

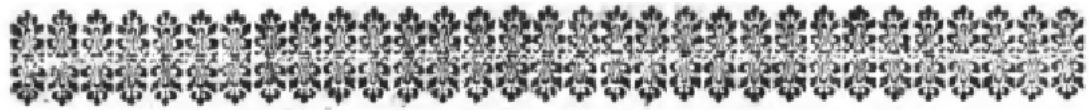
THE
WORLD
ENCOMPASSED
BY
SIR *FRANCIS DRAKE*.

Offered now at last to Public view, both
for the honor of the Actor, but especially
for the stirring up of heroic Spirits, to benefit
their Country, and eternalize their Names
by like noble attempts.

Collected out of the Notes of Master *Francis Fletcher*
Preacher in this employment, and compared with
divers others Notes that went in the
same VOYAGE.



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SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

his Voyage about the WORLD.



Ver since Almighty God commanded *Adam* to subdue the Earth, there hath not wanted in all Ages some heroical Spirits, which in obedience to that high mandate, either from manifest reason assuring them, or by secret instinct enforcing them there unto, have expended their wealth, employed their times and adventured their Persons to find out the true circuit of the World.

Of these, some have endeavored to effect this their purpose, by conclusion and consequence, drawn from the proportion of the higher Circles, to this nethermost Globe, being the Center of the rest. Others not contented with School Points and such demonstrations (for that a small error in the beginning, growing in the progress to a great inconvenience) have added there unto their own History and experience. All of them in reason have deserved great commendation of their own Ages, and purchased a just renown with all posterity. For if a surveyor of some few Lordships, whereof the bounds and limits were before known worthily deserve his reward, not only for his travel, but for his skill also, in measuring the whole and every part thereof : how much more above comparison, are their famous travels by all means possible to be eternalized, who have bestowed their studies and endeavor, to survey and measure this Globe almost unmeasurable ? Neither is here that difference to be objected, which in private Possessions is of value. *Whose Land Survey you ?* for as much as the main Ocean by right is the Lords alone, and by nature left free, for all men to deal withal, as very

sufficient for all mens use, and large enough for all mens industry.

And therefore that valiant enterprise, accompanied with happy success which that right rare and thrice worthy Captain *Francis Drake* achieved, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, does not only overmatch the ancient Argonauts, but also outreaches in many respects, that noble Mariner *Magellan*, and by far surpasses his crowned Victory. But hereof let Posterity judge.

It shall for the present, be deemed a sufficient discharge of duty, to register the true and whole history of that his Voyage, with as great indifference of affection as a history does require, and with the plain evidence of truth, as it was left recorded by some of the chief, and divers other Actors in that Action.

The said Captain *Francis Drake*, having in a former voyage, in the years 72, and 73, (the description whereof is already imparted to the view of the world) had a sight, and only a sight of the south Atlantic, and thereupon either conceiving a new, or renewing a former desire, of sailing on the same, in an English bosom(?) ; he so cherished thenceforward, this his noble desire and resolution in himself, that notwithstanding he was hindered for some years partly by secret envy at home, and partly by public service for his Prince and Country abroad (whereof *Ireland* under *Walter* Earl of Essex gives honorable testimony) yet again the year 1577 by gracious commission from his Sovereign and with the help of divers friends, Adventurers, he had fitted himself with five Ships.

1. *The Pelican*, Admiral, burthen 100 tons. Captain-general *Francis Drake*.

2. *The Elizabeth*, Vice Admiral, burthen 80 tons. Captain *John Winter*.

3. *The Marigold*, a Bark of 30 tons. Captain *John Thomas*.

4. *The Swan*, a Fliboat of 50 tons. Captain *John Chester*.

5. *The Christopher*, a Pinnace of fifteen tons. Captain *Thomas Moone*.

1577. These Ships he manned with 164 able and sufficient men, and furnished them also with such plentiful provision of all things necessary as so long and dangerous a Voyage did seem to require : and amongst the rest, with certain Pinnaces ready framed, but carried aboard in pieces, to be new set up in smoother water, when occasion served. Neither had he omitted, to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert musicians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his Table, yea many belonging even to the Cooke-room being of pure Silver) and divers shows of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native Country, might amongst all Nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired.

Nov. 15. Being thus appointed we set sail out of the sound of *Plymouth*, about five of the Clock in the afternoon *November 15th*

Nov. 16. of the same year, and running all that night Southwest, by the morning were come as far as the *Lizard*, where meeting the wind at Southwest (quite contrary to our intended course) we were forced with our whole Fleet to put in to *Falmouth*.

Nov. 17. The next day towards evening, there arose a storm, continuing all that night, and the day following (especially between 18. ten of the Clock in the forenoon, and five in the afternoon) with such violence, that though it were in a very good harbor, yet two of our Ships, *viz.* the Admiral (wherein our General himself went) and the *Marigold* were fain to cut their main masts by board, and for the repairing of them, and many other damages in the tempest sustained (as soon as the Weather would give leave) to bear back to *Plymouth* again, where we all arrived the thirteenth day after our first departure thence.

Nov. 28. Whence having in few days supplied all defects with happier sails we once more put to Sea December 13th 1577.

Dec. 13. 1577. As soon as we were out of sight of Land, our General gave us occasion to conjecture in part, whither he intended, both by the directing of his course, and appointing the Rendevous (if

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Dece. 25.

any should be severed from the Fleet to be the Island *Mogadore*. And so sailing with favorable winds, the first Land that we had sight of, was *Cape Cantine* in *Barbary* *December 25th*, *Christmas* day in the morning. The shore is fair white sand, and the inland country very high and mountainous, it lies in 32 deg. 30 min. North latitude, and so coasting from hence Southward, about 18 leagues, we arrived the same day at *Mogadore* the Island before named.

Decemb.

This *Mogadore*, lies under the dominion of the King of *Fesse* in 31 deg. 40 m. about a mile off from the shore, by this means making a good harbor between the Land and it. It is uninhabited, of about a league in circuit, not very high Land, all overgrown with a kind of shrub, breast high, not much unlike our privet, very full of Doves and therefore much frequented of Goshawks, and such like Birds of prey, besides divers sorts of Sea fowl very plenty. At the South side of this Island are three hollow Rocks, under which are great store of very wholesome but very ugly fish to look at. Lying here about a mile from the main, a Boat was sent to sound the Harbor, and finding it safe, and in the very entrance on the north side about five or six fathom water (but at the Southern side it is very dangerous) we brought in our whole Fleet *December 27th*, and continued there till the last day of the same Month, employing our leisure, the meanwhile, in setting up a Pinnacle, one of the four brought from home in pieces with us. Our abode here was soon perceived by the Inhabitants of the country, who coming to the shore by signs and cries made show, that they desired to be fetched on board, to whom our General sent a Boat, in which two of the chiefs of the *Moors* were presently received, and one man of ours, in exchange, left on land, as a pledge for their return.

They that came aboard were right courteously entertained with a dainty banquet, and such gifts as they seemed to be most glad of, that they might thereby understand, that this Fleet came in peace and friendship, offering to Traffic with them for

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such commodities as their country yielded, to their own content. This offer they seemed most glad to accept, and promised the next day to return again, with such things as they had to exchange for ours. It is a law amongst them to drink no wine, notwithstanding by stealth it pleases them well to have it abundantly, as here was experienced. At their return ashore, they quietly restored the pledge which they had stayed, and the next day, at the hour appointed, returning again, brought with them Camels in show laden with wares to be exchanged for our commodities, and calling for a boat in haste(?), had one sent them, according to order, with our General (being at this present absent) had given before his departure to the Island.

Our boat coming to the place of landing (which was among the rocks) one of our men called *John Fry*, mistrusting no danger; nor fearing any harm pretended by them, and therefore intending to become a pledge, according to the order used the day before, readily stepped out of the boat and ran on land, which opportunity (being that which the *Moors* did look for) they took the advantage of, and not only they which were in sight, laid hands on him to carry him away with them, but a number more, which lay secretly hidden, did forthwith break forth from behind the rock whether they had conveyed themselves (as seems the night before) forcing our men to leave the rescuing of him that was taken as captive, and with speed to shift for themselves.

The cause of this violence, was a desire which the King of *Fesse* had, to understand what this fleet was, whether any fore-runner of the Kings of *Portugal* or not, and what news of certainty the fleet might give him. And therefore after that he was brought to the K. presence, and had reported that they were Englishmen, bound for the *Straits*, under the conduct of general *Drake*, he was sent back again with a present to his captain and offer of great courtesy and friendship, if he would use his country. But in this mean time, the general being grieved with this show of injury, and intending, if he might, to recover

1577. or redeem his man, his pinnace being ready, landed his company, and marched somewhat into the country, without any resistance made against him : neither would the *Moores*, by any means come nigh our Men, to deal with them any way ; wherefore having made provision of wood, (as) also visited an old fort, built sometime by the King of *Portugal*, but now ruined by the King of *Fesse*, we departed December 31st towards *Cape Blank*, in such sort, that when *Fry* returned, he found to his great grief, that the fleet was gone : but yet, by the Kings favor he was sent home into *England* not long after, in an English Merchants ship.

Dec. 31. Shortly after our putting forth of this harbor, we were met with contrary winds and foul weather which continued till the fourth of *January*: yet we still held on our course, and the third day after, fell with cape *De Guerre* in 30 deg. (?)minutes

Jan. 7. where we lighted on 3 *Spanish* fishermen called *Caunters*, whom we took with our new pinnace, and carried along with us, till we came to *Rio Del Oro*, just under the Tropic of Cancer : wherewith our pinnace also we took a carvell. From

Jan. 13. hence, till the 15th day, we sailed on towards cape *Barbas*, where the *Marigold* took a carvell more, and so onward to cape

Jan. 15. *Blanck* till the next day at night. [carvell = caravel?]

Jan. 16.

This cape lies in 20 deg. 30. min., showing itself upright like the corner of a wall, to those that come towards it from the North, having between it and cape *Barbas*, low, sandy and very white land all the way. Here we observed the south *Guards*, called the *Crosiers* 9. deg. 30. min. above the Horizon. Wherein (at) the cape, we took one *Spanish* ship more riding at anchor (all her men had fled ashore in the boat save two) which with all the rest we have formerly taken, we carried into the harbor, 3 leagues within the cape.

Here our General determined, for certain days to make his abode, both for that the place afforded plenty of fresh victuals, for the present refreshing of our men, & for their future supply at sea (by reason of the infinite store of divers sorts of

1577.[78] good fish which are there easy to be taken, even within the harbor, the like whereof, is hardly to be found again, in any part of the world, as also, because it served very fitly, for the dispatching of some other business that we had. During the time of our abode in this place, our general being a shore was visited by certain people of the country, who brought down with them a woman, a *Moore* (with her little babe hanging upon her dry dug, having scarce life in herself, much less milk to nourish her child) to be sold as a horse, or a cow and calf by her side, in which sort of merchandise our general would not deal. But they had also Ambergris, with certain gums of some estimation, which they brought to exchange with our men for water (whereof they have great want)so that coming with their *Allforges* (these are leather bags holding liquor) to buy water, they cared not at what price they bought it, so they may have to quench their thirst. A very heavy judgement of God upon that coast ! The circumstances whereof considered, our general would receive nothing of them for water, but freely gave it them that came to him, yea and fed them also ordinarily with our victuals, in eating whereof, their manner was not uncivil, and unsightly to us, but even inhumane and loathsome in itself.

Jan. 22. And having waited and trimmed our ships, and discharged all our Spanish prizes, excepting one *Caunter* (for which we gave to the owner of our own ships, *viz.* the *Christopher*) and one carvell formerly bound to Saint *Jago*, which we caused to accompany us hither, where she also was discharged : after six days abode here, we departed, directing our course for the Islands of cape *Verde*, where(if any were) we were of necessity to store our fleet with fresh water, for a long time, for that our general intended from thence to run a long course (even to the coast of *Brazil*) without touch of land. And now, having the wind constant at *North East*, and *E. North E.* which is usual about those parts, because it blows almost continually from the shore. *January 27th*, we coasted *Bonavista*, and the next day

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Jan. 28.

after we came to anchor under the Western part (towards St. *Jago*, of the Island, *Maio*, which lies in 15. deg. 00. high land, saving that the North-west part stretches out into the sea, the space of a league very low, and is inhabited by subjects to the King of *Portugal*.

Jan. 29.

Here landing, in hope of traffic with the inhabitants for water, we found a Town not far from the water's side, of a great number of desolate and ruinous houses, with a poor naked Chapel or Oratory, such as small cost and charge might serve and suffice, being to small purpose, and as it seems only to make a show, and that a false show, contrary to the nature of a scarecrow, which searches birds from coming nigh ; this entices such as pass by to hale in, and look for commodity, which is not at all to be found there ; though in the inner parts of the Island it be in great abundance.

For when we found the Springs and Wells which had been there (appeared) stopped up again, and no other water, to purpose to be had to serve our need, we marched up to seek some more convenient place to supply our want, or at least to see whether the people would be dealt withal to help us therein. In this traveling, we found the soil to be very fruitful, having every where plenty of fig trees, with fruit upon most of them. But in the valleys and low ground, where little low cottages were built, were pleasant vineyards planted, bearing then ripe and most pleasant grapes. There were also trees, without any branch till the top, which bare the *Coconuts*. There were also great store of certain lower trees, with long and broad leaves, bearing the fruit which they call *Plantanes*, in clusters together like puddings, a most dainty and wholesome fruit. All of these trees were even laden with fruit, some ready to be eaten, others coming forward, others over ripe. Neither can this seem strange, though about the midst of winter with us, for that the Sun does never withdraw himself farther off from them, but that with his lively heat he quickens and strengthens the power of the soil and plant, neither ever have they any

1577.[78] such frost and cold, as thereby to loose their green hue and appearance.

