the two wherries, and went down that branch of *Orenoque* which is called *Cararoopana*, which leadeth towards *Emeria*, the pro-

vince of *Carapana*, and towards the east sea, as well to find out Captain *Keymis*, whom I had sent overland, as also to acquaint myself with *Carapana*, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the *Orenoqueponi*. And when I came to the river of *Cumaca*, to which *Putijma* promised to conduct Captain *Keymis*, I left Captain *Eynos* and Master *Porter* in the said river to expect his coming, and the rest of us rowed down the stream towards *Emeria*.

In this branch called *Cararoopana* were also many goodly islands, some of six miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sunset, we entered a branch of a river that fell into *Orenoque*, called *Winicapora*; where I was informed of the mountain of crystal, to which in truth for the length of the way, and the evil season of the year, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the journey. We saw it afar off; and it appeared like a white church-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth over it a mighty river which toucheth no part of the side of the mountain, but rusheth over the top of it, and falleth to the ground with so terrible a noise and clamour, as if a thousand great bells were knocked one against another. I think there is not in the world so strange an overfall, nor so wonderful to behold. *Berreio* told me that there were diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very far off; but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the said mountain, those people adjoining being his enemies, as they were, and the way to it so impassable.

Upon this river of *Winicapora* we rested a while, and from thence marched into the country to a town called after the name of the river, whereof the captain was one *Timitwara*, who also offered to conduct me to

the top of the said mountain called *Wacarima*. But when we came in first to the house of the said *Timitwara*, being upon one of their said feast days, we found them all as drunk as beggars, and the pots walking from one to another without rest. We that were weary and hot with marching were glad of the plenty, though a small quantity satisfied us, their drink being very strong and heady, and so rested ourselves awhile. After we had fed, we drew ourselves back to our boats upon the river, and there came to us all the lords of the country, with all such kind of victual as the place yielded, and with their delicate wine of *pinas*, and with abundance of hens and other provisions, and of those stones which we call spleen-stones. We understood by these chieftains of *Winicapora* that their lord, *Carapana*, was departed from *Emeria*, which was now in sight, and that he was fled to *Cairamo*, adjoining to the mountains of *Guiana*, over the valley called *Amaricapana*, being persuaded by those ten Spaniards which lay at his house that we would destroy him and his country. But after these *caciques* of *Winicapora* and *Saporatona* his followers perceived our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards only, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no, though we found them to be of the Spaniards' own servants, they assured us that *Carapana* would be as ready to serve us as any of the lords of the provinces which we had passed; and that he durst do no other till this day but entertain the Spaniards, his country lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in *Guiana* on that side. And they further assured us, that it was not for fear of our coming that he was removed, but to be acquitted of the Spaniards or any other that should come hereafter. For the province of *Cairoma* is situate

at the mountain foot, which divideth the plains of *Guiana* from the countries of the *Orenoqueponi*; by means whereof if any should come in our absence into his towns, he would slip over the mountains into the plains of *Guiana* among the *Epuremei*, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force. But in mine opinion, or rather I assure myself, that *Carapana* being a notable wise and subtle fellow, a man of one hundred years of age and therefore of great experience, is removed to look on, and if he find that we return strong he will be ours; if not, he will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for fear of our coming.

We therefore thought it bootless to row so far down the stream, or to seek any farther of this old fox; and therefore from the river of *Waricapana*, which lieth at the entrance of *Emeria*, we returned again, and left to the eastward those four rivers which fall from the mountains of *Emeria* into *Orenoque*, which are *Waracayari*, *Coirama*, *Akaniri*, and *Iparoma*. Below those four are also these branches and mouths of *Orenoque*, which fall into the east sea, whereof the first is *Araturi*, the next *Amacura*, the third *Barima*, the fourth *Wana*, the fifth *Morooca*, the sixth *Paroma*, the last *Wijmi*. Beyond them there fall out of the land between *Orenoque* and *Amazons* fourteen rivers, which I forbear to name, inhabited by the *Arwacas* and *Cannibals*.

It is now time to return towards the north, and we found it a wearisome way back from the borders of *Emeria*, to recover up again to the head of the river *Carerupana*, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of *Toparimaca*, by which we entered first.

All the night it was stormy and dark, and full of

thunder and great showers, so as we were driven to keep close by the banks in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible current of the river. By the next morning we recovered the mouth of the river of *Cumaca*, where we left Captain *Eynos* and *Edward Porter* to attend the coming of Captain *Keymis* overland; but when we entered the same, they had heard no news of his arrival, which bred in us a great doubt what might become of him. I rowed up a league or two farther into the river, shooting off pieces all the way, that he might know of our being there; and the next morning we heard them answer us also with a piece. We took them aboard us, and took our leave of *Putijma*, their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his son with us into *England*, if we could have stayed till he had sent back to his town. But our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of *Orenoque*, and therefore [we] departed, and turned toward the west, till we had recovered the parting of the three branches aforesaid, that we might put down the stream after the galley.

The next day we landed on the island of *Assapano*, which divideth the river from that branch by which we sent down to *Emeria*, and there feasted ourselves with that beast which is called *armadillo*, presented unto us before at *Winicapora*. And the day following, we recovered the galley at anchor at the port of *Toparimaca*, and the same evening departed with very foul weather, and terrible thunder and showers, for the winter was come on very far. The best was, we went no less than 100 miles a day down the river; but by the way we entered it was impossible to return, for that the river of *Amana*, being in the bottom of the bay of *Guanipa*, cannot be sailed back by any means,

both the breeze and current of the sea were so forcible. And therefore we followed a branch of *Orenoque* called *Capuri*, which entered into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might bear with them before the wind; and it was not without need, for we had by that way as much to cross of the main sea, after we came to the river's mouth, as between *Gravelin* and *Dover*, in such boats as your honour hath heard.

To speak of what passed homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the rivers, islands, or villages of the *Tivitivas*, which dwell on trees; we will leave all those to the general map. And to be short, when we were arrived at the sea-side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed; for I protest before God, that we were in a most desperate estate. For the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the river of *Capuri*, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close under the land with our small boats, and brought the galley as near as we could. But she had as much ado to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her; for mine own part, I confess I was very doubtful which way to take, either to go over in the pestered¹ galley, there being but six foot water over the sands for two leagues together, and that also in the channel, and she drew five; or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtful weather, to cross the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was, and therefore I took Captain *Gifford*, Captain *Caulfield*, and my cousin *Greenwile* into my barge; and after it cleared up about midnight we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the galley at anchor,

¹ Crowded.

who durst not adventure but by daylight. And so, being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly cheering another to shew courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine o'clock, we descried the island of *Trinidad*; and steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to *Curiapan*, where we found our ships at anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to send us safe to our ships, it is time to leave *Guiana* to the sun, whom they worship, and steer away towards the north. I will, therefore, in a few words finish the discovery thereof. Of the several nations which we found upon this discovery I will once again make repetition, and how they are affected. At our first entrance into *Amana*, which is one of the outlets of *Orenoque*, we left on the right hand of us in the bottom of the bay, lying directly against *Trinidad*, a nation of inhuman *Cannibals*, which inhabit the rivers of *Guanipa* and *Berbeese*. In the same bay there is also a third river, which is called *Areo*, which riseth on *Paria* side towards *Cumaná*, and that river is inhabited with the *Wikiri*, whose chief town upon the said river is *Sayma*. In this bay there are no more rivers but these three before rehearsed and the four branches of *Amana*, all which in the winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken up fresh two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towards *Guiana*, that is, in all those lands which the eight branches of *Orenoque* fashion into islands, there are but one sort of people, called *Tivitivas*, but of two castes, as they term them, the one called *Ciawani*, the other *Wara-weeti*, and those war one with another.

On the hithermost part of *Orenoque*, as at *Toparimaca* and *Winicapora*, those are of a nation called

Nepoios, and are the followers of *Carapana*, lord of *Emeria*. Between *Winicapora* and the port of *Morequito*, which standeth in *Aromaia*, and all those in the valley of *Amariocapana* are called *Orenoqueponi*, and did obey *Morequito* and are now followers of *Topiawari*. Upon the river of *Caroli* are the *Canuri*, which are governed by a woman who is inheritrix of that province; who came far off to see our nation, and asked me divers questions of her Majesty, being much delighted with the discourse of her Majesty's greatness, and wondering at such reports as we truly made of her Highness' many virtues. And upon the head of *Caroli* and on the lake of *Cassipa* are the three strong nations of the *Cassipagotos*. Right south into the land are the *Capurepani* and *Emparepani*, and beyond those, adjoining to *Macureguarai*, the first city of *Inga*, are the *Iwarawakeri*. All these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich *Epuremei* also. To the west of *Caroli* are divers nations of *Cannibals* and of those *Ewaipanoma* without heads. Directly west are the *Amapaias* and *Anebas*, which are also marvellous rich in gold. The rest towards *Peru* we will omit. On the north of *Orenoque*, between it and the *West Indies*, are the *Wikiri*, *Saymi*, and the rest before spoken of, all mortal enemies to the Spaniards. On the south side of the main mouth of *Orenoque* are the *Arwacas*; and beyond them, the *Cannibals*; and to the south of them, the *Amazons*.

To make mention of the several beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gums, sweet woods, and of their several religions and customs, would for the first require as many volumes as those of *Gesnerus*, and for the next another bundle of *Decades*. The religion of the *Epuremei* is the same which the *Ingas*, emperors of *Peru*, used, which may be read in *Cieza* and other Spanish

stories; how they believe the immortality of the soul, worship the sun, and bury with them alive their best beloved wives and treasure, as they likewise do in *Pegu* in the *East Indies*, and other places. The *Orenoqueponi* bury not their wives with them, but their jewels, hoping to enjoy them again. The *Arwacas* dry the bones of their lords, and their wives and friends drink them in powder. In the graves of the *Peruvians* the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure. The like, also, is to be found among these people in every province. They have all many wives, and the lords five-fold to the common sort. Their wives never eat with their husbands, nor among the men, but serve their husbands at meals and afterwards feed by themselves. Those that are past their younger years make all their bread and drink, and work their cotton-beds, and do all else of service and labour; for the men do nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drink, when they are out of the wars.

I will enter no further into discourse of their manners, laws, and customs. And because I have not myself seen the cities of *Inga* I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely that the emperor *Inga* hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in *Guiana* as his ancestors did in *Peru*; which were for their riches and rareness most marvellous, and exceeding all in *Europe*, and, I think, of the world, *China* excepted, which also the Spaniards, which I had, assured me to be true, as also the nations of the borderers, who, being but savages to those of the inland, do cause much treasure to be buried with them. For I was informed of one of the *caciques* of the valley of *Amariocapana* which had buried with him a little before our arrival a chair of gold most curiously wrought, which was made either in *Macureguarai*

adjoining or in *Manoa*. But if we should have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had been taught better, and have digged up their graves, we had lost them all. And therefore I held my first resolution, that her Majesty should either accept or refuse the enterprise ere anything should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if *Peru* had so many heaps of gold, whereof those *Ingas* were princes, and that they delighted so much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in *Manoa* hath the same humour¹, and, I am assured, hath more abundance of gold within his territory than all *Peru* and the *West Indies*.

For the rest, which myself have seen, I will promise these things that follow, which I know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many arms and branches leading to several countries and provinces, above 2,000 miles east and west and 800 miles south and north, and of these the most either rich in gold or in other merchandises. The common soldier shall here fight for gold, and pay himself, instead of pence, with plates of half-a-foot broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other wars for provant² and penury. Those commanders and chieftains that shoot at honour and abundance shall find there more rich and beautiful cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either *Cortes* found in *Mexico* or *Pizarro* in *Peru*. And the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so far-extended beams of the Spanish nation. There is no country which yieldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for those common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling,

¹ Hakluyt reads 'honour.'

² Provender, food.

and the rest, than *Guiana* doth ; it hath so many plains, clear rivers, and abundance of pheasants, partridges, quails, rails, cranes, herons, and all other fowl ; deer of all sorts, porks, hares, lions, tigers, leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts, either for chase or food. It hath a kind of beast called *cama* or *anta*², as big as an English beef, and in great plenty. To speak of the several sorts of every kind I fear would be troublesome to the reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good air, pleasure, and riches, I am resolved it cannot be equalled by any region either in the east or west. Moreover the country is so healthful, as of an hundred persons and more, which lay without shift most sluttishly, and were every day almost melted with heat in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet again with great showers, and did eat of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meals of fresh fish without seasoning, of *tortugas*, of *lagartos* or *crocodiles*, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open air every night, we lost not any one, nor had one ill-disposed to my knowledge ; nor found any *calentura* or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so near the equinoctial line.

Where there is store of gold it is in effect needless to remember other commodities for trade. But it hath, towards the south part of the river, great quantities of brazil-wood, and divers berries that dye a most perfect crimson and carnation ; and for painting, all *France*, *Italy*, or the *East Indies* yield none such. For the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which even those brown and tawny women spot themselves and colour their cheeks.

¹ The tapir.

All places yield abundance of cotton, of silk, of *bal-samum*, and of those kinds most excellent and never known in *Europe*, of all sorts of gums, of Indian pepper; and what else the countries may afford within the land we know not, neither had we time to abide the trial and search. The soil besides is so excellent and so full of rivers, as it will carry sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities which the *West Indies* have.

The navigation is short, for it may be sailed with an ordinary wind in six weeks, and in the like time back again; and by the way neither lee-shore, enemies' coast, rocks, nor sands. All which in the voyages to the *West Indies* and all other places we are subject unto; as the channel of *Bahama*, coming from the *West Indies*, cannot well be passed in the winter, and when it is at the best, it is a perilous and a fearful place; the rest of the *Indies* for calms and diseases very troublesome, and the sea about the *Bermudas* a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms.

This very year (1595) there were seventeen sail of Spanish ships lost in the channel of *Bahama*, and the great *Philip*, like to have sunk at the *Bermudas*, was put back to *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*; and so it falleth out in that navigation every year for the most part. Which in this voyage are not to be feared; for the time of year to leave *England* is best in July, and the summer in *Guiana* is in October, November, December, January, February, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in April, and so return again into *England* in June. So as they shall never be subject to winter weather, either coming, going, or staying there: which, for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on, having, as I have done, tasted in this voyage by the *West Indies*

so many calms, so much heat, such outrageous gusts, such weather, and contrary winds.

To conclude, *Guiana* is a country that hath yet her maidenhead, never sacked, turned, nor wrought; the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue and salt of the soil spent by manurance. The graves have not been opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their images pulled down out of their temples. It hath never been entered by any army of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be builded in one of the provinces which I have seen, the flood setteth in so near the bank, where the channel also lieth, that no ship can pass up but within a pike's length of the artillery, first of the one, and afterwards of the other. Which two forts will be a sufficient guard both to the empire of *Inga*, and to an hundred other several kingdoms, lying within the said river, even to the city of *Quito* in *Peru*.