We found very good water in diverse places, but so far off from the road, that we could not with any reasonable pains enjoy it. The people would by no means be induced to have any conference with us, but keeping in the most sweet and fruitful valley among the hills, where their Towns and places of dwelling were, gave us leave without interruption to take our pleasure in surveying the Island, as they had some reason, not to endanger themselves, where they saw they could reap nothing sooner than damage and shame, if they should have offered violence to them which came in peace to do them no wrong at all. This Island yielded other great commodities, as wonderful herds of goats, infinite store of wilde hens, and salt without labor (only the gathering it together excepted) which continually in a marvelous quantity is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the heat of the Sun kerning the same. So that of the increase thereof they keep a continual traffic with their neighbors in the other adjacent Islands. We set sail thence the 30th day.

Jan. 30.

Being departed from *Maio*, the next day we passed by the Island of Sain *Jago*, ten leagues west of *Maio* in the same latitude, inhabited by the *Portuguese* and *Moores* together. The cause whereof is said to have been in the *Portuguese* themselves, who (continuing long time Lords within themselves, in the said Island) used that extreme and unreasonable cruelty over their slaves, that (their bondage being intolerable) they were forced to seek some means to help themselves, and to lighten that so heavy a burden ; and thereupon chose to flee into the most mountainous parts of the Island: and at last, by continual escapes, increasing to a great number, and growing to a set strength, do now live, with that terror of their oppressors, that they now endure no less bondage in mind then the *Forcatos* did before in body : besides the damage that they daily suffer at heir hands in their goods and cattle, together with the abrig-

Jan. 31.

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ging of their liberties in the use of divers parts of the fruitful soil of the said Island : which is very large, marvelously fruitful (a refuge for all such ships as are bound towards *Brazil, Ginny,* the East Indies, *Binny, Calecut, &c.*) and a place of rare force, if it were not for the cause afore-recited, which has much abated the pride, and cooled the courage of that people, who (under pretense of traffic and friendship) at first making an entrance ceased not, practicing upon the poor Islands) the ancient remainders of the first planters thereof, as it may seem from the coast of *Guinea*) until they had excluded them from all government and liberty, yea almost life.

On the South-west of this Island, we took a *Portuguese* laden the best part with wine, and much good cloth, both Linen and woollen, besides other necessaries, bound for *Brazil*, with many Gentlemen and Merchants in her.

As we passed by with our fleet, in sight of 3 of their towns, they seemed very joyful that we touched not with our coast ; and seeing us depart peaceably, in honor of our fleet and General, or rather to signify that they were provided for an assault, shot off two great pieces into the sea, which were answered by one given them again from us.

South-west from Saint *Jago* in 14. deg. 30. min. about twelve leagues distant, yet, by reason of the height seeming not above three leagues lies another Island, called by the Portuguese *Fogo*, viz., the burning Island, or fiery furnace, in which rises a steep upright hill, by conjecture at least six leagues, or eighteen *English* miles from the upper part of the water within the bowels whereof, is a consuming fire, maintained by sulphurous matter, seeming to be a marvelous depth, and also very wide. The fire shows itself but four times in an hour, at which times it breaks out with such violence & force, and in such main abundance, that besides that it giveth light like the Moon a great way off, it seems, that it would not stay till it touch the heavens themselves. Herein are engendered great store of pumice stones, which being in the vehement heat of the fire

1577.[78] carried up without the mouth of that fiery body, fall down, with other gross and flimsy matter upon the hill, to the continual increasing of the same. And many times these stones falling down into the sea are taken up and used, as we our selves had experience by sight of them swimming on the water. The refit of the Island is fruitful notwithstanding, and is inhabited by *Portuguese*, who live very commodiously therein, as in the other Islands thereabout.

Upon the South side, about two leagues off this Island of burning, lies a most sweet and pleasant Island, the trees thereof are always green and fair to look on, the soil almost full set with trees, in respect whereof its named the brave Island, being a storehouse of many fruits and commodities, as figs always ripe, cocos, plantans, oranges, lemons, cotton, &c. from the banks into the sea do run in many places the silver streams of sweet and wholesome water, which with boats or pinnaces may easily be taken in. But there is no convenient place or road for ships, either any anchorage (?) at all. For after long trial, and often casting of leads, there could no ground be had at any hand, neither was it ever known (as is reported) that any line would touch ground in any place about that Island. So that the top of *Fogo* burns not so high in the air, but the root of *Brava* (so is the Island called) is buried and quenched as low in the Seas. The only inhabitant of this Island is an Hermit, as we suppose, for we found no other houses but one, built as is seemed for such a purpose, and he was so delighted in his solitary living, that he would by no means abide our coming, but fled, leaving behind him the relics of his false worship ; to wit, a cross, with a crucifix, an altar with his super-altar, and certain other Idols of wood of rude workmanship.

Here we dismissed the Portuguese taken near Saint *Jago*, and gave to them in exchange of their old ship, our new pinnace built at *Mogadore* : with wine, bread, and fish for their provision, and so sent them away, *Feb.* 1st.

Feb. I.

Having thus visited, as is declared, the Island of cape *Verdes*,

1577.[78] and provided fresh water as we could, the second of Feb. we departed thence, directing our course towards the *Straits*, so to pass into the South Sea ; in which course we sailed 63 days without sight of land (parting the line equinoctial the 17th day of the same month) till we fell with the coast of *Brazil*, the fifth of *April* following.

Feb. 2.

Feb. 17.

Apr. 5.

During which long passage on the vast gulf, where nothing but sea beneath us and air above us was to be seen, as our eyes did behold the wonderful works of God in his creatures, which he had made innumerable both small and great beasts, in the great and wide Seas : so did our mouths taste, and our natures fed on, the goodness thereof in such fullness at all time, and in every place, as if he had commanded and enjoined the most profitable and most glorious works of his hands to wait upon us not alone for the relief of our necessities, but also to give us delight in the contemplation of his excellences in beholding the variety and order of his providence, with a particular taste (?) of his fatherly care over us all the while,

The truth is, we often met with adverse winds, unwelcome storms, and to us (at that time) less welcome calms, and being as it were in the bosom of the burning zone, we felt the effects of sultry heat, not without the frights of flashing lightning, and terror of often claps of thunder ; yet still with the admixture of many comforts. For this we could not but take notice of, that whereas we were but badly furnished (our case considered) of fresh water (having never at all watered (to any purpose, or that we could say we were much the better for it) from our first setting forth out of England till this time, nor meeting with any place where we might conveniently water, till our coming to the river of Plate, long after) continually, after once we were come within four degrees of the line on this side, *viz.* after. *Feb. 10th* and until we were past the line as many degrees towards the South, *viz.* until *Feb. 27th* there was no one day went over us but we received some rain, whereby our want of water was much supplied.

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This also was observable, that of our whole fleet, being now 6 in number, notwithstanding the uncouthness of the way, and whatever other difficulties, by weather or otherwise we met withal, not any one, in all this space, lost company of the rest ; except only our *Portuguese* prize for one day, who *March 28th* was severed from us, but the day following *March 29th*, she found us again, to both her own, and our no little comfort: she had in her 28 of our men, and the best part of all our provision for drink, her short absence caused much doubting and sorrow in the whole company, neither could she then have been finally lost, without the overthrow of the whole voyage.

Among the many strange creatures which we saw, we took heedful notice of one, as strange as any, to wit, the flying fish, a fish of the bigness and proportion, of a reasonable or middle sort of Pilchards : he had fins, of the length of his whole body, from the bulk to the top of the tail, bearing the form, and supplying the like use to him, that wings do to other creatures. By the help of those fins, when he is chased of the *Bonito*, or great mackerel (whom the *Aurata* or dolphin likewise pursue) and hath not strength to escape by swimming any longer, he lifts up himself above the water, and flies a pretty height, sometimes lighting into Boats or Barks as they sail along: The quills of their wings are so proportionable, and finely let together with a most thin and dainty film, that they might seem to serve for a much longer or higher flight, but the dryness of them is such, after some 10 or 12 strokes, that he must needs into the water again to moisten them, which else would grow stiff and unfit for motion. The increase of this little and wonderful creature is in a manner infinite, the fly whereof lying upon the upper part of the waters, in the heat of the Sun, as dust upon the face of the earth, which being in bigness of a wheat straw, and in length an inch more or less, do continually exercise themselves in both their faculties of nature : wherein, if the Lord had not made them expert indeed, their generation could not have continued, being so desired a prey to so many,

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which greedily hunt after them, forcing them to escape in the air by flight, when they cannot in the waters live in safety. Neither are they always free, or without danger in their flying ; but as they escape one evil, by refilling the waters, so they sometimes fall into as great a mischief, by mounting up into the air, and that, by means of a great and ravening soul, named of some a *Don* or *Spurkite*, who seeding chiefly on such fish as he can come by at advantage, in their swimming in the brim of the waters, or leaping above the same, presently seizes upon them with great violence, making havoc, especially among these flying fishes, though with small profit to himself.

There is another sort of fish, which likewise flies in the air, named a *Cuttill* : it is the same, whose bones the Goldsmiths commonly use, or at least not unlike the sort, a multitude of which have at one time, in their flight, fallen into our ships, amongst our men.

April 5.

Passing thus, in beholding the most excellent works of the eternal God in the seas, as if we had been in a garden of pleasure. *April 5th* we fell with the coast of *Brazil*, in 31. deg. 30. mi. towards the pole Antarctic, where the land is low near the sea, but much higher within the country ; having in depth not above 12 fathoms, 3 leagues off from the shore : and being descried by the inhabitants, we saw great and huge fires, made by them in sundry places. Which order of making fires, though it be universal, as well among Christians as Heathens, yet is it not likely that many do use it to that end, which the *Brazilians* do : to wit, for a sacrifice to Devils, whereat they intermix many and divers ceremonies of conjurations, casting up great heaps of sand, to this end, that if any ships, shall go about to stay upon their coasts, their ministering spirits may make wreck of them, whereof the *Portuguese* by the loss of divers of their ships, have had often experience.

In the reports of *Magellan's* voyage, it is said, that this people pray to no manner of thing, but live only according to the instinct of nature, which if it were true, there should seem to

1578. be a wonderful alteration in them, since that time, being fallen from a simple and natural creature, to make Gods of Devils, but I am of the mind, that it was with them then, as now it is, only they lacked then the like occasion, to put it in practice, which now they have : for then they lived as a free people among themselves, but now, are, in most miserable bondage & slavery, both in body, goods, wife, and children, and life it self to the *Portuguese*, whose hard and most cruel dealings against them, forcing them to fly into the unfruitful parts of their own land, rather there to starve, or at least live miserably with liberty, then to abide such intolerable bondage, as they lay upon them, using the aforesaid practices with Devils, both for a revenge against their oppressors, and also for a defense, that they have no further entrance into the country. And supposing indeed, that no other had used travel by sea in ships, but their enemies only, they therefore used the same at our coming : notwithstanding, our God made their devilish intent of none effects ; for albeit there lacked not (within the space of our falling with this coast) forcible storms and tempests, yet did we sustain no damage, but only the separating of our ships out of shore, but we could find no harbor in many leagues. And therefore coasting along the land, towards the south, *April 7th* we had a violent storm, for the space of 3 hours) with thunder, lightning and rain in great abundance, accompanied with a vehement south wind) directly against us, which caused a separation of the *Christopher* (viz. the Caunter which we took at cape *Blank*, in exchange for the *Christopher*, whose name she hence forward bore) from the rest of the fleet.

April 7.

After this, we keep on our course, sometime to the seaward, sometimes toward the shore, but always southward, as near as we could : till *April 14*, in the morning, at which time we passed by *Cape Saint Mary*, which lies in 35 deg. near the mouth of the river of *Plate* : and running within it about 6 or 7 leagues along by the main, we came to anchor in a bay,

April 14.

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Apr. 16.

under another cape which our General afterwards called cape *Joy*, by reason of the second day after our anchoring here, the *Christopher* (whom we had lost in the former storm) came to us again.

Among other cares which our General took in this action, next the main care of effecting the voyage itself, these were the principal and chiefly subordinate : to keep our whole fleet (as near as possible we could) together ; to get fresh Water which is of continual use; & to refresh our men wearied with long toils at sea, as often as we should find any opportunity of effecting the same. And for these causes it was determined, & public notice thereof given at our departure from the Islands of cape *Verde* ; so that the next rendezvous both for the recollecting of our navy (if it should be dispersed) as also watering, and the like, should be the river of Plate : whether we were all to repair with all the convenient speed that could be made, and to stay one for another, if it should happen that we could not arrive there altogether; and the effect we found answerable to our expectations, for here our severed ship (as hath been declared) found us again, and here we found those other helps also so much desired. The country here about is of a temperate and most sweet air and pleasant to behold, and besides the exceeding fruitfulness of the soil, it is stocked with plenty of large and mighty Deer.

April 16

Notwithstanding that in this first bay we found sweet and wholesome water even at pleasure ; yet the same after the arrival of *Caunter*, we removed some twelve leagues farther up into another, where we found a long rock, or rather Island of rocks, not far from the main, making a commodious harbor, especially against a southerly wind: under them we anchored, and rode until the 20th day at night ; in which mean space we killed divers Seals, or sea-wolves (as the Spaniard calls them) which resorted to these rocks in great abundance. They are good meat, and were an acceptable food to us for the present, and a good supply of our provision for the future.

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April 20 Hence *April 20th* we weighed again and sailed yet further up into the river, even till we found but three fathom deep, & that we road with our ships in fresh waters ; but we stayed not there, nor in any other place of the river, because that the winds being strong, the shoals many, and no safe harbor found, we could not without our great danger so have done.
- April 27.* Hailing therefore to seaward again, the *27th* of the same month (after that we had spent a just fortnight in that river, to the great comfort of the whole fleet) we passed by the south side there of into the main. The land here lies south, south W. and N.N.E. with shoal water, some 3 or 4 leagues off into the sea: it is about 36. deg. 20. min. and somewhat better south latitude.
- April 27.* At our very first coming forth to sea again, to wit, the same night our fly-boat the *Swan* lost company of us : whereupon, though our General doubted nothing of her happy coming forward again to the rest of the fleet, yet because it was grievous to have such often loss, and that it was his duty as much as in him lay, to prevent all inconveniences besides, that might grow, he determined to diminish the number of his ships, thereby to draw his men unto less room, that both the fewer ships might the better keep company, and that they might also be the better appointed with new and fresh supplies of provision and men, one to ease the burden of another: especially, for that he saw the coast, (it draweth now toward winter here) to be subject to many and grievous storms : and therefore he continued on his course to find out a convenient harbor, for that use, searching all that coast from 36 to 47 deg. (as diligently as contrary winds and sundry storms would permit) and yet found none for the purpose. And in the mean time, *viz. May 8th* by another storm the *Caunter* also was once more severed from us. *May 12th* we had sight of land, in 47 deg. where we were forced to come to anchor in such road as we could find for the time. Nevertheless, our General named the place cape *Hope*, by reason of a bay discovery within the headland, which seemed to promise a good and commodious harbor. But by reason of

1578. many rocks lying off from the place, we dared not adventure with our ships into it without good and perfect discovery beforehand made.