There is therefore great difference between the easiness of the conquest of *Guiana*, and the defence of it being conquered, and the *West* or *East Indies*. *Guiana* hath but one entrance by the sea, if it hath that, for any vessels of burden. So as whosoever shall first possess it, it shall be found unaccessible for any enemy, except he come in wherries, barges, or *canoas*, or else in flat-bottomed boats; and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thick 200 miles together upon the rivers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat unhit from the bank. By land it is more impossible to approach; for it hath the strongest situation of any region under the sun, and it is so environed with impassable mountains on every side, as it is impossible to victual any company in the passage. Which hath been well proved by the Spanish nation, who

since the conquest of *Peru* have never left five years free from attempting this empire, or discovering some way into it; and yet of three-and-twenty several gentlemen, knights, and noblemen, there was never any that knew which way to lead an army by land, or to conduct ships by sea, anything near the said country. *Orellana*, of whom the river of *Amazons* taketh name, was the first, and *Don Antonio de Berreo*, whom we displanted, the last: and I doubt much whether he himself or any of his yet know the best way into the said empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set down, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters¹ or galleys built and furnished upon the river within. The *West Indies* have many ports, watering places, and landings; and nearer than 300 miles to *Guiana*, no man can harbour a ship, except he know one only place, which is not learned in haste, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides, by keeping one good fort, or building one town of strength, the whole empire is guarded; and whatsoever companies shall be afterwards planted within the land, although in twenty several provinces, those shall be able all to reunite themselves upon any occasion either by the way of one river, or be able to march by land without either wood, bog, or mountain. Whereas in the *West Indies* there are few towns or provinces that can succour or relieve one the other by land or sea. By land the countries are either desert, mountainous, or strong enemies. By sea, if any man invade to the eastward, those to the west cannot in many months turn against the breeze and eastern wind. Besides, the Spaniards are therein so dispersed as they

¹ Dutch, *Kromsteven* or *Kromster*, a vessel with a bent prow.

are nowhere strong, but in *Nueva España* only; the sharp mountains, the thorns, and poisoned prickles, the sandy and deep ways in the valleys, the smothering heat and air, and want of water in other places are their only and best defence; which, because those nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neither have any place to friend adjoining, do serve them instead of good arms and great multitudes.

The *West Indies* were first offered her Majesty's grandfather by *Columbus*, a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceit; and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This Empire is made known to her Majesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty than an ordinary subject; so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefits which I have received to abuse her Highness, either with fables or imaginations. The country is already discovered, many nations won to her Majesty's love and obedience, and those Spaniards which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged, and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Majesty may in this enterprise employ all those soldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captains and chieftains that want employment, and the charge will be only the first setting out in victualling and arming them; for after the first or second year I doubt not but to see in *London* a Contractation-House¹ of more receipt for *Guiana* than there is now in *Seville* for the *West Indies*.

And I am resolved that if there were but a small

¹ The whole trade of Spanish America passed through the Casa de Contratacion at Seville.

army afoot in *Guiana*, marching towards *Manoa*, the chief city of *Inga*, he would yield to her Majesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearly as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expenses at home; and that he would besides pay a garrison of three or four thousand soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations. For he cannot but know how his predecessors, yea, how his own great uncles, *Guascar* and *Atabalipa*, sons to *Guiana-Capac*, emperor of *Peru*, were, while they contended for the empire, beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late years and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entry of his country; and of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladness; if not, he hath neither shot nor iron weapon in all his empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I further remember that *Berreio* confessed to me and others, which I protest before the Majesty of God to be true, that there was found among the prophecies in *Peru*, at such time as the empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience, in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshadowed the loss of the said empire, that from *Inglatierra* those *Ingas* should be again in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said conquerors. And I hope, as we with these few hands have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said country, so her Majesty will give order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as empress of the same. For whatsoever prince shall possess it, shall be greatest; and if the king of *Spain* enjoy it, he will become irresistible. Her Majesty hereby shall

confirm and strengthen the opinions of all nations as touching her great and princely actions. And where the south border of *Guiana* reacheth to the dominion and empire of the *Amazons*, those women shall hereby hear the name of a virgin, which is not only able to defend her own territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great empires and so far removed.

To speak more at this time I fear would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Lady of Ladies to possess it. If not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves.

APPENDIX.

CAVENDISH'S LAST LETTER.

Written with his own hand to SIR TRISTRAM GORGES,
his Executor.

MOST LOVING FRIEND,

THERE is nothing in this world that makes a truer trial of friendship, than at death to shew mindfulness of love and friendship, which now you shall make a perfect experience of: desiring you to hold my love as dear, dying poor, as if I had been most infinitely rich. The success of this most unfortunate action, the bitter torments thereof lie so heavy upon me, as with much pain am I able to write these few lines, much less to make discovery unto you of all the adverse haps that have befallen me in this voyage, the least whereof is my death: but because you shall not be ignorant of them, I have appointed some of the most sensiblest men that I left behind me to make discourse unto you of all these accidents. I have made a simple will, wherein I have made you sole and only disposer of all such little, as is left.

The *Roebuck* left me in the most desolate case that ever man was left in. What is become of her, I cannot imagine: if she be returned into *England*, it is a most admirable matter, but if she be at home, or any other of my goods whatsoever return into *England*, I have made you only possessor of them. And now to come to that villain that hath been the death of me, and the decay of this whole action, I mean

Davis, whose only treachery, in running from me, hath been an utter ruin of all; if any good return by him, as ever you love me, make such friends as he of all others may reap least gain. I assure myself you will be careful in all friendship of my last requests. My debts which be owing be not much, &c. But I, most unfortunate villain, was matched with the most abject-minded and mutinous company that ever was carried out of *England* by any man living; for I protest unto you that in going to the Straits of *Magellan*, after I was passed to the southward of the river of *Plate*, and had bidden the fury of storms which indeed I think to be such as worsè might not be endured, I never made my course to the Straits-ward but I was in continual danger by my company, which never ceased to practise and mutiny against me. And having gotten the appointed place called *Port Desire*, I met with all my company, which had been there twenty days before me; and had not my most true friend been there (whom to name my heart bleeds, I mean my cousin *Locke*), I had been constrained either to suffer violence, or some other most disordered mishap. I came into this harbour with my boat, my ship riding without at sea; where I found the *Roebuck*, the *Desire*, and the *Pinnace*, all which complained unto me, that the tide ran so violently as they were not able to ride, but were driven aground, and wished me in anywise not to come in with my ship, for that if she should come on ground, she would be utterly cast away: which I knew to be most true.

And finding it to be no place for so great a ship without her utter ruin, I forthwith commanded them to make themselves ready to depart: they being fresh, and infinitely well relieved with seals and birds, which in that place did abound, and my company being grown weak and feeble with continual watching, pumping, and baling. For I must say truly unto you, there were never men that endured more extremities of the seas than my poor company had done. Such was the fury of the west-south-west and south-west

winds, as we were driven from the shore four hundred leagues, and constrained to beat from fifty degrees to the southward into forty to the northward again, before we could recover near the shore. In which time we had a new shift of sails clean blown away, and our ship in danger to sink in the sea three times, which with extremity of men's labour we recovered. In this weakness we departed for the Straits, being from that harbour eight leagues; and in eighteen days we got the Straits, in which time the men in my ship were grown extremely weak. The other ship's company were in good case, by reason of their late relief.