Our General, especially in matters of moment, was never wont to rely only on other mens' care, how trusty or skilful soever they might seem to be ; but always contemplating danger and refusing no toil, he was wont himself to be one whosoever was a second at every turn where courage, skill, or industry was to be employed ; neither would he at this time entrust the discovery of these dangers to another's pains, but rather to his own experience, in searching out and finding of them. A boat being therefore hoisted out, he, with some others the next morning, *May* 13th rowed into the bay ; and being now very nigh the shore, one of the men of the country showed himself unto him seeming very pleasant, singing and dancing, after the noise of a rattle which he shook in his hand, expecting earnestly his landing.

May 13.

But there was suddenly so great an alteration in the weather, into a thick and misty fog, together with an extreme storm and tempest, that our general being now 3 leagues from his ship, thought it be better to return, then either to land, or make any other stay and yet the fog thickened so mightily, that the sight of the ships was bereft them, and if *Cap. Thomas* (upon the abundance of his love and service to his general) had not adventured with his ship to enter that bay, in this perplexity, where good advice would not suffer our ships to bear in, while the winds were more tolerable, and the air clearer : we had sustained some great loss, or our general had been further endangered, who was now quickly received aboard his ships; out of which, being within the bay, they let fall an anchor, and rode there (God be praised) in safety : but our other ships, riding without, were so oppressed with the extremity of the storm, that they were forced to run off to the sea for their own safeguard, being in good hope only of the good success of that ship, which was gone in to relieve our general ; before this

1578. storm arose, our Caunter formerly lost, was come in the same day unto us in the same road, but was put to sea again the same evening with the rest of the fleet.

May 14. The next day May 14th the weather being fair, and the winds moderate, but the fleet out of sight, our general determined to go ashore, to this end, that he might, by making of fires, give signs to the dispersed ships, to come together again into the road : whereby at last, they were all assembled, excepting the *Swan*, lost long time before, and excepting our *Portuguese* prize, called the *Mary*, which waying in this last storm, the night before, and now lost company, and was not found again in a longtime after.

In this place (the people being removed up into the country, belike for fear of our coming) we found near unto the rocks, in houses made for that purpose, as also in divers other places, great store of *Ostriches* at least to the number of 50 with much other fowl ; some dried and some in drying for their provision, as it seemed, to carry with them to the place of their dwellings. The *Ostriches'* thighs were in bigness equal to reasonable legs of mutton, they cannot fly at all ; but they run so swiftly, and take so long strides, that it is not possible for a man in running by any means to take them, neither yet to come so nigh them, as to have any shot at them either with bow or piece : whereof our men had often proof on other parts of that coast, for all the country is full of them; we found there the tools or instruments which the people use in taking them. Among other means they use in betraying of these *Ostriches*, they have a great and large plume of Feathers, orderly compact together upon the end of a staff ; in the forepart bearing the likeness of the head, neck, and bulk of an *Ostrich* ; and in the hinder part, spreading itself out very large, sufficient (being holden before him) to hide the most part of the body of a man: with this it seems they stalk, driving them into some strait or neck of land close to the sea side ; where spreading, long and strong nets, with their dogs which they have in readiness at all times, they

1578. overthrow them, and make a common quarry. The country is very pleasant, and seems to be a fruitful soil.

Being afterwards driven to fall with this place again, we had great acquaintance & familiarity with the people, who rejoiced greatly in our coming, and in our friendship, in that we had done them no harm. But because this place was not fit or convenient harbor for us to do our necessary business ; neither yet to make provision of such things as we wanted, (such) as Water, Wood, and such like, we departed thence the 15th of *May*.

May 15.

At our departure thence, we held our course South and by West, and made about 9 leagues in 24 hours, bearing very little sail, that our fleet might the easily get up with us, which by reason of the contrary winds, were cast astern of us.

In 47 deg. 30. min. we found a bay, which was fair, safe, and beneficial to us, very necessary for our use ; into which we sailed, and anchored *May* 17th and the next day, *May* 18th we came further into the same bay, where we cast anchor, and made our abode full 15 days.

May 17.

May 18.

The very first day of our arrival here, our general having set things in some order, for the dispatch of our necessary business, being most careful for his 2 ships which were wanting, sent forth to the southward, Captain *Winter* in the *Elizabeth* vice-admiral; himself in the Admiral, going forth northward, into the sea, to see, if happily they might meet with either of them: at which time, by the good providence of God, he himself met with the *Swan*, formerly lost at our departure from the river of Plate, and brought her into the same harbor, the same day where being after unloaded, and discharged of her freight, she was cast off, and her ironwork, and other necessities being saved, for the better provision of the rest; of the remainder was made firewood, and other implements which we wanted. But all this while, of the other ship which we lost so lately, in our extremity, we could have no news.

While we were thus employed, after certain days of our stay in this place, being on shore in an Island nigh unto the

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main, where a low water was free passage on foot, from the one to the other ; the people of the country did show themselves unto us, with leaping, dancing, and holding up of their hands, and making out cries after their manner, but being then high water, we could not go over to them on foot. Wherefore the general caused immediately a boat to be in readiness, and sent unto them such things as he thought would delight them, as knives, bells, bugles, and whereupon they being assembled together upon a hill, half an *English* mile from the waters side, sent down two of their company, running one after the other with a great grace, traversing their ground as it seemed after the manner of their wars, by degrees descending towards the waters side very swiftly. Notwithstanding drawing nigh unto it, they made a stay, refusing to come near our men-which our men perceiving, sent such things as they had tied with a string upon a rod, and stuck the same up a reasonable distance from them, where they might see it. And as soon as our men were departed from the place, they came and took those things, leaving instead of them, as in recompense, such Feathers as they use to wear about their heads, with a bone made in manner of a toothpick, carved round about the top, and in length about six inches, being very smoothly burnished. Whereupon our General, with divers of his Gentlemen and company, at low water went over to them to the main.

Against his coming they remained still upon the hill, and set themselves in a rank, one by one, appointing one of their company to run before them from the one end of the rank to th other, and so back again, continually East and West, with holding up his Hands over his Head, and yielding forward his body in his running toward the rising and setting of the Sun : and at every second or third turn at the most, erected his body against the midst of the rank of the people, lifting himself vaulting-wise from the ground towards the Moon, being then over our heads : signifying thereby, as we conceived, that they called the Sun and Moon (whom they serve for gods)

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to witness, that they meant nothing towards us but peace. But when they perceived that we ascended the hill apace, and drew nigh unto them, they seemed very fearful of our coming.

Wherefore our General not willing to give them any way any occasion to dislike, or be discomforted, retired his company ; whereby they were so assured, and did so therein confirm themselves of us, that we were no enemies, neither meant them harm, that without all fear, divers came down with great speed after us, presently entering into traffic with our men ; notwithstanding they would receive nothing at our hands, but the same must be first cast upon the ground, using this word, *zuff* as for exchange, *toytt* to cast upon the ground. And if they disliked any thing, they cried *coroh, coroh*, speaking the same with rattling in the throat. The wares we received from them were arrows of reeds, Feathers, and such bones as are afore described.

This people go naked, except a skin of fur which they cast about their shoulders, when they sit or lie in the cold : but having any thing to do, as going or any other labor, they use it as a girdle about their loins. They wear their hair very long, but lest it might trouble them in their travel, they knit it up with a roll of *Ostrich* feathers, using the same rolls and hair together for a quiver for their arrows) and for a storehouse, in which they carry the most things which they carry about them. Some of them within these rolls stick on either side of their heads (for a sign of honor in their persons) a large and plain leather showing like horns afar off : so that such a head upon a naked body (if Devils do appear with horns) might very nigh resemble Devils.

The whole bravery and setting out themselves stands in painting their bodies with divers colors, and such works as they can devise. Some wash their faces with sulphur, or some such like substance : some paint their whole bodies black, leaving only their necks behind and before white, much like our Damsels that wear their squares, their necks and breasts

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naked. Some paint one shoulder black, another white, and their sides and legs interchangeably with the same colors, one still contrary to the other. The black part has set upon it white moons, and the white part black Suns, being the marks and characters of their gods, as is before noted.

They have some commodity by painting of their bodies, for the which cause they use it so generally : and that I gather to be the defense it yields against the piercing and nipping cold. For the colors being close laid on upon their skin, or rather in the flesh, as by continual renewing of these juices which are layered on, soaked into the inner part thereof, does fill up the pores so close that no air or cold can enter, or make them once to shrink.

They have clean, comely, and strong bodies : they are swift of foot, and seem very active. Neither is anything more lamentable (in my judgment) than that so goodly a people, and so lively creatures of God, should be ignorant of the true and living God. And so much the more is this to be lamented, by how much they are more tractable, and easy to be brought to the sheepfold of Christ : having in truth a land sufficient to recompense any Christian Prince in the world, for the whole traivale and labor, cost and charges bestowed in that behalf : with a wonderful enlarging of a kingdom, besides the glory of God by increasing of the Church of Christ.

Its wonderful to hear, being never known to Christians before this time, how familiar they became in short space with us; thinking themselves to be joined with such a people, as they ought rather to serve; then offer any wrong or injury unto : presuming that they might be bold with our general as with a father, and with us as with brethren and their near friends; neither seemed their love lesser towards us. One of the chiefest among them having on a time received a cap off our generals head, which he did daily wear, removing himself but a little from us, with an arrow pierced his leg deeply, causing the blood to stream out upon the ground, signifying thereby, how

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unfainedly he loved him, and giving therein a covenant of peace : the number of men which here did frequent our company, were about fifty persons. Within, in the Southernmost part of this bay, there is a river of fresh water, with a great many profitable Islands ; of which, some have always such store of seals or sea-wolves as were able to maintain a huge army of men. Other Islands being many and great, are so replenished with birds and fowl, as if there were no other victuals, a wonderful multitude of people might be nourished by the increase of them for many posterities. Of these we killed some with shot, and some with staves, and took some with our hands, from mens heads and shoulders upon which they lighted. We could not perceive that the people of the country had had any sort of boat or canoe to come to these Islands. Their own provision which they eat, for ought we could perceive, was commonly raw. For we would sometimes find the remnants of Seals all bloody which they had gnawed with their teeth like dogs : They go all of them armed with a short bow of about an ell in length in their hands, with arrows of reeds, and headed with a flint stone, very cunningly cut and fastened.

This bay by reason of the plenty of Seals therein found (in-so much that we killed two hundred in the space of one hour) we called *Seal bay*. And having now made sufficient provision of victuals and other necessities, as also happily finished all our business, *June 3th* we set sail from thence ; and coasting along towards the pole Antarctic *June 12th* we fell with a little bay, in which we anchored for the space of two days spent in the discharging of our Caunter, the *Christophæ*, which we here laid up.

*June 3.**June 12.**June 14,**June 17,*

The 14th day we weighed again, and kept on our course southward till the 17th and then cast anchor in another bay in 50 d. 20. min. lacking but little more then one degree, of the mouth of the *Straits*, through which lay, our so much-desired passage into the south sea.

Here our general on good advice determined to alter his

1578. course ; and turn his stern to the Northward again, if happily God would grant we might find our ship and friends whom we lost in the great storm, as is before said. For as much as if we should enter into the Strait without them into our company) it must needs go hard with them, and we also in the mean time as well by their absence, as by the uncertainty of their state, must needs receive no small discomfort.
- June 18.* And therefore *June 18th* in the morning putting to sea again with hearty and often prayers, we joined watchful industry to serve God's good providence : and held on our purpose to run back toward the line into the same height, in which they were first dis-severed from us.
- June 19.* The 19th day of *June* toward night, having sailed within a few leagues of port St. *Julian*, we had our ship in sight : for which we gave God thanks with most joyful minds. And for as much as the ship was far out of order, and very leaky, by reason of extremity of weather which she had endured, all well before her losing company as in her absence : our General thought good to bear into St. *Julian* with his fleet, because it was so nigh at hand, and so convenient a place : intending there to refresh his wearied men, and cherish them which had in their absence tasted such bitterness of discomfort besides the want of many things which they sustained.
- June 20.* Thus the next day the 20th of *June* we entered port Saint *Julian* : which stands in 49 deg. 30. mi. and has on the South side of the harbor picked rocks like towers, and within the harbor many Islands, which you may ride hard aboard off, but in going in you must borrow of the North shore.
- Being now come to anchor, and all things fitted and made safe aboard, our General with certain of his company, *viz*, *Thomas Drake* his brother, *John Thomas*, *Robert Winter*, *Oliver* the Master Gunner, *John Brewer*, and *Thomas Hood*) *June 22nd*
- June 22.* rowed further in with a boat to find out some convenient place which might yield us fresh water, during the time of our abode there, and furnish us with supply for provision, to take

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to sea with us at our departure. Which work as it was of great necessity, and therefore carefully to be performed ; so did not he think himself discharged of his duty, if he himself bestowed not the first travel therein, as his use was at all times in all other things belonging to the relieving of our wants, and the maintenance of our good estate, by the supplying of what was needful. Presently upon his landing he was visited by two of the inhabitants of the place, whom *Magellan* named *Patagous* or rather *Pentagours* from their huge stature, and strength proportionable : these as they seemed greatly to rejoice at his arrival, so did they show themselves very familiar, receiving at our general's hands whatsoever he gave them, and taking great pleasure in seeing Master *Oliver* the master Gunner of the Admiral, to shoot an English arrow : trying with him to shoot at length, but came nothing near him.