And now we had been almost four months between the coast of *Brazil* and the Straits, being in distance not above six hundred leagues, which is commonly run in twenty or thirty days: but such was the adverseness of our fortunes that in coming thither we spent the summer, and found in the Straits the beginning of a most extreme winter, not durable for Christians. In despite of all storms and tempests, so long as we had ground to anchor in and tides to help us, we beat into the Straits some fifty leagues, having for the most part the winds contrary. At length, being forced by the extremity of storms and the narrowness of the Straits (being not able to turn windward no longer), we got into an harbour, where we rid from the eighteenth day of April till the tenth of May: in all which time we never had other then most furious contrary winds: and after that the month of May was come in, nothing but such flights of snow and extremities of frosts, as in all the time of my life I never saw any to be compared with them.

This extremity caused the weak men (in my ship only) to decay; for in seven or eight days, in this extremity there died forty men, and sickened seventy, so that there were not fifty men that were able to stand upon the hatches. I finding this miserable calamity to fall upon me, and found that besides the decay of my men, and expence of my victual, the snow and frost decayed our sails and tackle, and

the contagiousness of the place to be such, for extremity of frost and snow, as there was no long staying without the utter ruin of us all : what by these extremities, and the daily decay of my men, I was constrained forthwith to determine some course, and not (for all this extremity of weather) to tarry there any longer.

Upon this I assembled my company together, and shewed them that my intention was to go for *China*, and that there were two ways thither, the one through the Straits, the other by the way of *Caput Bonae Spei*; which course shewed them was as well known to me as the way I had undertaken. And although that fortune had denied us this passage, yet I doubted not but soon to recover to this Cape, where, I shewed them, I made no doubt but we should relieve ourselves, and perform to their contents our intended voyage. These persuasions, with many others which I used, seemed to content them for the present; but they were no sooner gone from me, but forthwith all manner of discontents were unripped amongst themselves, so that to go that way they plainly and resolutely determined never to give their willing consents. Some of the best and honestest sort, hearing this their resolution, wished them rather to put up a supplication to me, than thus privately among themselves to mutiny and murmur, which course might cause an utter ruin to fall upon them all: affirming that they knew me to be so reasonable as I would not refuse to hear their petition. Upon this, they framed an humble supplication to me, as they termed it, the effect of which was that *first, they protested to spend their lives most willingly for my sake, and that their love was such to me, as their chiefest care was for me; and they grieved very much to see me put on a resolution which, as they supposed, would be the end of my life, which was their greatest grief. And next, their own lives would immediately follow, both by reason of the length of the course, all of which they must perform without relief; and further, we had not left four months' victual, which might very well be spent in running a course not half so long. But if it*

would please me to return again for the coast of Brazil, where, they knew, my force, being together, was able to take any place, there we might both provide victual to return again, and furnish ourselves of all other such wants as these extremities had brought upon us, and at a seasonable time return again, and so perform our first intention.

Now I, knowing their resolution, and finding that in some things their reasons were not vain, began more seriously to look into all my wants. First, I found my greatest decay to be in ropes and sails, wherein, by means of such mighty extremities, I was utterly unfurnished, for I lost a new shift of sails coming thither; and further, the *Desire* had bidden the like extremity, which I furnished, so as I had left no store at all; for no ships carry three new shifts of sails, all which had been little enough for me; and last of all, our victuals to be most short. I was to fall into consideration what to do. I knew well that the winds were such and so continually against us, as by no means it was possible to pass through: for the violent snows were such, as in two days together we should not be able to see five hours; the place not a league over in breadth; our ships not to be handled in such extremity of wind, no, nor canvas to hold the fury of the wind; our men so weak, as of one hundred and fifty men I had not in my ship fifty in health. And this ship, coming with all her company, was like three times to have been upon the shore, by reason of her unyary¹ workings. These causes made me utterly despair of any passage at this season: so I resolved the company I would put out of the harbour, and beat to get through so long as the furious and westerly winds would suffer us; but if they came upon us, so as we could not hold it up, we would then bear up again, and so, according to their request, go for the coast of *Brazil*, which they so much seemed to desire, and I so much hated.

¹ Slow.

But, in truth, I was forced to take that way, for that there was no place where this ship could come into, to tarry out a winter. For Port *St. Julian* is a barred harbour, over which two of my ships would not go, and Port *Desire* hath neither wood nor water; and, besides that, the tide runneth so extremely as it is not possible for anchors to hold, the ground being so bad. But the last cause of all to be considered was the sickness of my men, having no clothes to defend them from the extreme cold. These causes, and their ardent desires of being out of the cold, moved me to go back again for that most wicked coast of *Brazil*, where I encountered all manner of misfortunes: which, as I have unripp'd the former, so I will briefly declare the latter.

We were beaten out of the Strait with a most monstrous storm at west-south-west; from which place we continued together till we came in the latitude of 47, in which place *Davis* in the *Desire* and my *Pinnacle* lost me in the night, after which time I never heard of them; but, as I since understood, *Davis* his intention was ever to run away. This is God's will, that I should put him in trust that should be the end of my life and the decay of the whole action. For had not these two small ships parted from us, we would not have miscarried on the coast of *Brazil*; for the only decay of us was that we could not get into their barred harbours. What became of these small ships I am not able to judge; but sure it is most like they went back again for Port *Desire*, a place of relief for two so small ships. For they might lie on ground there without danger; and being so few men, they might relieve themselves with seals and birds, and so take a good time of the year, and pass the Straits. The men in these small ships were all lusty and in health; wherefore the likelier to hold out. The short of all is this; *Davis* his only intent was utterly to overthrow me, which he hath well performed.

These ships being parted from us, we little suspecting any treachery, the *Roebuck* and myself held our course for

Brazil, and kept together till we came in the latitude of 36, where we encountered the most grievous storm that ever any Christians endured upon the seas to live: in which storm we lost company. We with most extreme labour and great danger got to the coast of *Brazil*, where we were fifteen days and never heard of the *Roebuck*. We came to an anchor in the Bay of *St. Vincent*; and being at an anchor there, the gentlemen desired me to give them leave to go ashore to some of the *Portugals'* farm-houses, to get some fresh victuals, which I granted; willing to make them present return, knowing very well the whole country was not able to prejudice them, if they willingly would not endanger themselves. They went to a sugar-mill hard by me where I rode (for that was my special charge, that they should never go a mile from the ship); where they got some victual, and came aboard again very well.

The next day, in the morning betimes, an *Indian* came unto me with Captain *Barker*, which *Indian* ran away from his master at my last being there; this savage knew all the country. He came unto me and said that beyond a point not a culverin-shot off, there was a very rich farm-house, and desired ten or twelve men to go thither. Captain *Barker*, being one whom I most trusted in the conduction of men, and who ever was the most careful in such matters of service, I appointed to go, and to take some twenty or thirty men with him; and willed him, as he had any respect or regard of my commandment, not to stay, but to come presently away, finding anything or nothing. He forthwith took five and twenty men of the most principal men in the ship, and then your cousin *Stafford* would by no means be left behind. They departed by 4 of the clock in the morning, so as I did not see their company. But what should I write more than this unto you? They were all such as neither respected me, nor anything that I commanded. Away they went, and by one of the clock they sent my boat again with *Guinea* wheat, and six hens, and a small hog. I, seeing no return again of

the company (for they had sent away the boat only with men to row her aboard) was very much grieved, and presently returned the boat again with message: that I much marvelled they would tarry at a place so long with so few men; and further, that it was not a hog and six hens could relieve us; and seeing there was no other relief to be had, I charged them straitly to come aboard presently. Thus having despatched my boat for them, I still expected their present coming aboard. All that night I heard nothing of them; the next morning I shot ordnance, yet I saw no boat come. Then I weighed anchor, and made aboard into the bay. Yet for all this, I heard nothing of them; then I doubted with myself very greatly, knowing there were no means left to make any manifest signs to them to hasten away. All that day I heard nothing of them. In the evening I set sails again, and ran into the shore; all that night I heard no news of them.

The next morning, I saw an *Indian* come down to the seaside, and waved unto the ship; we being desirous to hear some news, caused a raft to be made, for boat we had none, and sent it ashore, and set the *Indian* aboard. When we saw him, we found him to be our own *Indian*, which had escaped away, being sore hurt in three places; who told us that all the rest of our men were slain with three hundred *Indians*, and eighty *Portugals*, which in the evening set upon them suddenly. Then I demanded why they came not aboard? The *Indian* answered me that some were unwilling to come, and the rest did nothing but eat hens and hogs, which they had there in abundance, and that they minded nothing to come aboard. I leave you to judge in what grief I was, to see five and twenty of my principal men thus basely and wilfully cast away; but I leave you to enquire of others the practices of these men, lest in writing unto you it should be thought I did it of malice, which, I protest, is far from me, they being now dead, and myself looking imminently to follow them.

Thus was I left destitute of my principal men and a boat ; and had I not, by great hap, the day before taken an old boat from the *Portugals*, I had been utterly undone. This boat I sent to an island fifteen leagues off, to see if they could hear any news of the rest of my ships ; she returned within eight days, all which time I remained without a boat. Thus I was six days before I heard news of any of my consorts. The seventeenth day came in the *Roebuck*, having spent all her masts but their mizen, their sails blown clean away, and in the most miserable case that ever ship was in : all which mishaps falling upon me, and then missing my small ships, wherein, upon that coast, consisted all my strength, having no pinnaces nor great boats left to land my men in, for they were all cast away going to the Strait, I, notwithstanding the want of boats and pinnaces, determined, rather than not to be revenged of so base dogs, to venture the ships to go down the river afore their town, and to have beaten it to the ground ; which forthwith I put in execution. And having gotten down half the way, we found the river so narrow, by reason of a shoal, as all the company affirmed plainly it was both desperate and most dangerous. For the river is all ooze, and if a ship come aground it is impossible ever to get off : for there riseth not above a foot water, and no anchors will hold to hale off any ships, in so narrow a place, as we were almost aground in wending.

Seeing this apparent danger, I forthwith bare up out of the river, where we escaped no small danger to get well out, for we had but little more water than we drew ; and if she had come aground it had been impossible ever to have gotten her off. By these means, of not passing the river, we were constrained to let our revenge pass : for our boats weer so bad and small as we durst put no men in them. Notwithstanding we landed, and did them much spoil upon their farm-houses, and got some quantity of fresh victuals. This place being not for us, considering our ships were not

able to pass to their town ; and further, our great wants did constrain us to seek some course of relief, which not being to be had there, both for that we had spoiled it a little before, and also for that we could not conveniently come to do them any prejudice, without most loss to ourselves ; I determined to part from thence, and go to a small island some twenty leagues off, and there to have fitted all my necessaries, and to have cast off the *Roebuck*, for that by no means her wants could by me be furnished ; and so, at a seasonable time, to have gone for the Straits of *Magellan* again.

Which intention, I must confess, I kept most secret, for fear of some mutiny, but shewed the whole company that I would go for *St. Helena*, where we should meet with the carracks ; which course I well knew did not much please them, for they desired nothing more than returning home into *England*, and if I had named but the Straits they would forthwith have fallen into a most extreme mutiny ; for such were the miseries and torments they had endured, as all the best sort had taken an oath upon a Bible to die, rather than yield their consents to go back that way again. I knowing this, seemed to speak nothing of that course, but comforting their despairing minds as well as I might, seeing their greatest grief was for the wants of the small ships, without which, they all affirmed (and that truly) we were able to do nothing, for the ports, where their towns stand, were all barred harbours, and that it was not possible to get any of these ships over them, whereby we could relieve ourselves of such wants as we were in. These things, being alleged, I seemed to pass over as slightly as might be, but yet comforted them that we would presently seek some place of relief, with all speed.

There was a *Portugal* aboard me, who took upon him to be a pilot ; who came unto me and told me, upon his life, that he would take upon him to carry both my ships over the bar at *Spiritus Sanctus* ; a place, indeed, of great relief,

and the only place in *Brazil* for victual and all other wants that we were in ; I knowing very well that if I could bring my ships within shot of the town I should land my men, and further, it could not be in them to make resistance. The whole company desired this course, affirming that there was no way left to relieve all our wants but this ; and that they were in hope to find some ships, to repair the *Roebuck* again. I finding their willingness, and charging the *Portugal* upon his life to tell me truly whether the ships might pass over the bar without danger ; he willed me to take his life if ever the ships came in less water than five fathom, with such constant affirmations as he desired not to live if he should not perform this. I considering the greatness of our wants, and knowing right well the place to be the only wished town on all the coast to relieve us, forthwith gave my consent ; and thither we went, leaving all other intentions. We anchored before the bar, and sent my boat to sound the bar, and found the deepest water to be but fifteen and seventeen foot (the *Portugal* himself going with them all over the bar), the most water to be but three fathom. They, coming aboard, brought me word of the truth. I called for the *Portugal*, and demanded of him why he had so lied unto me ? Who affirmed that he never sounded the bar before, and that he had brought in ships of an hundred tons, and that he made account there had not been less water than five fathom.

This mishap was no small amazement to me and all the company, considering our distress for water and other necessaries, and that the road was so ill as we were scant able to ride there, so as we could neither take in water nor do any other business. In this meantime, while we were scanning of these matters, the *Roebuck's* boat, rowing further into the bay, saw where three ships were at an anchor, not far from the town, and came aboard, and brought me word thereof ; at which news the company seemed much to rejoice, and all affirmed that they would go with our boats

and bring them out of the harbour. I shewed them how much the taking of them imported us; and told them, that although the day was spent, yet I thought the night not to be altogether inconvenient, if they would put on minds to perform it. Resolutely my reasons were these: first, they were not so sufficiently provided to defend themselves, at that instant, as they would be in the morning; and further I told them, that if they were not able to defend them, they would take the principal and best things out of them, being so near the shore; and that if they had wherewith to defend themselves, it would be less offensive to us in the night than in the day, and we in greatest security and more offensive to the enemy, especially this exploit being to be done on the water, not landing.

These persuasions seemed a little to move them, for they all desired to stay till morning; yet some of them prepared themselves. Coming amongst them, I found them all, or for the most part, utterly unwilling to go that night; upon which occasion, I confess I was much moved and gave them some bitter words, and shewed them our case was not to make detractions, but to take that opportunity which was offered us, and not to fear a-night more than a-day; and told them plainly, that in refusing of this I could stay there no longer, for over the bar we could not go, and the road so dangerous as never ships rid in a worse. And further, we saw all the country to be fired round about, and that to land we could not without utter spoil to us all, for all our boats were naught; and further, we could by no means be succoured by our ships, so as I intended to depart. The next morning there was almost an uproar amongst them, the most of them swearing that if I would not give them leave, they would take the boats and bring away those ships of themselves. I coming among them, began to reprehend them for their rashness, and told them that now all opportunity was past, and that they must be contented, for go they should not. They much importuned me, and some of

the chiefest of them desired me with tears in their eyes that they might go, affirming that there was no danger to be feared at all; for if they were not able to take them, they would return again, and that to depart without attempting to do this, was a thing that most greatly grieved them.