Not long after, came one more of the same last, but of a sourer sort, for he, disliking of the familiarity which his fellows had used, seemed very angry with them, and strove earnestly to withdraw them, and turn them to become our enemies; Which our general with his men not suspecting in them, used them as before : and one Mr. *Robert Winter*, thinking of pleasure to shoot an arrow at length, as Mr. *Oliver* had done before, that he which came, last might have a sight thereof, the string of his bow brake ; which, as before it was a terror unto them, so now broken, it gave them great encouragement, and boldness, and as they thought, great advantage in their treacherous intent and purpose ; not imagining that our callivers, swords, and targets, were any munition or weapon of war.

In which persuasion (as the general with his company were, quietly without any suspicion of evil, going down towards his boat) they suddenly being prepared, and gotten by stealth behind him, shot their arrows ; and chiefly at him which had the bow, not suffering him to firing the same again which he was about to have done, as well as he could : but being wounded in the shoulder at the first shot and turning

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about, was sped with an arrow, which pierced his lungs, yet he fell not. But the Mstr. Gunner being ready to shoot of his calliver, which took not fire in leveling thereof ; was presently slain outright. In this extremity, if our general had not been both expert in such affairs, able to judge, and give present direction in the danger thereof, and had not valiantly thrust himself into the dance, against these monsters, there had not one of our men, that there were landed, escaped with life. He therefore giving order that no man should keep any certain ground, but shift from place to place, encroaching still upon the enemy, using their targets, and other weapons for the defense of their bodies, and that they should break so many arrows, as by any means they could come by, being shot at them ; wherein he himself was very diligent, and careful also in calling on them, knowing that their arrows being once spent, they should have these enemies at their devotion and pleasure, to kill or save, and this order being accordingly taken, himself I say with a good courage and trust in the true and living God, taking and shooting off the same pieces which the same Gunner could not make to take fire, dispatched the first beginner of the quarrel, the same man which flew our Mr. Gunner. For the piece being charged with a bullet, and nail-shot, and well-aimed, tore out his belly and guts, with great torment, as it seemed by his cry, which was so hideous and horrible a roar, as if ten bulls had joined together in roaring, wherewith the courage of his partners was so abated, and their hearts appalled, that notwithstanding, divers of their fellows and countrymen appeared out of the woods, on each side yet they were glad, by flying away to save themselves, quietly suffering our men either to depart or stay. Our general chose rather to depart, than to take further revenge of them, which now he might, by reason of his wounded man, whom for many good parts he loved dearly, and therefore would rather have saved him, than slain an hundred enemies, but being past recovery, he died the 2nd day after his being brought aboard again.

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That night our Mr. Gunners body being left ashore, for the speedier bringing of the other aboard, our general himself the next day, with his boat well appointed, returned to the shore, to search it likewise : which they found lying where it was left, but stripped of his uppermost garment, and having an English arrow struck in his right eye.

Both of these dead bodies were laid together in one grave, with such reverences was fit for the earthen tabernacles of immortal souls, with such commendable ceremonies, as belong unto soldiers of worth, in time of war, which they most truly and rightfully deserved.

Magellan was not altogether deceived, in naming of them Giants ; for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bigness, and strength of body, as also in the hideousness of their voice : but yet they are nothing so monstrous, or Giant-like as they were reported, there being some English men, as tall as the highest of any that we could see, but peradventure, the Spaniards did not think, that ever any Englishman would come thither to reprove them, and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie : the name *Pentagones, five cubits, viz. 7 foot and half*, describing the full height (if not somewhat more) of the highest of them.

But this is certain, that the Spanish cruelties there used, have made them more monstrous, in mind and manners, than they are in body ; and more inhospitable, to deal with any strangers that shall come hereafter. For the loss of their friends (the remembrance whereof is assigned and conveyed over from one generation to another, among their posterity) breeds an old grudge, which will not easily be forgotten, with so quarrelsome & revengeful a people. Notwithstanding the terror which they had conceived of us, did henceforward so quench their heat, & take down their edge, that they both forgot revenge, and seeming by their countenance, to repent them of the wrong they had offered us, that meant them no harm, suffered us to do what we would, the whole space of

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two months after this, without any interruption or molestation by them, and it may perhaps be a means to breed a peace in that people, towards all that may hereafter this, come that way.

To this evil, thus received at the hands of Infidels, there was adjoined and grew another mischief wrought and continued closely among ourselves, as great, yea far greater, and of far more grievous consequence then the former : but that it was, by Gods providence, detected and prevented in time, which else had extended it self not only to the violent shedding of innocent blood, by murdering our general and such others as were most firm and faithful to him : but also to the final overthrow of the whole action intended, and to divers other most dangerous effects.

These plots have been laid before the voyage began in England : the very model of them was showed and declared to our General in his garden at *Plymouth*) before his setting sail, which yet he either would not credit, as true or likely, of a person whom he loved so dearly, and was persuaded of to love him likewise unfeignedly, or thought by love and benefits, to remove and remedy it, if there were any evil purposes conceived against him.

And therefore, he did not only continue (to this suspected & accused person) all countenance, credit, courtesies, which he was wont to show and give him, but increased them, using him in a manner as another himself, and as his most inner-most friend: lodging him with himself ; giving him the second place, in all companies, in his presence; leaving in his hand, the state as it were, of his own person, in his absence ; imparting unto him all his counsels; allowing him free liberty in all things that were reasonable ; and bearing often at his hands great infirmities, yea, despising that any private injury, should break so firm a friendship, as he meant towards him. And therefore, was he oftentimes not a little offended, even with those, who upon conscience of their duty, and knowledge that otherwise they

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should indeed offend) disclosed from time to time unto him, how the fire increased, that threatened his own, together with the destruction of the whole action.

But at length, perceiving that his lenity and favors did little good ; in that the heat of ambition was not yet allayed, nor could be quenched, as it seemed, but by blood, and that the manifold practices grew daily more and more, even to extremities, he thought it high time, to call these practices into question, before it were too late, to call any question of them into hearing. And therefore setting good watch over him, and assembling all his Captains, and gentlemen of his company together, he propounded to them, the good parts which were in the gentleman, the great good will, and inward affection, more than brotherly, which he had, ever since his first acquaintance born him, not omitting the respect which was had of him, among no mean personages in *England*, and afterwards delivered the letters, which were written to him, with the particulars from time to time, which had been observed, not so much by himself, as by his good friends, not only at sea, but even at *Plymouth* ; not bare words but writings, not writings alone, but actions, tending to the overthrow of the service in hand, and making away of his person .

Proofs were required and alleged, so many, and so evident, that the Gentleman himself, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and unkind dealing, acknowledged himself to have deserved death, yea many deaths ; for that he conspired, not only the overthrow of the action, but of the principal Actor also, who was not a stranger or ill-wisher, but a dear and true friend unto him : and therefore in a great assembly openly besought them, in whose hands justice rested, to take some order for him, that he might not be compelled, to enforce his own hands, against his own bowels, or otherwise to become his own executioner.

The admiration and astonishment there at, in all the hearers even those which were his nearest friends, and most affected

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him was great, yea in those, which for many benefits received from him, had good cause to love him : but yet the general was most of all distracted ; and therefore withdrew himself, as not able to conceal his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter, to give their judgements, as they would another day answer it unto their Prince, and unto Almighty God, judge of all the earth. Therefore they all, above 40 in number, the chiefest in place and judgment in the whole fleet, after they had discussed diversely of the case, and alleged whatsoever came in their minds, or could be there produced by any of his other friends, with their own hands, under seal adjudged that: *He had deserved death : and that it stood, by no means with their safety, to let him live : and therefore, they remitted the manner thereof with the rest of the circumstances to the general.*

This judgement, and as it were assize, was held a land, in one of the Islands of that port ; which afterwards, in memory hereof was called, the Island of *true justice and judgment.*

Now after this verdict was thus returned unto our general (unto whom, for his company, her Majesty before his departure, had committed her sword, to use for his safety, with this word: *We do account that he which striketh at thee Drake, striketh at us*) he called for the guilty party, and caused to be read unto him, the several verdicts which were written & propounded of him, which being acknowledged for the most part (for none had given heavier sentence against him, then he had given against himself, our General proposed unto him this choice : *Whether he would take to be executed in this Island ? or to be set a land on the main ? or return unto England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of her Majesties Counsel ?*

He most humbly thanked the General for his clemency, extended towards him in such ample fort : and craving some respite to consult thereon, and so make his choice advisedly : the next day he returned this answer ; that, *Albeit he had yielded in, his heart, to entertain so great a sin ; as whereof now he was justly condemned : yet he had a care, and that excelling all other cases,*

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to die a Christian man, that whatsoever did become of his clay body, he might remain abjured of an eternal inheritance, in a far better life. This he feared, if he should beset on land among Infidels, how he should be able to maintain this assurance, seeing in his own frailty, how mighty the contagion is of lewd custom. And therefore he besought the General most earnestly, that he would yet have a care, and regard of his soul ; and never jeopardize it amongst heathen and savage Infidels. If he should return into England, he must first have a ship, and men to conduct it with sufficient victuals : two of which though they were had yet for the third, he thought no man would accompany him, in so sad a message, to so vile an issue, from so honorable a service. But if that there were, which could induce their mind, to return with him ; yet the very shame of the return would be as death, or grievous if it were possible : because he should be so long in dying, and die so often. Therefore he professed, that with all his heart, he did embrace the first branch of the Generals proffer, desiring only his favor , that they might receive the holy communion, once again together before his death ; and that he might not die other then a Gentleman's death.

Though sundry reasons were used by many to persuade him to take either of the other ways : yet when he remained resolute in his former determination both parts of his last request were granted, and the next convenient day, a communion was celebrated, by Mr. Francis Fletcher, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The General himself communicated, in this sacred ordinance, with this condemned penitent Gentleman ; who showed great tokens of a contrite and repentant hearth, as who was more deeply displeased with his own act, then any man else. And after this holy repast they denied also at the same table together, as cheerfully in sobriety, as ever in their lives they had done afore time : each cheering up the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey only had been in hand.

After dinner, all things being brought in a readiness, by him that supplied the room of the provost Marshall, without any

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dallying, or delaying the time, he came forth, and kneeled down, preparing at once, his neck for the axe, and his spirit for heaven : which having done, without long ceremony, as who had before digested this whole Tragedy, he desired all the rest to pray for him, and willed the Executioner to doe his office; not to fear nor spare.

Thus having by the worthy manner of his death (being much more honorable by it, then blameable for any other of his actions) fully blotted out, what ever stain, his fault might seem to bring upon him ; he left unto our fleet, a lamentable example of a goodly Gentleman, who in seeking advancement unfit tor him, cast away himself : and unto posterity a monument, of I know not what fatal calamity, incident to that port, and such like actions, which might happily afford a new pair of parallels, to be added to Plutarch's : in that the same place, near about the same time of the year, witnessed the execution of 2 gentlemen, suffering both for the like cause, employed both in like service, entertained both in great place, endued both with excellent qualities, the one 58 year after the other.

For on the main, our men found a gibbet, fallen down, made of a spruce mast, with mens' bones underneath it, which they conjectured to be the same gibbet, which *Magellan* commanded to be erected, in the year 1520 for the execution of *John Carthagine* the Bishop of *Burgos* Cofen, who by the Kings orders was joined with *Magellan* in commission, and made his Vice-Admiral.

In the Island, as we dug to bury this gentleman, we found a great grinding-stone, broken in two parts, which we took and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at the seet, building up the middle space, with other stones and turf of earth, and engraved in the stones, the names of the parties buried there, with the time of their departure, and a memorial of our Generals name in Latin, that it might the better be understood, of all that should come after us.

These things thus ended, and set in order our general dif-

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charging the *Mary*, viz. our *Portuguese* prize, because she was leaky and troublesome; defaced her and then left her ribs and keel upon the Island : where for two months together we had pitched our tents. And so having wooded, watered, trimmed our ships, dispatched all our other business, and brought our fleet into the smallest number, even 3 only, besides our pinnaces, that we might the easier keep ourselves together, be the better furnished with necessities, and be the stronger manned, against whatsoever need should be, *August* 17th we departed out of this port, and being now in great hope, of a happy issue to our enterprise, which Almighty God hitherto had so blest & prospered, we set our course for the *Straits*, southwest.

August 20th we fell with the Cape ; near which lies the entrance into the *Strait*, called by the *Spaniards*, *Capo virgin Maria*, appearing 4 leagues before you come to it with high and steep gray cliffs, full of black scars, against which the sea beating, shows as it were the spoutings of Whales, having the highest of the cape, like cape *Vincent* in *Portugal*. at this cape our General caused his fleet, in homage to our sovereign lady the *Queen's* Majesty, to strike their top-sails upon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad mind, to show his dutiful obedience to her highness, whom he acknowledged to have full interest and right in that new discovery, and withal, in remembrance of his most honorable friend, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, he changed the name of the ship, which himself went in, from the *Pelican* to be called *the Golden Hind*, which ceremonies being ended, together with a sermon, teaching true obedience, with prayers and giving of thanks for her Majesty, and most honorable counsel, with the whole body of the commonwealth, and church of God, we continued our course on into the said strait, where passing with land in sight on both sides, we shortly fell with so narrow a strait, as carrying with it much wind, often turnings, and many dangers, required an expert judgment in him that shall pass the same, it lieth W.N. W. and E. south East : but having left his strait astern, we

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seemed to be com(ing) out of a river two leagues broad, into a large and main sea ; having the night following, an Island in sight, which (being in height nothing inferior to the Island *Fogo*, before spoken of) burning (like it also) aloft in the air, in a wonderful sort, without intermission.

It hath formerly been received as an undoubted truth, that the seas, following the course of the first mover, from the East to west, have a continual current through this strait, but our experience found the contrary : the ebbings and flowings here, being as orderly (in which the water rises and falls more then 5 fathoms upright) as on other coasts.

The 24th of *August* being *Bartholomew* Day, we fell with 3 Islands, bearing triangle-wise one from another, one of them was very fair and large, and of a fruitful soil, upon which being next unto us, and the weather very calm, our General with his Gentlemen, and certain of his Mariners, then landed ; taking possession thereof in her Majesties name, and to her use, and called the same *Elizabeth* Island.

The other two, though they were not so large, nor so fair to the eye, yet were they to us exceeding useful, for in them we found, great store of strange birds, which could not fly at all, nor yet run so fast as that they could escape us with their lives, in body they are less then a goose, and bigger then a mallard, short and thick-set together, having no Feathers, but indeed thereof, a certain hard and matted down ; their beaks are not much unlike the bills of crows, they lodge and breed upon the land, where making earths, as the conies do, in the ground, they lay their eggs, and bring up their young ; their seeding and provision to live on, is in the sea, where they swim in such sort as nature may seem to have granted them no small prerogative in swiftness, both to prey upon others, and themselves to escape from any others, that seek to feast upon them, & such was the infinite resort of these birds to these Islands, that in the space of 1 day, we killed no less then 3000, & if the increase be according to the number, it is not to be thought, that the world

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hath brought forth, a greater blessing in one kind of creature in so small a circuit, so necessarily and plentifully serving the use of man, they are a very good and wholesome victual : our General named these Islands, the one *Bartholomew*, according to the day ; the other Saint *Georges*, in honor of *England*, according to the ancient custom there observed.

In the Island of Saint *George*, we found the body of a man, so long dead before, that his bones would not hold together, being moved out of the place whereon they lay.

From these Islands, to the entrance into the south sea, the strait is very crooked, having many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by means whereof, we were often troubled with contrary winds, so that some of our ships recovering a cape of land, entering another reach, the rest were forced to alter their course, and come to anchor where they might. It is true which *Magellan* reported of this passage : namely that there be many fair harbors, and store of fresh water, but some ships had need to be fraughted with nothing else, besides anchors and cables, to find ground in most of them, to come to anchor ; which when any extreme gusts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is altogether subject) is a great hindrance to the passage, and carries with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very high and mountainous having on the North and west side the continent of *America*, and on the south and East part, nothing but Islands : among which, lie innumerable straits or passages into the south sea. The mountains rise with such tops, and spires into the air, and of so rare a height, as they may well be accounted amongst the wonders of the world ; environed as it were, with many regions of congealed clouds, and frozen meteor, whereby they are continually fed and increased, both in the height and bigness, from time to time, retaining that which they have once received, being little again diminished by the heat of the sun, being so far from reflexion, and so nigh the cold and frozen Region.

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But notwithstanding all this, yet are the low and plain grounds very fruitful, the grass green and natural ; the herds that are of very strange sorts, good and many ; the trees for the most part of them always green, the air of the temperature of our country ; the water most pleasant, and the soil agreeing to any grain which we have growing in our country : a place no doubt, that lacks nothing, but a people to use the same to the Creator's glory, and the increasing of the Church : the people inhabiting these parts, made fires as we passed by in divers places.

Drawing nigh the entrance of the south sea, we had such a shutting up to the northward, and such large and open straits toward the south, that it was wonderful which way we should pass, without further discovery, for which cause, our General having brought his fleet to anchor under an Island ; himself with certain of his Gentlemen, rowed in a boat to descry the passage, who having discovered a sufficient way towards the North, in their return to their ships, met a canoe under the same Island, where we rode then at anchor, having in her divers persons.

This Canoe or boat was made of the bark of divers trees, having a prow and a stern standing-up, and semicircle-wise yielding inward, of one form and fashion, the body whereof was a most dainty mold, bearing in it most comely proportion, and excellent workmanship insomuch as to our General and us, it seemed never to have been done, without the cunning and expert judgment of art, and that not for the use of so rude and barbarous a people, but for the pleasure of some great and noble personage, yea of some Prince : It had no other closing up or caulking in the seams, but the stitching with thongs, made of Sealskins, or other such beast, and yet so close that it received very little or no water at all.

The people are of a mean stature, but well set and compact in all their parts and limbs ; they have great pleasure in painting their faces, as the others have, of whom we have spoken before.

1578. Within the said Island they had a house of mean building of certain poles, and covered with skins of beasts ; having therein fire, water, and such meat, as commonly they can come by : as Seals, Mussels, and such like.

The vessels wherein they kept their water, and their cups in which they drink, are made of barks of trees, as was their canoe : and that with no lesser skill (for the bigness of the thing) being of a very formal shape and good fashion. Their working tools, which they use in cutting these things and such other, are knives made of most huge and monstrous mussel shells (the like whereof have not been seen or heard of lightly by any travelers ; the meat thereof being very savory and good in eating) which after they have broken off the thin and brittle substance of the edge, they rub and grind them upon stones had for the purpose, til they have tempered and set such an edge upon them, that no wood is so hard but they will cut it at pleasure with the same : whereof we our selves had experience. Yea they cut therewith bones of a marvelous hardness ; making of them figgies(?) to kill fish, wherein they have a most pleasant exercise with great dexterity.

Sept.6. The sixth of *September* we had left astern us all these troublesome Islands, and were entered into the south sea, or *Mare del zur*: at the cape whereof our general had determined with his whole company to have gone a shore, and there after a sermon to have left a monument of her Majesty engraved in metal, for a perpetual remembrance, which he had in a readiness for that end prepared : but neither was there any anchoring, neither did the wind suffer us to make a stay.

Only this by all our mens observations was concluded ; that the entrance, by which we came into this strait, was in 52 deg, the midst in 53 deg. 15. m. and the going out in 52 d. 30. m. being 150 leagues in length : at the very entry, supposed also to be about 10 leagues in breadth. After we were entered ten leagues within it, it was found not past a league in breadth : farther within, in some places very large, in some very narrow: &

1578. in the end found to be no strait at all, but all Islands.

Now when our General perceived that the nipping cold, under so cruel a frowning winter, had impaired the health of some of his men, he meant to have made the more haste again toward the line and not to sail any farther towards the pole Antarctic, left being farther from the Sun, and near the cold, we might happily be overtaken with some greater danger of sickness. But God giving men leave to purpose, reserves to himself the disposition of all things: making their intents of none effect, or changing their meanings oft times clean into the contrary, as may best serve for his own glory and their profit.

Sept.7. For *September 7th* the second day after our entrance into the South sea (called by some *Mare pacificum*, but proving to us rather to be *Mare furiosum*.) God by a contrary wind and intolerable tempest, seemed to set himself against us : forcing us not only to alter our course and determination, but with great trouble, longtime, many dangers, hard escapes, and final separating of our fleet, to yield our selves unto his will. Yea such was the extremity of the tempest, that it appeared to us as if he had pronounced a sentence, not to stay his hand, nor to withdraw his judgment till he had buried our bodies and ships also, in the bottomless depth of the raging sea.

Sept.8. In the time of this incredible storm, the 15th of *September*, the Moon was eclipsed in *Aries*, and darkened about three points, for the space of two glass : which being ended, might seem to give us some hope of alteration & change of weather to the better. Notwithstanding, as the ecliptical conflict could add nothing to our miserable estate, no more did the ending thereof ease us any thing at all, nor take away any part of our troubles from us, but our eclipse continued still in its full force so prevailing against us, that for the space of full 52 days together we were darkened more then the Moon by 20 parts, or more then we by any means could ever have preserved or recovered light of our selves again, if the Son of God which

1578. laid this burthen upon our backs, had not mercifully born it up with his own shoulders, and upheld us by his own power, beyond any possible strength or skill of man. Neither indeed did we at all escape, but with the seeing of great discomforts through the same.

Sept. 30. For these violent and extraordinary flaws (such as seldom have been seen) still continuing, or rather increasing, *September 30th* in the night, caused the sorrow separation of the *Marigold* from us, in which was Captain *John Thomas*, with many others of our, dear friends : who by no means that we could conceive could help themselves, but by booming(?) along before the sea. With whom albeit we could never meet again, yet (our general having afore hand given order that if any of our fleet did loose company, the place of resort to meet again should be in 30 deg. or thereabouts, upon the coasts of *Peru*, toward the Equinoctial) we long-time hoped (until experience showed our hope was vain) that there we should joyfully meet with them : especially for that they were well provided of victuals, and lacked no skillful and sufficient men (besides their Captain) to bring forward the ship to the place appointed.

Octob. 7. From the seventh of *September* (in which the storm began) till the seventh of *October* we could not by any means recover any land (having in the mean time been driven so far South) as to the 37 deg. and somewhat better) on this, day towards night, somewhat to the Northward of that Cape of *America*, whereof mention is made before in the description of our departure from the strait into the sea) with a sorry sail we entered a harbor : where hoping to enjoy some freedom & ease till the storm was ended, we received within few hours after our coming to anchor, so deadly a stroke and hard entertainment, that our Admiral left not only an anchor behind her, through the violence and fury of the flaw; but in departing thence, also lost the company and sight of our Vice-Admiral, the *Elizabeth* : partly through the negligence of those that had the charge of her, partly through a kind of desire that some in her

1578. had to be out of these troubles, and to be at home again : which
Octob. 8. (as since is known) they thence forward by all means assayed
and performed. For the very next day October 8th recovering
the mouth of the straits again (which we were now so near
unto) they returned back the same way by which they came
forward, and coasting *Brazil*, they arrived in England June 2nd
the year following.

So that now our Admiral if she had retained her old name of
Pelican, which she bare at our departure from our country, she
might have been now indeed said to be as a *Pelican* alone in the
wilderness. For albeit our General sought the rest of his fleet
with great care, yet could we not have any fight or certain news
of them by any means.

From this bay of parting of friends, we were forcibly driven
back again into 55 deg. towards the pole Antarctic. In which
height we ran in among the Islands before mentioned, lying to
the Southward of *America*, through which, we passed from one
sea to the other, as hath been declared. Where coming to anchor,
we found the waters there to have their in draught and free
passage, and that through no small cuts, or narrow channels, but
indeed through as large straits or straits, as it had at the supposed
freights of *Magellan* through which we came.

Among these Islands, making our abode with some quietness
for a very little while, (*viz.* two days) and finding divers good and
wholesome herbs together with fresh water ; our men which
before were weak, and much impaired in their health, began to
receive good comfort : especially by the drinking of one herb
(not much unlike that herb which we commonly call Penny-leaf)
which purging with great facility afforded great help and
refreshing to our wearied and sickly bodies.

But the winds returning to their old wont, and the seas raging
after their former manner, yea every thing as it were letting itself
against our peace and desired rest, here was no stay permitted,
neither any safety to be looked for.

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For such was the present danger by forcing and continual flaws, that we were rather to look for present death than hope for any delivery, if God almighty should not make the way for us. The winds were such as if the bowels of the earth had set all at liberty, or as if the clouds under heaven had been called together to lay their force on that one place: the seas, which by nature and of themselves are heavy, and of a weighty substance, were rolled up from the depths, even from the roots of the rocks, as if it had been a scroll of parchment, which by the extremity of heat running together, and being aloft were carried in most strange manner & abundance, as Feathers or drifts of snow, by the violence of the winds, to water the exceeding tops of high and lofty mountains. Our anchors, as false friends in such a danger, gave over their holdfast, and as if it had been with horror of the thing, did shrink down to hide themselves in this miserable storm ; committing the distressed ship and helpless men to the uncertain rolling seas, which tossed them, like a ball in a racket. In this case, to let fall more anchors would avail us nothing, for being driven from our first place of anchoring, so un-measurable was the depth, that 500 fathom would fetch no ground : so that the violent storm without intermission ; the impossibility to come to anchor, the want of opportunity to spread any sail ; the most mad seas ; the lee shores ; the dangerous rocks, the contrary and most intolerable winds ; and the impossible passage out ; the desperate tarrying there ; and inevitable perils on every side, did lay before us so small likelihood to escape present destruction that if the special providence of God himself had not supported us, we could never have endured that woeful state : as being environed with most terrible and most fearful judgments round about. For truly, it was more likely that the mountains should have been rent asunder, from the top to the bottom, and cast headlong into the sea, by these unnatural winds ; than that we, by any help or cunning of man, should free the life of anyone amongst us.

Notwithstanding the same God of mercy which delivered

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Jonas out of the Whale's belly and hears all those that call upon him faithfully in their distress ; looked down from heaven beheld our tears, and heard our humble petitions, joined with holy vows. Even God (whom not the winds and seas alone, but even the Devils themselves and powers of hell obey) did so wonderfully free us, and make our way open before us, as it were by his holy Angels still guiding and conducting us, that more then the affright and amaze of this estate, we received no part of damage in all the things that belonged unto us.

But escaping from these straits and miseries, as it were through the needles eye (that God might have the greater glory in our delivery) by the great and effectual care and travel of our General, Lords instrument therein, we could now no longer forbear, but must needs find some place of refuge, as well to provide water, wood ; and other necessities, as to comfort our men, thus worn and tired out, by so many and so long intolerable toils : the like whereof, it to be supposed, no traveler hath felt, neither hath there ever been such a tempest (that any records make mention of) so violent, and of such continuance, since *Noah's* flood, for as hath been said, it lasted from *September 7th* to *October 28th*, full 52 days.

Not many leagues therefore to the southwards of our former anchoring, we ran in again among these Islands ; where we had once more better likelihood to rest in peace : and so much the rather, for that we found the people of the country traveling for their living, from one Island to another; in their canoes, both men, women and young infants wrapped in skins, and hanging at their mothers backs, with whom he had traffic for such things as they had, as chains of certain shells and such other trifles, here the Lord gave us three days to breathe ourselves, and to provide such things as we wanted, albeit the same was with continual care, and troubles to avoid imminent dangers, which the troubled seas and blustering winds did every hour threaten unto us.

But when we seemed to have stayed there too, too long; we

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were more rigorously assaulted by the not formerly ended, but now more violently renewed storm, and driven then also with no small danger, leaving behind us the greater part of our cable with the anchor, being chased along by the winds, and buffeted incessantly in each quarter by the seas (which our General interpreted, as though God had sent them of purpose to the end which ensued) until at length we fell with the uttermost part of land towards the south pole, and had certainly discovered how far the same does reach southward, from the coast of America afore named.