I knowing right well that if they landed not they could receive no prejudice; for if their ships had been able to withstand them, it was in their power to go from them, being stark calm; and further, I knew that no ships use *Brazil* that be able to defend themselves from a cock-boat, much less that they should be of force to offend those boats, wherein there were so many musketeers as could sit one by another; I seeing their great importunity, was contented to give them leave to go; and this was my charge to Captain *Morgan* (to whom at that present I left my directions), that first, upon pain of his life he should not land at all, what opportunity soever was offered; and that if he saw any danger in coming to these ships, he should attempt no further, but return aboard again; but contrariwise, if he saw that the place was such as we might land without too much disadvantage, and if we might land on plain ground, free from woods or bushes, hard before the town, that then he would presently repair unto me again, and I, and so many as these bad boats would carry, would presently land upon them.

Thus my boats departed from me, having some 80 men, as well furnished with weapons as it is possible to sort such a number withal. Now you shall understand that in the night the *Portugals* had haled the ships hard afore the town. The river where the town stood was not above a bird-bolt-shot over, and half a mile from the town, where the ships rode: the night we came in they had new cast up two small trenches, on each side the river one, where they had planted some two small bases a-piece upon an hill. Right over them were thick woods and great rocks: so that if any were possessed of them they might but tumble stones down and

beat away a thousand men. The trench on the wester-side of the river shot at our boats once or twice ; upon that they began to think with themselves what to do, Captain *Morgan* affirming the place to be very narrow, and that they could not well pass it without danger, considering the many men in their boats ; and also the charge which I had given was such, if they saw any danger they should presently repair aboard and certify me, and not to pass any further till they had understood my further determination. This Master *Morgan* made known amongst them : whereupon some of the hare-brain sailors began to swear *that they never thought other but that he was a coward, and now he will shew it, that durst not land upon a bauble¹ ditch*, as they termed it. Upon this the gentleman was very much moved, and answered them that they should find him to be none such as they accounted him, and that, come what could happen him, he would land.

Upon this they put the boats between the two sconces² ; that on the easter-side they had not seen, and the boats, being hard upon it, were shot at, and in the biggest boat they hurt two and killed one with that shot. Upon this, they determined, that the smallest boat with their company should land on the wester-side, and the other to land on the easter-side. The small boat landed first, and that place having but few in it, they being not able to defend themselves, ran away, so that our men entered peaceably without hurt of any. The other boat drawing much water, was aground before they came near the shore, so as they that landed were fain to wade above knee-high in water. Now the place, or sconce, was in height some ten foot, made of stone. Captain *Morgan* more resolutely than discreetly scaled the wall, and ten more with him, which went out of the boat together. Then the *Indians* and *Portugals* shewed themselves, and with great stones from over the trench killed *Morgan* and five more, and the rest of them, being

¹ Trivial.

² Forts (Dutch *schans*).

sore hurt, retired to the boat, which by this time was so filled with *Indian* arrows as of forty-five men being in the boat there escaped not eight of them unhurt, some having three arrows sticking in them, some two, and there was none which escaped without wound. The fury of those arrows coming so thick, and so many of them being spoiled, they put the boat from the shore, leaving the rest on land, a spoil for the *Indians*.

By this time there came two boats full of lusty *Portugals*, and some *Spaniards*, who knowing the sconce on the wester-side to be weakly manned, came with their boats to the fort's side. One of them ran ashore, which was fullest of men; then our men let fly their muskets at them, and spoiled and killed all that were in that boat. The others, seeing their fellows speed so ill, rowed back again with all their force, and got the town again. In this meantime the great boat being gotten off, they called to them in the sconce, and willed them to forsake the fort, and to come and help them; for they told them that all their men were spoiled and slain. Upon this they straight came out of the sconce again, and retired to their boat; who rushing in all together into the boat, she came on ground, so that off they could not get her, but some must go out of her again; ten of the lustiest men went out, and by that time the *Indians* were come down into the fort again, and shot at our men. They which were aland, perceiving the arrows fly among them, ran again to the fort's side, and shot in at the lower hold with their muskets. By this the boat was got off, and one that was the master of the *Roebuck*, a most cowardly villain that was ever born of a woman, caused them in the boat to row away, and so left those brave men a spoil for the *Portugals*; yet they waded up to the necks in the water to them, but those merciless villains in the boat would have no pity on them. Their excuse was that the boat was so full of water, that had they come in, she would have sunk with all them in her; thus vilely were those poor men lost.

By this time, they which were landed on the other side (the great boat not being able to row near the shore to relieve them) were killed with stones by the *Indians*, being thus wilfully and indiscreetly spoiled, which you may well perceive if you look into their landing, especially in such a place as they could not escape killing with stones. They returned aboard again, having lost five and twenty men, whereof ten of them were left ashore in such sort as I have shewed you. When the boats came to the ship's side, there were not eight men in the biggest boat which were not most grievously wounded. I demanded of them the cause of their mishaps, and how they durst land, considering my strait commandment to the contrary: they answered me, that there was no fault in Captain *Morgan*, but the greatest occasion of all this spoil to them happened upon a controversy between the captain and those soldiers that landed with him, and were killed at the fort; for their ill speeches and urging of Captain *Morgan* was the cause that he landed contrary to my commandment, and upon such a place, as they all confessed forty men were sufficient to spoil five hundred.

I leave it to yourself to judge what a sight it was to me to see so many of my best men thus wilfully spoiled, having not left in my ship fifty sound men, so as we were no more than able to weigh our anchors; which the next morning we did, and finding it calm, we were constrained to come to an anchor again. For my only intention was to get out of that bad road, and to put off into the sea, and there to determine what to do; for that place was not for us to tarry in; for the road was so bad, as we were not able to help ourselves with a boat's loading of fresh water, whereof we stood in no small want. In this day's stay in the road, I comforted these distressed poor men what I might, and found most of their desires to return again into *England*. I let them understand how we would go back again to the island of Saint *Sebastian*, and there we would water, and do our other necessary businesses, or there make a resolute

determination of the rest of our proceedings. This course seemed to like them all very well ; but the company in the *Roebuck* instantly desired nothing more, than to return home, all affirming that it was pity such a ship should be cast off. But in truth, it was not of any care of the ship, but only of a most cowardly mind of the master and the chiefest of the company to return home.

Now you shall understand that the captain was very sick ; and since the time that the ship lost her masts, she became the most laboursome ship that ever did swim on the sea, so as he was not able to endure in her, and at that present he lay aboard my ship, so as there was none of any trust or account left in her. But such was the case of that ship, being without sails, masts, or any manner of tackle, as in the sense and judgment of any man living there did not live that desperate-minded man in the world, which (in that case she was then in) would have ventured to have sailed in her half so far as *England*: and if she do return, it is, in my opinion, the most admirable return that ever ship made, being so far off, and in her case. These villains, having left in my ship all their hurt men, and having aboard of them both my surgeons, I having not one in mine own ship which knew how to lay a plaster to a wound, much less to cure any by salves ; and further, having in their ship three times the proportion of my victual, wherein consisted the only relief and comfort of all my company, these most hard-hearted villains determined that night amongst themselves to lose me at their next convenient time they could espy, and in this case to go for *England*, leaving us in the greatest distress that ever one Christian left another in ; for we had all her hurt men in us, and we had taken out of her the best part of her men not long before ; so as in running from us they not only carried away our surgeons and all their provision, but also our victual, wherein consisted all our relief and comfort ; having in them at their departure but six and forty men, carrying away with them the proportion

for six months' victual of one hundred and twenty men at large.

I leave you to consider of this part of theirs, and the miserable case I was left in, with so many hurt men, so little victual; and my boat being so bad, as six or seven men continually baling water were scant able to keep her from sinking; and mend her we could not by any means before we recovered some shore; for had not these villains in the *Roebuck* that night we rode in this bay suffered their boat to run ashore with *Irish* men, which went to betray us, I had taken her boat, and sunk this great naughty boat. Such was the greatness of our mishaps, as we were not left with the comfort and hope of a boat to relieve ourselves withal: we not having left in the ship scarce three tuns of water for 140 men, the most part whereof being hurt and sick. We putting out of the road the next day, they the same night in this case left us, and, as I suppose, they could not account otherwise than that we should never again be heard of.

The next morning looking for the *Roebuck*, which could nowhere be seen, I leave you to judge in what plight my company was, being now destitute of surgeons, victuals, and all other relief; which in truth was so great a discomfort unto them, as they held themselves dead men, as well whole as hurt. The scantness of water made us that we could not seek after them, but were enforced to seek to this island, with all possible speed, having to beat back again thither two hundred leagues: which place God suffered us to get with our last cask [of] water, the poor men being most extremely pinched for want thereof. Where, after we had a little refreshed ourselves, we presently mended our boat in such sort, as with great labour and danger we brought forty tuns of water aboard. And in the mean time searching our store of ropes, tackle, and sails, we found ourselves utterly unfurnished both of ropes and sails: which accident pleased the company not a little, for by these wants they

assuredly accounted to go home. Then making a survey of the victual, we found to be remaining in the ship, according to the rate we then lived at, fourteen weeks' victuals at large.

Having rigged our ships in such sort as our small store would furnish us, which was most meanly, for we had but four sails, our sprite-sail and fore-top-sail being wanting, which two the ship most principally loveth; and those which we had, except her main-sail, were more than half worn. In this poor case being furnished, and our water taken in, my company knowing my determination, which was to hale my boat aground and build her anew, they forthwith openly began to murmur and mutiny; affirming plainly that I need not mend the boat, for they would go home, and then there should be no use of her. I hearing these speeches thought it was now time to look amongst them, calling them together, and told them that *although we had many mishaps fallen upon us, yet I hoped that their minds would not in such sort be overcome with any of these misfortunes, that they would go about to undertake any base or disordered course; but that they would cheerfully go forward, to attempt either to make themselves famous in resolutely dying, or in living to perform that which would be to their perpetual reputation. And the more we attempted, being in so weak a case, the more, if we performed, would be to our honours. But contrariwise, if we died in attempting, we did but that which we came for, which was either to perform or die.*

And then I shewed them my determination, to go again for the Straits of *Magellanus*; which words were no sooner uttered, but forthwith they all with one consent affirmed plainly they would never go that way again, and that they would rather stay ashore in that desert island than in such case to go for the Straits. I sought by peaceable means to persuade them, shewing them that *in going that way we should relieve our victuals by salting of seals and birds: which, they did well know, we might do in greater quantities than our ship could carry. And further, if we got through the Strait,*

which we might now easily perform, considering we had the chiefest part of summer before us, we could not but make a most rich voyage, and also meet again with the two small ships which were gone from us; and that it was but six hundred leagues thither, and to go into England they had two thousand. And further, that they should be most infamous to the world, that being within six hundred leagues of the place which we so much desired, to return home again so far, being most infamous and beggarly. These persuasions took no place with them, but most boldly they all affirmed that they had sworn they would never go again to the Straits; neither by no means would they. And one of the chiefest of their faction most proudly and stubbornly uttered these words to my face, in presence of all the rest: which I seeing, and finding mine own faction to be so weak, for there were not any that favoured my part but my poor cousin *Locke*, and the master of the ship, I took this bold companion by the bosom, and with mine own hands put a rope about his neck, meaning resolutely to strangle him, for weapon about me I had none. His companions seeing one of their chief champions in this case, and perceiving me to go roundly to work with him, they all came to the master, and desired him to speak, affirming they would be ready to take any course that I should think good of. I, hearing this, stayed myself and let the fellow go: after which time I found them something conformable, at least in speeches, though among themselves they still murmured at my intentions. Thus having something pacified them, and persuaded them that by no means I would take no other course than to go for the Straits, I took ashore with me thirty soldiers and my carpenters, carrying 14 days' victual with me for them. Thus going ashore, I haled up my boat, to new-build her in such sort as she might be able to abide the seas, leaving aboard all my sailors and the rest, to rig the ship, and mend sails, and do other business.

And now to let you know in what case I lay ashore among

these base men, you shall understand that, of these thirty, there were very few of them which had not rather have gone to the *Portugals* than to have remained with me: for there were some which at my being ashore were making rafts to go over to the main, which was not a mile over, where the *Portugals* had continual watch of us, looking but for a fit opportunity to set upon us. Being in this case, always expecting the coming of the *Portugals*, against whom I could have made no resistance, and further the treachery of some of my company, which desired nothing more than to steal over [and] so to betray me, I protest I lived hourly as he that still expecteth death. In this case I made all the speed I could to make an end of my boat, that we might be able to row her aboard; which in twelve days we mainly finished. Which being done, I came aboard, and found all my business in good forwardness; so I determined with all possible speed to dispatch and be gone for the Straits of *Magellan*.

But ere ever we could get in all our water and timber-wood, and other necessaries, an *Irish* man, a noble villain, having made a raft, got over to the main, and told the *Portugals* which were there, watching nothing but an opportunity, that if they would go over in the night they should find most of our men ashore without weapon, and that they might do with them what they would. Upon this, the next night they came over, and having taken some of our men, they brought them where the rest lay: which they most cruelly killed, being sick men not able to stir to help themselves. Those which were ashore, more than the sick men, had stolen out of the ship; for it was all my care to keep them aboard, knowing well that the *Portugals* sought to spoil us, the place being so fit for them, all overgrown with woods and bushes, as their *Indians* might go and spoil us with their arrows at their pleasures, and we not able to hurt one of them. In the morning, perceiving their coming, I sent my boat ashore and rescued all my healthful men

but five, which they found out in the night without weapons to defend them: whereof, besides the loss of our men, we having but four sails left one ashore, which was no small mishap among the rest.

The *Portugals* went presently again over to the main, but left their *Indians* to keep in the bushes. About the watering-place our men, going ashore, were shot at and hurt, and could by no means come to hurt them again, by reason of the wood and bushes. Wherefore finding my men hurt, and that by no means I could do anything there without more loss of men, whereof I had no need, for I had not above 90 men left, or little over, notwithstanding my wants of wood and water, and my boat, not being sufficiently mended, was in no possibility to do me pleasure, in this case I was forced to depart; fortune never ceasing to lay her greatest adversities upon me.