The uttermost Cape or headland of all these Islands, stands near at the 56th deg. without which there is no main, nor Island to be seen to the southwards : but that the Atlantic Ocean, and the south sea, meet in a most large and free scope.

It hath been a dream through many ages, that these Islands have been a main, and that it hath been *terra incognita* ; wherein many strange monsters lived. Indeed it might truly, before this time, be called *incognita*, for how soever the maps & general descriptions of *Cosmographers*, either upon the deceivable reports of other men, or the deceitful imaginations of themselves (supposing never herein to be corrected) have set it down, yet it is true, that before this time, it was never discovered, or certainly known by any traveler, that we have heard of.

And here as in a fit place, it shall not be amiss to remove that error in opinion, which hath been held by many, of the impossible return, out of *Mar del zur*, into the West Ocean ; by reason of the supposed Eastern current, and eastern winds: which (say they) speedily carry any thither, but suffer no return. They are herein likewise altogether deceived : for neither did we meet with any such current, neither had we any such certain winds, with any such speed to carry us through, but at all times in our passage there, we found more opportunity to return back again into the west Ocean, than to go forward into *Mar del zur*, by means, either of current, or winds to

1578. hinder us, whereof we had experience more then we wished : being glad oftentimes to alter our course, and to fall astern again, with frank wind (without any impediment of any such surmised current) farther in one afternoon, then we could fetch up, or recover again in a whole day, with a reasonable gale. And in that they allege the narrowness of the strait, and want of sea-room, to be the cause of this violent current ; they are herein no lesser deceived, than they were in the other without reason : for besides, that it cannot be said, that there is one only passage, but rather innumerable ; it is most certain, that a sea-board all these Islands, there is one large and main sea, wherein if any will not be satisfied, nor believe the report of our experience and eyesight, he should be advised to suspend his judgement, till he has either tried it himself, by his own travel, or shall understand by other travelers, more particulars to confirm his mind therein.

Octob.28. Now as we were fallen to the uttermost part of these Islands *October 28th* our troubles did make an end, the storm ceased, and all our calamities (only the absence of our friends excepted) were removed, as if God, all this while, by his secret providence, had led us to make this discovery, which being made, according to his will he stayed his hand, as pleased his majesty therein, and refreshed us as his servants.

At these Southerly parts we found the night, in the latter end of October, to be but 2 hours long : the Sun being yet above 7 degrees distant from the Tropic : so that it seems, being in the Tropic, to leave very little, or no night at all in that place.

There be few of all these Islands, but have some inhabitants, whose manners, apparel, houses, Canoe, and means of living, is like unto those formerly spoken of, a little before our departure out of the *Strait*. To all these Islands, did our Generall give one name, to wit, *Elizabethides*.

Octob.30. After two days stay, which we made in and about these Islands, the 30th of October we set sail ; shaping our course right

1578. Northwest, to coast along the parts of *Peru* (for so the general maps set out the land to lie, both for that we might with convenient speed, fall with the height of 30 deg. being the place appointed, for the rest of our fleet to re-assemble as also that no opportunity might be lost, in the mean time to find them out, if it seemed good to God to direct them to us.

In this course, we chanced (the next day) with two Islands, being as it were store-houses, of most liberal provision of victuals for us, of birds, yielding not only sufficient and plentiful store, for us who were present, but enough to have served all the rest also which were absent.

Nove. 1. Thence (having furnished our selves to our content) we, continued our course *November 1st* still Northwest, as we had, formerly done, but in going on, we soon spied, that we might easily have been deceived : and therefore casting about, and steering upon another point, we found that the general maps did err from the truth, in setting down the coast of *Peru*, for 12 deg. at least to the Northward, of the supposed strait ; no lesser then is the Northwest point of the compass, different from the Northeast, perceiving hereby, that no man, had ever by travel, discovered any part of these 12 deg. and there fore the setters forth of such descriptions, are not to be trusted, much lesser honored in their false and fraudulent conjectures, which they use, not in this, alone, but in divers other points of no small importance.

We found this part of *Peru*, all along to the height of *Lima* which is 12 deg. South of the line, to be mountainous and very barren, without water or wood, for the most part, except in certain places inhabited by the *Spaniards* and few others, which are very fruitful and commodious.

After we were once again thus fallen with the land, we continually coasted along, until we came to the height of 37 deg. or thereabout : & finding no convenient place of abode, nor likelihood to hear any news of our ships, we ran off again with an Island, which lay in sight, named of the *Spaniards* *Mucho*, by

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reason of the greatness and large circuit thereof.

Novem. 25.

At this Island coming to anchor, *Novem. 25th* we found it to be a fruitful place, and well stored with sundry sorts of good things, as sheep, and other cattle, maize, which is a kind of grain whereof they make bread, potatoes, with such other roots : besides that, it is thought to be wonderful rich in gold, and to want no good thing for the use of mans life. The inhabitants are such Indians, as by the cruel and most extreme dealing of the *Spaniards*, have been driven to fly from the main, here to relieve and fortify themselves. With this people, our General thought it meet to have traffic, for fresh victuals and water : and for that cause, the very same night of our arrival there, himself with divers of his company went a shore, to whom the people with great courtesy came down, bringing with them such fruits and other victuals as they had, and two very fat sheep, which they gave our General for a present. In recompense whereof, we bestowed upon them again many good and necessary things, signifying unto them, that the end of his coming was for no other cause, but by way of exchange to traffic with them for such things as we needed, and they could spare : and in particular, for such as they had already brought down upon us, besides fresh water, which we desired of them. Herein they held themselves well contented, and seemed to be not a little joyful of our coming : appointing where we should the next morning have fresh water at pleasure, & withal signifying that then also they would bring us down such other things as we desired to serve our turns.

The next day therefore very early in the morning (all things being made ready for traffic, as also vessels prepared to bring the water) our general taking great care for so necessary provision, repaired to the shore again, and setting on land two of his men, sent with them their *Barricoes* to the watering place assigned the night before. Who having peaceably past on one half of the way, were then with no small violence let upon by those traitorous people, and suddenly slain and to the end that

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our general with the rest of his company should not only be stayed from rescuing them, but also might fall (if it were possible) into their hands in like manner, they had lain closely behind the rocks an ambush (party) of (as we guessed) about 500 men, armed and well appointed for such a mischief. Who suddenly attempting their purpose (the rocks being very dangerous for the boat, and the sea-gate exceedingly great) by shooting their arrows, hurt and wounded every one of our men, before they could free themselves, or come to the use of their weapons to do any good. The general himself was shot in the face, under his right eye, & close by his nose, the arrow piercing a marvelous way in, under *bafis cerebri*, with no small danger of his life ; besides that, he was grievously wounded in the head. The rest being nine persons in the boat, were deadly wounded in divers parts of their bodies, if God almost miraculously had not given cure to the same. For our chief Surgeon being dead and the other absent by the loss of our vice-admiral, and having none left us but a boy, whose good will was more then any skill he had, we were little better then altogether destitute of such cunning & helps as so grievous a state of so many wounded bodies did require. Notwithstanding God, by the good advice of our General, and the diligent putting too of every mans help, did give such speedy & wonderful cure, that we had all great comfort thereby, and yielded God the glory thereof.

Sept.30.{?}*Octob. 7*

The cause of this force and injury by these Islanders, was no other but the deadly hatred which they bear against their civil enemies the *Spaniards*, or the bloody and most tyrannous oppression which they had used towards them. And therefore with purpose against them (suspecting us to be *Spaniards* indeed, and that the rather, by occasion that though command was given to the contrary, some of our men in demanding water, used the Spanish word *aqua*, sought some part of revenge against us. Our general notwithstanding he might have revenged this wrong with little hazard or dangers ; yet more desirous to preserve one of his own men alive, then to destroy 100 of

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his enemies committed the same to God: wishing this only punishment to them, that they did but know whom they had wronged, and that they had done this injury not to an enemy but to a friend; not to a *Spaniard*, but to an Englishman, who would rather have been a patron to defend them, then any way an instrument of the least wrong that should have been done unto them. The weapons which this people use in their wars, are arrows of reeds, with heads of stone, very brittle and indented, but darts of a great length, headed with iron or bone.

The same day that we received this dangerous affront, in the afternoon we set sail from thence ; and because we were now nigh the appointed height, wherein our ships were to be looked for, as also the extremity and crazy state of our hurt men advising us to use expedition, to find some convenient, place of repose, which might afford them some rest, and yield us necessary supply of fresh victuals for their diet ; we bent our course, as the wind would suffer us, directly to run in with the main. Where falling with a bay, called *Philips bay*, in 32 de. or thereabout, *Nov. 30th* we came to anchor : and forthwith manned and sent our boat to discover what likelihood the place would offer to afford us such things as we stood in need of.

Nov. 30.

Our boat doing her utmost endeavor in a diligent search, yet after long travel could find no appearance of hope for relief, either of fresh victuals, or of fresh water: huge herds of wild bulls they might discern, but not so much as any sign of any inhabitant thereabout. Yet in their return to us, they descried within the bay, an Indian with his canoe as he was a fishing: him they brought aboard our general, canoe and all as he was in it. A comely personage, and of a goodly stature ; his apparel was a white garment, reaching scarcely to his knees, his arms and legs were naked ; his hair upon his head very long, without a beard, as all the Indians for the most part are. He seemed very gentle ; of mild and humble nature, being very tractable to learn the use of every thing : and most grateful for such things as our General bestowed upon him. In him we might

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see a most lively pattern of the harmless disposition of that peoples and how grievous a thing it is that they should by any means be so abused as all those are, whom the *Spaniards* have any command or power over.

This man being courteously entertained, and his pains of coming double-requited, after we had showed him, partly by signs, and partly by such things as we had, what things we needed, and would gladly receive by his means, upon exchange of such things as he would desire, we sent him away with our boat and his own canoe (which was made of reed straw) to land him where he would. Who being landed, and willing our men to stay his return, was immediately met by two or three of his friends, to whom imparting his news, & showing what gifts he had received, he gave so great content, that they willingly furthered his purpose, so that after certain hours of our mens abode there, he with divers others (among whom was their head or Captain) made their return, bringing with them their loadings of such things as they thought would do us good : as some hens, eggs, a fat hog, and such like. All which (that our men might be without all suspicion of all evil to be meant & intended by them) they sent in one of their canoes, a reasonable distance from off the shore, to our Boat, the sea-gate being at the present very great, and their Captain having lent back his horse, would needs commit himself to the credit of our men, though strangers, and come with them to our General, without any of his own acquaintance or countrymen with him.

By his coming as we understood, that there was no mean or way, to have our necessities relieved in this place ; so he offered himself to be our Pilot, to a place and that a good harbor, not far back to the Southward again : where, by way of traffic, we might have at pleasure, both water, and those other things which we stood in need of. This offer our General very gladly received, and so much the rather, for that the place intended, was near about the place appointed, for the

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rendezvous of our fleet. Omitting therefore our purpose, of pursuing the bulls formerly spoken of, of which we had otherwise determined, if possible to have killed some ; this good news of better provision, and more easy to come by, drew us away : and so the 5th day after our arrival, viz. *December 4th* we departed hence, and the next day *December 5th* by the willing conduct of our new Indian Pilot, we came to anchor in the desired harbor.

*Dece. 4.**Dece. 5.*

This harbor the *Spaniards* call *Valperizo*, and the town adjoining *St. James of Chinly*, it stands in 35 deg. 40. min. where albeit we neither met with our ships, nor heard of them, yet there was no good thing which the place afforded, or which our necessities indeed for the present required, but we had the same in great abundance : amongst other things we found in the town divers storehouses : of the wines of *Chili* ; and in the harbor, a ship called the *Captain of Moriall, or the grand Captain of the South, Admiral to the Islands of Salamoia* ; laden for the most part, with the same kind of liquors : only there was besides, a certain quantity of fine gold of *Baldivia* and a great cross of gold beset with Emeralds, on which was nailed a god of the same metal. We spent some time in refreshing ourselves, and easing this ship of so heavy a burthen : and on the 8th day of the same month (having in the mean time, sufficiently stored our selves with necessities, as wine, bread, bacon &c. for a long season) we set sail, returning back towards the line ; carrying again our Indian pilot with us, whom our general bountifully rewarded, and enriched with many good things, which pleased him exceedingly, and caused him, by the way, to be landed in the place where he desired.

Our necessities being thus to our content relieved, our next care was the regaining (if possible) of the company of our ships, so long severed from us : neither would any thing have satisfied our general, or us so well, as the happy meeting, or good news of them, this way therefore (all other thoughts, for the present set apart) were all our studies and endeavors bent,

1578. how to fit it so, as that no opportunity of meeting them might be passed over.

To this end, considering that we could not conveniently run in with our ship (in search of them) to every place where was likelihood of being in harbor ; and that our boat was too little, and unable to carry men enough, to encounter the malice or treachery of the *Spaniards* (if we should by any chance meet with any of them) who are used to showing no mercy, where they may overmaster ; and therefore meaning not to hazard ourselves to their cruel courtesy we determined, as we coasted now towards the line, to search diligently for some convenient place, where we might in peace and safety, stay the trimming of our ship, and the erecting of a pinnace, in which we might have better security, than in our boat, and without endangering of our ship, by running into each creek, leave no place untried, if happily we might so find again our friends and countrymen.

Dece. 19. For this cause December 19th we entered a bay, not far to the Southward of the town, of *Cyppo* now inhabited by the *Spaniards*, in 29 deg, 30. min. where having landed certain of our men, to the number of 14, to search what conveniences the place was likely to afford for our abiding there ; we were immediately descried by the *Spaniards*, of the town of *Cyppo* afore said, who speedily made out 300 men, at least whereof 100 were *Spaniards*, every one well mounted upon his horse; the rest were Indians, running as dogs at their heels, all naked and in most miserable bondage.