But now I am grown so weak and faint as I am scarce able to hold the pen in my hand: wherefore I must leave you to enquire the rest of our most unhappy proceedings; but know this, that for the Straits I could by no means get my company to give their consents to go. For after this misfortune, and the want of our sails, which was a chief matter they alleged, to tell you truth, all the men left in the ship were no more than able to weigh our anchors. But in truth I desired nothing more than to attempt that course, rather desiring to die in going forward than basely in returning back again: but God would not suffer me to die so happy a man, although I sought, all the ways I could, still to attempt to perform somewhat. For after that by no means I saw they could be brought to go for the Straits, having so many reasonable reasons to allege against me as they had; first, having but three sails, and the place subject to such furious storms, and the loss of one of these was death; and further, our boat was not sufficiently repaired to abide the seas; and last of all, the fewness and feebleness of our company, wherein we had not left 30 sailors; these

causes being alleged against me I could not well answer, but resolved them plainly that to *England* I would never give my consent to go; and that if they would not take such courses as I intended I was then determined that ship and all should sink in the seas together. Upon this they began to be more tractable; and then I shewed them that I would beat for *St. Helena*, and there either to make ourselves happy by mending, or ending. This course, in truth, pleased none of them; and yet, seeing my determination, and supposing it would be more danger to resist me than in seeming to be willing, they were at quiet until I had beaten from nine and twenty degrees to the southward of the equator, to twenty. At which time, finding that I was too far northerly to have good wind, I called them to tack about the ship to the southward again. They all plainly made answer *they would not, and that they had rather die there than be starved in seeking an island which (they thought) that way we should never get.*

What means I used to stand again to the southward I leave you to enquire of themselves: but from the latitude of twenty I beat back again into eight and twenty, with such contrary winds as I suppose never man was troubled with the like so long a time together. Being in this latitude I found the wind favourable, and then I stood again to the northward, willing the master and his company to sail east-north-east. And they in the night, I being asleep, steered north-east, and mere northerly. Notwithstanding all this most vile usage, we got within two leagues of the island, and had the wind favoured us so as that we might have stemmed from eighteen degrees to sixteen, east-north-east, we had found the island; but it was not God's will so great a blessing should befall me. Being now in the latitude of the island, almost eighteen leagues to the westward of it, the wind being continually at east-south-east, the most contrary wind that could blow, I presently made a survey of my victual, and found that according to that

proportion which we then lived at there was not left in the ship eight weeks' victual; which, being so far from relief, was as I suppose as small a portion as ever men were at in the seas.

Being so uncertain of relief, I demanded of them if they would venture, like good-minded men, to beat to the southward again to get this island, where we should not only relieve ourselves, but also to be in full assurance either to sink or take a carrack; and that by this means we would have a sufficient revenge of the *Portugals* for all their villanies done unto us; or that they would pinch, and bate half the allowance they had before, and so to go for *England*. They all answered me they would pinch to death rather than go to the southward again. I knowing their dispositions, and having lived among them in such continual torment and disquietness; and now to tell you my greatest grief, which was the sickness of my dear kinsman *John Locke*, who by this time was grown in great weakness, by reason whereof he desired rather quietness and contentedness in our course than such continual disquietness, which never ceased me; and now by this, what with grief for him, and the continual trouble I endured among such hellhounds, my spirits were clean spent, wishing myself upon any desert place in the world, there to die, rather than thus basely to return home again; which course I had put in execution had I found an island which the cards make to be in eight degrees to the southward of the line¹. I swear to you, I sought it with all diligence, meaning, if I had found it, to have there ended my unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happiness to light upon me, for I could by no means find it, so as I was forced to go towards *England*; and having gotten eight degrees by north the line I lost my most dearest cousin.

And now consider whether a heart made of flesh be able to endure so many misfortunes, all falling upon me without

¹ Ascension Island.

intermission. I thank my God that in ending of me He hath pleased to rid me of all further trouble and mishaps. And now to return to our private matters, I have made my will, wherein I have given special charge that all goods, whatsoever belong unto me, be delivered into your hands. For God's sake refuse not to do this last request for me. I owe little, that I know of, and therefore it will be the less trouble; but if there be any debt, that of truth is owing by me, for God's sake see it paid. I have left a space in the will for another name; and, if you think it good, I pray take in my cousin *Henry Sackford*; he will ease you much in many businesses. There is a bill of adventure to my cousin *Richard Locke*. If it happen the other ship return home with anything, as it is not impossible, I pray remember him, for he hath nothing to shew for it; and likewise Master *Heton*, the Customer of *Hampton*, which is fifty pounds, and one *Eliot* of *Ratcliffe* by *London*, which is fifty pounds more; the rest have all bills of adventure, only [these] two. excepted which I have written unto you. I have given Sir *George Cary* the *Desire*, if ever she return; for I always promised him her, if she returned, and a little part of her getting. If any such thing happen, I pray you see it performed.

To use compliments of love, now at my last breath, were frivolous; but know that I left none in *England* whom I loved half so well as yourself, which you in such sort deserved at my hands as I can by no means requite. I have left all that little remaining unto you, not to be accountable for anything. That which you will, if you find any overplus or remain, yourself specially being satisfied to your own desire, give unto my sister *Anne Cavendish*. I have written to no man living but yourself, leaving all friends and kinsmen, only reputed you as dearest. Commend me to both your brethren, being glad that your brother *Edward* escaped so unfortunate a voyage. I pray give this copy of my unhappy proceedings in this action to none but only to

Sir *George Cary*: and tell him that if I had thought the letter of a dead man would have been acceptable I would have written unto him. I have taken order with the master of my ship to see his pieces of ordnance delivered unto him, for he knoweth them. And if the *Roebuck* be not returned, then I have appointed him to deliver him two brass pieces out of this ship; which I pray see performed. I have now no more to say; but take this last farewell, that you have lost the lovingest friend that was lost by any. Commend me to your wife. No more; but, as you love God, do not refuse to undertake this last request of mine. I pray forget not Master *Cary* of *Cockington*; gratify him with something, for he used me kindly at my departure. Bear with this scribbling, for I protest I am scant able to hold a pen in my hand.

THE END.

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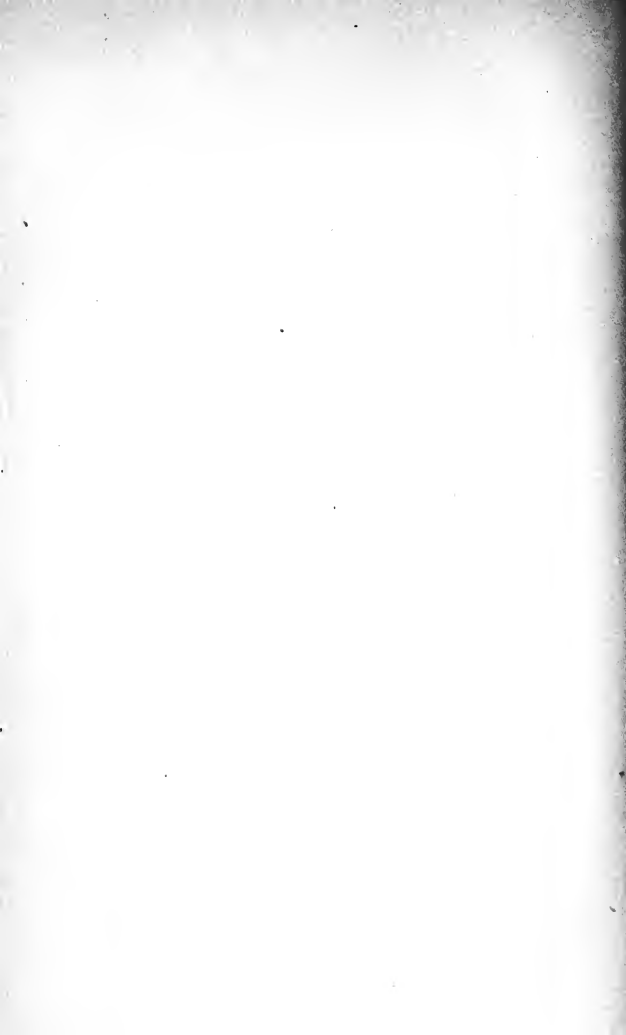
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