They could not come any way so closely, but God did open our eyes to see them, before there was any extremity of danger, whereby our men being warned, had reasonable time to shift themselves as they could ; first from the main, to a rock within the sea ; and from thence into their boat : which being ready to receive them, conveyed them with expedition, out of the reach of the *Spaniards'* fury, without the hurt of any man : only one *Richard Minivy*, being over bold and careless of

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his own safety would not be entreated by his friends, nor feared by the multitude of his enemies, to take the present benefit of his own delivery : but chose either to make 300 men by outbraving of them to become afraid, or else himself to die in the place ; the latter of which indeed he did, whose dead body being drawn by the Indians from the rock to the shore was there manfully by the *Spaniards* beheaded, the right hand cut off, the heart plucked out, all which they carried away in our sight, and for the rest of his carcase, they caused the Indians to shoot it full of arrows, made but the same day, of green wood, and so left it to be devoured of the beasts and fowls, but that we went ashore again and buried it ; wherein as there appeared a most extreme and barbarous cruelty, so does it declare to the world, in what miserable fear the *Spaniard* holds the government of those parts ; living in continual dread of the foreign invasion by strangers, or secret cutting of throats, by those whom they kept under them in so shameful slavery, I mean the Innocent and harmless Indians. And therefore they make sure to murder what strangers soever they can come by, and suffer the Indians by no means to have any weapon longer than they be in present service : as appeared by their arrows cut from the tree the same day, as also by the credible report of others who knew the matter to be true. Yea, they suppose they show the wretches great favor, when they do not for their pleasures whip them with cords, and day by day drop their naked bodies with burning bacon : which is one of the least cruelties, amongst many, which they usually use against that Nation and people.

Dece. 20.

This being not the place we looked for, nor the entertainment such as we desired ; we speedily got hence again, and *Decem.* 20th the next day, fell with a more convenient harbor, in a bay somewhat to the Northward of the fore-named *Cyppolying* in 27 deg. 55. min. South the line.

In this place we spent some time in trimming of our ships, and building of our pinnace, as we desired : but still the grief for

1578. the absence of our friends remained with us, for the finding of whom, our General having now fitted all things to his mind, intended (leaving his ship the meanwhile at anchor in the bay) with his pinnace and some chosen men, himself to return back to the Southwards again, to see if happily he might either himself meet with them, or find them in some harbor or creek, or hear of them by any others, whom he might meet with, with this resolution he set on, but after one days sailing, the wind being contrary to his purpose, he was forced whether he would or no to return again.

Within this bay, during our abode there, we had such abundance of fish, not much unlike our Gurnard in England, as no place had ever afforded us the like (Cape blank only upon the coast of *Barbary* excepted) since our first setting forth of *Plymouth* until this time, the plenty whereof in this place was such, that our gentlemen sporting themselves day by day, with 4 or 5 hooks and lines, in 2 or 3 hours, would take sometimes 400, sometimes more at one time.

Jan. 19. All our business being thus dispatched, *January 19th* we set sail from hence ; and the next place that we fell withal, *Jan. 22nd* was

Jan. 22. an Island standing in the same height, with the north cape of the province of *Mormorena*, at this Island we found 4 Indians with their canoes, which took upon them to bring our men to a place of fresh water on the aforesaid cape ; in hope whereof our general made them great cheer (as his manner was to all strangers) and set his course by their direction, but when we came unto the place, and had traveled up along way into the land, we found fresh water indeed, but scarce so much as they had drunk wine in their passage thither.

As we sailed along, continually searching for fresh water we came to a place called *Tarapaca*, and landing there we lighted on a *Spaniard* who lay asleep, and had lying by him 13 bars of silver, weighing in all, about 4000 Spanish ducats, we would not (could we have chosen) have awakened him of his nap : but seeing we, against our will ; did him that injury, we

1578.[9] freed him of his charge, which otherwise perhaps would have kept him waking, and so left him to take out (if it pleased him) the other part of his sleep in more security.

Our search for water still continuing, as we landed again not far from thence, we met a *Spaniard* with an Indian boy, driving 8 Lambs or *Peruvian* sheep : each sheep bore two leather bags, and in each bag was 50 pound weight of refined silver, in the whole 800 weight : we could not endure to see a gentleman *Spaniard* turned Carrier so ; and therefore without entreaty, we offered our service, and became drovers : only his direction was nor so perfect, that we could keep the way which he intended, for almost as soon as he was parted from us, we with our new kind of carriages were come unto our boats.

Farther beyond this cape afore-mentioned lie certain Indian towns, from whence as we passed by, came many of the people in certain boats made of Seal skins ; of which two being joined together of a just length, and side by side, resemble in fashion or form of a boat : they have in either of them a small gut, or some such thing blown full of air; by reason whereof it floats, and is rowed very swiftly, carrying in it no small burthen. In these upon sight of our ship, they brought store of fish of divers sorts, to traffic with us, for any trifles we would give them : as knives, margarites, glasses, and such like, whereof, men of 60 and 70 years old, were as glad as if they had received some exceeding rich commodity, being a most simple and plain dealing people. Their resort unto us was such, as considering the shortness of the time, was wonderful to us to behold.

Nor far from this, *viz.* in 12 deg. 30. min. lay *Marmorena*, another great town of the same people, over whom 2 *Spaniards* held the government, with these our general thought meet to deal ; or at least to try their courtesy, whether they would, in way of traffic, give us such things as we needed or no, and therefore *Jan.* the 26th we cast anchor here, we found

Jan. 26.

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them (more for fear than for love) somewhat tractable, and received them by exchange many good things, very necessary for our uses.

Amongst other things which we had of them, the sheep of the country (*viz.* such as we mentioned before bearing the leather bags) were most memorable. Their height and length was equal to a pretty cow, and their strength fully answerable if not by much exceeding their size or stature. Upon one of their backs did sit at one time three well grown and tall men and one boy, no mans foot touching the ground by a large foot in length, the beast nothing at all complaining of his burden in the mean time. These sheep have necks like Camels ; their heads bearing a reasonable resemblance of another sheep. The *Spaniards* use them to great profit. Their wool is exceeding fine, their flesh good meat, their increase ordinary, and besides they supply the room of horses for burden or travel : yea they serve to carry over the mountains, marvelous loads, for 300 leagues together where no other carriage can be made but by them only. Hereabout, as also all along, and up into the country throughout the Province of *Cusko*, the common ground wheresoever it be taken up, in every hundred pound weight of earth, yields 25. s. of pure silver, after the rate of a crown an ounce.

Febr. 7.

The next place likely to afford us any news of our ships (for in all this way from the height where we built our pin-nace, there was no bay or harbor at all for shipping) was the port of the town of *Arica*, standing in 20d. whither we arrived the 7th of *February*. This town seemed to us to stand in the most fruitful soil that we saw all along these coasts, both for that it is situated in the mouth of a most pleasant and fertile valley, abounding with all good things ; as also in that it hath continual, trade of shipping, as well from *Lima* as from all other parts of *Peru*. It is inhabited by the *Spaniards*. In two barks here, we found some forty and odd bars of silver (of the bigness and fashion of a brickbat, and in weight each of them

1578.[9] about 20 pounds) of which we took the burthen on ourselves to ease them, and so departed towards *Chowley*; with which we
Febr.9. fell the second day, *viz.* Feb. 9th and in our way to *Lima*, we met with another Bark, *Ariquipa*, which had begun to load some silver and gold, but having had (as it seemed from *Arica* by land) some notice of our coming, had unloaded the same again before our arrival. Yet in this our passage we met another bark laden with Linen : some of which we thought might stand us in some stead, and therefore took it with us.

Febr.15. At *Lima* we arrived *Feb.* 15th and notwithstanding the *Spaniards'* forces, though they had 30 at that present in harbor there, whereof 17 (most of them the especial ships in all the south sea) were fully ready, we entered and anchored all night in the midst of them, in the *Calao* : and might have made more spoil amongst them in few hours if we had been affected to revenge, then the *Spaniards* could have recovered again in many years. But we had more care to get up that company which we had so long missed, than to recompense their cruel and hard dealing by an evil requital, which now we might have taken. This *Lima* stands in 12 deg. 30. minutes south latitude.

Here albeit no good news of our ships could be had, yet got we the news of some things that seemed to comfort, if not to countervail our travels thither, as namely, that in the ship of one *Mighell Angel* there, there were 1500 bars of plate, besides some other things (as Silks, Linen ; and in one a chest full of Royals of plate) which might stand us in some stead in the other ships ; aboard whom we made somewhat bold to bid our selves welcome. Here also we heard the report of some things that had befallen in and near *Europe*, since our departure thence; in particular of the death of some great personages ; as the K. of *Portugal*, and both the Kings of *Morocco* and *Fesse*, dead all three in one day at one battle : the death of the K. of *France*, and the Pope of *Rome* : whose abominations as they are in part cut off from some Christian Kingdoms, where his shame

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is manifest, so do his vassals & accursed instruments labor by all means possible to repair that loss, by spreading the same the further in these parts, where his devilish illusions and damnable deceivings are not known. And as his Doctrine takes place anywhere, so does the manners that necessarily accompany the same, insinuate themselves together with the doctrine. For as its true that in all the parts of *America*, where the *Spaniards* have any government, the poisonous infection of Popery hath spread itself ; so on the other side it is as true, that there is no City, as *Lima, Panama, Mexico, &c.* no Town or Village, yea no house almost in all these provinces, wherein (amongst other the like Spanish virtues) not only whoredom, but the filthiness of *Sodom*, not to be named among Christians, is not common without reproof : the Pope's pardons being more rife in these parts then they be in any part of Europe, for these filthinesses where-out he sucketh no small advantage. Notwithstanding the *Indians*, who are nothing near the true knowledge of God then they were before, abhor this most filthy & loathsome manner of living ; showing themselves in respect of the *Spaniards*, as the *Scythians*, did in respect of the *Grecians* : who in their barbarous ignorance, yet in life and behavior did so far excel the wise and learned *Greeks*, as they were short of them in the gifts of learning and knowledge.

But as the Pope and Anti-Christian Bishops labor by their wicked factors with tooth and nail to deface the glory of God, and to shut up in darkness the light of the gospel ; so God does not suffer his name and religion to be altogether without witness, to the reprovng both of his false and damnable doctrine as also crying out against his unmeasurable and abominable licentiousness of the flesh, even in these parts. For in this City of *Lima*, not two months before our coming thither, there were certain persons, to the number of twelve apprehended, examined and condemned for the profession of the Gospel, and reprovng the doctrines of men with the filthy manners used in that City : of which twelve, six were bound to one

1578.[9] stake and burnt, the rest remained yet in prison, to drink of the same cup within few days. Lastly, here we had intelligence of a certain rich ship, which was laden with gold and silver for Panama, that he had set forth of this haven the 2nd of *February*.

Febr. 16. The very next day therefore in the morning (*viz.* the 16th of the said month) we set sail, as soon as the wind would serve our turn, and towed our ship as soon as the wind failed ; continuing our course toward *Panama*, making stay nowhere, but hastening all we might, to get sight if it were possible, of that gallant ship the *Cacafuego*. the great glory of the south sea ; which was gone from *Lima* 14 days before us .

Febr. 20. We fell with the port of *Paita* in 4 de. 40. m. *Feb.* 20th with
Febr. 24. port Saint *Helen*, and the River and port of *Guiaquil*, *Feb.* 24th
Febr. 28. we past the line the 28th and first of *March* we fell with cape
March. 1. *Francis*: where, about midday, we descried a sail, a head of us, with whom after once we had spoken with her, we lay still in the same place about six days ; to recover our breath again which we had almost spent with hasty following and to recall to mind what advantages had passed us since our late coming from *Lima*, but especially to do *John de Anton* a kindness, in freeing him of the care of those things with which his ship was laden.

This ship we found to be the same of which we had heard, not only in the *Calao* of *Lima*, but also by divers occasions afterward (which now we are at leisure to relate, *viz.* by a ship which we took between *Lima* and *Paita* : by another which we took laden with wine in the port of *Paita* : by a third laden with tackling and implements for ships (besides 80 pound weight in gold) from *Guiaquil*. And lastly, by *Gabriel Alvarez*, with whom we talked somewhat nearer the line), we found her to be indeed the *Catafuego*: though before we left her she was newly named by a boy of her own the *Cacaplata*. We found in her some Fruit, conserves, sugars, meal and other victuals, & that which was the special cause of her heavy and slow sailing, a certain quantity of jewels, and precious stones, 13

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chests of Royals of plate ; 80 pound weight in gold ; 26 tonne of un-coined silver ; two very fair gilt silver drinking-bowls, and the like trifles, valued in about 360000 pesos. We gave the Master a little Linen and the like for these commodities; and at the end of six days we bade farewell and parted. He hasting somewhat lighter then before to *Panama*, we plying off to sea, what we might with more leisure consider what course hence forward was fittest to be taken.

And considering that now we were come to the northward of the line (*Cape Francisco* standing in the entrance of the bay Panama, in 1 deg. of North latitude) and that there was no likelihood or hope that our ships should be before us that way by any means, seeing that in running so many deg. from the southernmost Islands hitherto, we could not have any sign or notice of their passage that way, notwithstanding that we had made so diligent search, and careful enquiry, after them, in every harbor or creek almost as we had done ; and considering also that the time of the year now drew on, wherein we must attempt, or of necessity wholly give off that action which chiefly our General had determined : namely, the discovery of what passage there was to be found about the northern parts of *America* from the south sea, into our own Ocean (which being once discovered and made known to be navigable, we should not only do our country good and notable service, but we also our selves should have a near cut and passage home : where otherwise we were to make a very long and tedious voyage of it, which would hardly agree with our good liking, we having been so long from home already, and so much of our strength separated from us) which could not at all be done, if the opportunity of time were now neglected : we therefore all of us willingly hearkened, and consented to our Generals advice : which was, first to seek out some convenient place, wherein to trim our ship, and store ourselves with wood and water and other provisions as we could get : and thenceforward to hasten on our intended journey, for the discovery of the said passage,

1579. through which we might with joy return to our longed homes.
- March 7.* From this cape before we set onward *March* the 7th shaping our course towards the Island of *Caines*, with which we fell
- March 16.* *March* 16th settling ourselves for certain days, in a Fresh river, between the main and it ; for the finishing of our needful business as is aforesaid. While we abode in this place, we felt a very terrible earthquake, the force whereof was such, that our ship and Pinnacle, riding very near an English mile from the shore, were shaken and did quiver as if it had been laid on dry land : we found here many good commodities which we wanted, as Fish, Fresh Water, Wood, &c. besides *Alagartoes*, *Monkeys* and the like, and in our journey hither, we met with one ship more (the last we met with in all those coasts) loaded with Linen, Chinese silk, and Chinese dishes, amongst which we found also a Falcon of gold, handsomely wrought with a great Emerald set in the breast of it.
- March 24.* From whence we parted the 24th day of the month fore named, with full purpose to run the nearest course as the wind would suffer us, without touch of land along time ; and therefore passed by port *Papagaia* ; the port of the Vale of the most rich and most excellent balms of *Jericho*, *Quantapico*, and diverse others ; as also certain gulfs hereabouts, which without intermission, send forth such continual and violent winds, that the *Spaniards*, though their ships be good, dare not venture themselves too near the danger of them.
- Notwithstanding, having noticed that we should be troubled with often calms and contrary winds, if we continued near the coast, and did not run off to sea to seek the wind, and that if we did so, we could not then fall with land again when we would, our General thought it needful, that we should run in with some place or other, before our departure from the coast, to see if happily we could by traffic, augment our provision of victuals, and other necessities : that being at fear we might not be driven to any great want or necessity,

1578.[9] albeit we had reasonable store of good things aboard us already.
April 15 The next harbor therefore which we chanced with, on *Apr.* 15th in 15. de. 40. min. was *Guatulco* so named by the *Spaniards* who inhabited it, with whom we had some intercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefly bread &c. And now having reasonably, as we thought provided ourselves, we departed from the coast of *America* for the present : but not forgetting, before we got a shipboard, to take with us also a certain pot (of about a bushel in bigness) full of royals of plates which we found in the town : together with a chain of gold, and some other jewels, which we entreated a gentleman *Spaniard* to leave behind him, as he was flying out of town.

April 16. From *Guatulco* we departed the day following, *viz. April.* 16th, setting our course directly into the sea : whereupon we sailed 500 leagues in longitude to get a wind : and between that and *June 3rd* 1400 leagues in all till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following, we found such alteration of heat, into extreme and nipping cold, that our men in general did grievously complain thereof ; some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby, neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it, not only the marks, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of us all, for besides that the pinching and biting air, was nothing altered ; the very ropes of our ship were stiff, and the rain which fell, was an unnatural and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone, than any way so near unto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time only, or by some sudden accident, but rather, seems indeed, to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heat of the sun prevails not, or it came to that extremity, in failing but 2 deg. farther to the northward in our course : that though seamen lack not

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good stomachs, yet it seemed a question to many among us, whether their hands should feed their mouths, or rather keep themselves within their covers, from the pinching cold that did benumb them. Neither could we impute it to the tenderness of our bodies though we came lately from the extremity of heat, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold insomuch as the dead and senseless creatures, were as well affected with it as our selves, our meat as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen up, and our ropes and tackling, in few days were grown to that stiffness, that what three men before were able with them to perform, now six men with their best strength, and uttermost endeavor, were hardly able to accomplish : whereby a sudden and great discouragement seized upon the minds of our men, and they were possessed with a great dislike, and doubting of any good to be done that way, yet would not our general be discouraged, but as well by comfortable speeches of the divine providence, and of Gods loving care over his children out of the scriptures, as also by other good and profitable persuasions, adding thereto his own cheerful example, he so stirred them up, to put on a good courage, and to quit themselves like men, to endure some short extremity, to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble, to obtain the greater glory, that every man was as throughly armed with willingness, and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

June 5.

The land in that part of *America* bearing farther out into the west, than we before imagined, we were near on it then we were aware, and yet the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did fear upon us. The 5th day of *June* we were forced by contrary winds, to run in with the shore, which we then first descried ; and to cast anchor in a bad bay : the best road we could for the present meet with ; where we were not without some danger, by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us, which if they ceased and

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were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission, there followed (by) most vile thick and stinking fogs ; against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gust of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for us ; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged our men) would not permit us and the winds directly bent against us having once gotten us under sail again, commanded us to the southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48 de. in which now we were, to 38, we found the land by coasting along it to be but low and reasonable plain : every hill (whereof we saw many, but none very high) though it were in June, and the Sun in his nearest approach unto them being covered with snow.

June 17.

In 38 deg. 30. min. we fell with a convenient and fit harbor, and *June 17th* came to anchor therein : where we continued till the 23rd day of *July* following. During all which time notwithstanding it was in the height of Summer, and so near the Sun, yet were we continually visited with like nipping colds, as we had felt before, insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busy employment about our necessary labors, had not sometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us still our winter clothes ; yea (had our necessities suffered us) to have kept (to) our beds, neither could we at any time in whole fourteen days together, find the air so clear as to be able to take the height of Sun or star.

And here having so fit occasion, (notwithstanding it may seem to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage) we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreme cold in these parts : as also into the probabilities or unlikelihood of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been touch-

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ed) the tenderness of our bodies, coming so lately out of the heat, whereby the pores were opened, that made us so sensible of the colds we here felt : in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a provident Father, and careful physician to us. We lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts, to restore & Fortify nature, had it been decayed or weakened in us ; neither was there wanting to us the great experience of our General, who had often himself proved the force of the burning zone ; whose advice always prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions : so that even after our departure from the heat, we always found our Bodies not as sponges, but strong and hardened, more able to bear out cold, though we came out of excess of heat, then a number of chamber companions could have been, who lie on their Featherbeds till they go to sea, or rather whose teeth in a temperate air beat in their heads at a cup of cold Sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tenderness, but the very extremity of the cold itself, that caused this sensibleness in us, may the rather appear in that the natural inhabitants of the place, (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related) who had never been acquainted with such heat ; to whom the country, air, and climate was proper ; and in whom custom of cold was as it were a second nature : yet used to come shivering to us in their warm furs, crowding close together body to body, to receive heat one of another ; and shelling themselves under a lee bank if it were possible, and as often as they could, laboring to shroud themselves under our garments also, to keep them warm. Besides how un-handsome and deformed appeared the face of the Earth itself ! showing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenness in those months of *June and July*. The poor birds and fowls not daring (as we had great experience to observe it) not daring so much as once to arise from their nest, after the first egg (was) laid, until it with all the rest be hatched, and brought to some strength of nature, able to help itself. Only this recompense

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hath nature afforded them, that the heat of their own bodies being exceeding great, it perfected the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time than is to be found in many other places. As for the causes of this extremity they seem not to be so deeply hidden, but that they may at least in part be guessed at, the chiefest of which we conceive to be the large spreading of the *Asian and American* continent, which (somewhat northward of these parts) if they be not fully joined, yet seem they to come very near one to the other. From whose high and snow-covered mountains, the north and northwest winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nymphs, to the infecting of the whole air with this insufferable sharpness : not permitting the Sun, no not in the pride of his heat, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they have breathed out so nigh the Sun, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the north and north-west winds are here constant in *June and July*, as the north wind alone is in *August and September*, we not only found it by our own experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion there of, by the continued observations of the *Spaniards*. Hence comes the general squalidness and barrenness of the country; hence comes it, that in the middle of their summer, the snow hardly departs, even from their very doors, but is never taken away from their hills at all ; hence comes those thick mists and most stinking fogs, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised : wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sun striving to perform his natural office, in elevating the vapors out of these inferior bodies ; draws necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea : but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the Suns endeavor, forces him to give over his work imperfect : and instead of higher elevation, to leave in the lowest regions, wandering upon the face of the earth and waters, as it were a second sea : through which its own beams cannot possibly pierce, unless sometimes when

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June 18. The next day after our coming to anchor in the aforesaid harbor, the people of the country showed themselves ; sending off a man with great expedition to us in a canoe. Who being yet but a little from the shore, and a great way from our ship, spake to us continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himself, he began more solemnly a long and tedious oration, after his manner : using in the delivery thereof, many gestures and signs ; moving his hands, turning his head and body many ways ; and after his oration ended, with great show of reverence and submission, returned back to shore again. He shortly came again the second time in like manner, and so the third time : when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of *Feathers*, much like the feathers of a *black crow*, very neatly and artificially gathered upon a string, and drawn together into a round bundle, being

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very clean and finely cut, and bearing in length an equal proportion one with another ; a special cognizance (as we afterwards observed) which they that guard their Kings person, wear on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herb which they called *Tabah*. Both which being tied to a short rod, he cast into a boat. Our general intended to have recompensed him immediately with many good things he would have bestowed on him : but entering into the boat to deliver the same, he could not be drawn to receive them by any means : save one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he took, up (refusing utterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were upon a board put off unto him) and so presently made his return. After which time, our boat could row no way, but wondering at us as gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

June 21.

The 3rd day following, *viz.* the 21st our ship having received a leak at sea, was brought to anchor near the shore, that her goods being landed, she might be repaired : but for that we were to prevent any danger that might chance against our safety, our general first of all landed his men, with all necessary provision to build tents and make a fort for the defense of ourselves and goods : and that we might under the shelter of it with more safety (whatever should befall, end our business; which when the people of the country perceived us doing, as men set on fire to war, in defense of their country, in great haste and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came down unto us, yet with no hostile meaning, or intent to hurt us : standing when they drew near, as men ravished in their minds, with the sight of such things as they never had seen, or heard of before that time : their errand being rather with submission and fear to worship us as gods, then to have any war with us as with mortal men. Which thing as it did partly show it self at that instant, so did it more and more manifest it self afterwards, during the whole time of our abode among them. At this time, being willed by signs to lay from

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them their bows and arrows, they did as they were directed and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies unto them, growing in a little while, to a great number both of men and woman.

To the intent therefore, that this peace which they themselves so willingly sought, might without any cause of the breach thereof, on our part given to be continued ; and that we might with more safety and expedition, end our business in quiet ; our General with all his company, used all means possible, gently to entreat them, bestowing upon each of them liberally, good and necessary things to cover their nakedness, withal, signifying unto them, we were no gods but men, and had need of such things to cover our own shame ; teaching them to use them to the same ends : for which cause also we did eat, and drink in their presence, giving them to understand, that without that we could not live, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could persuade them, nor remove that opinion which they had conceived of us, that we should be gods.

In recompense of those things which they had received of us, as shirts, Linen cloth, &c. they bestowed upon our General, and divers of our company, diverse things, as Feathers, Cowls of network, the quivers of their arrows made of fawns-skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore upon their bodies. Having thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of us, they departed with joy to their houses, which houses are dug around within the earth, and have from the uppermost brims of the circle, clefts of wood set up, and joined close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a church : which being covered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warm, the door in the most part of them, performs the office also of a chimney to let out the smoke : its made in bigness and fashion, like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slope-wise : their beds are the hard ground,

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only with rushes strewed upon it, and lying round about the house, have their fire in the midst, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round and close, giveth a marvelous reflection to their bodies to heat the same.

Their men for the most part go naked, the women take a kind of bulrushes, and keming it after the manner of hemp, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knit about their middles, hangs down about their hips, and so affords to them a covering of that which nature teaches should be hidden : about their shoulders they wear also the skin of a deer, with the hair upon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all services : yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consents, or being called by the men.

As soon as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping, and crying out, which they continued also a great while together in such sort, that in the place where they left us (being near about 3-quarters or an English mile distant from them) we very plainly, with wonder and admiration did hear the same : the women especially, extending their voices in a most miserable and doleful manner, of shrieking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awful demeanor used towards us, we thought it no wisdom too far to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with us before, made us careful to provide against an alteration of their affections, or breach of peace if it should happen) and therefore with all expedition we set up our tents and entrenched our selves with walls of stone : that so being fortified within our selves, we might be able to keep off the enemy (if they should so prove) from coming among us without our goodwill : this being quickly finished we went the more cheerfully and securely afterward, about our other business.

Against the end of two days (during which time they had

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not again been with us (there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (invited by the report of them which first saw us, who as it seems, had in that time, of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make known the news) who came now the second time unto us, bringing with them as before had been done, Feathers, and bags of *Tobah* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, upon this persuasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof we had built our fort, they made a stand, where one (appointed as their chief speaker) wearied both us his hearers, and himself too, with a long and tedious oration : delivered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the uttermost strength of nature, and his words fall so thick one in the neck of another, that he could hardly catch his breath again : as soon as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reverend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cried *oh* : thereby giving their consent, that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had uttered their mind by mouth unto us : which done, the men laying down their bows upon the hill and leaving their women and children behind them, came down with their presents, in such sort, as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselves happy, that they might have access unto our General, but much more happy, when they said that he would receive at their hands, those things which they so willingly had presented : and no doubt, they thought themselves nearest unto God, when they sat or stood next to him: in the mean- time the women, as if they had been desperate, used unnatural violence against themselves crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nails from their cheek, in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming down along their breasts, besides spoiling the upper parts of their bodies, of those single coverings they formerly had, and holding their hands above their heads, that they might not rescue their breasts

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from harm, they would with fury cast themselves upon the ground, never respecting whether it were clean or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, knobby hills, stocks of wood, pricking bushes, or what ever else lay in their way, iterating the same course again and again : yea women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15 or 16 times (till their strength failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselves : a thing more grievous for us to see, or suffer, could we have helped it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it.

This bloody sacrifice (against our wills) being thus performed, our general with his company in the presence of those strangers fell to prayers : and by signs in lifting up our eyes and hands to heaven, signified unto them, that that God whom we did serve, and whom they ought to worship, was above : beseeching God if it were his good pleasure to open by some means their blinded eyes ; that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him the true and ever-living God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the salvation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of psalms, and reading of certain chapters in the Bible, they sat very attentively; and observing the end of every pause, with one voice still cried, oh, greatly rejoicing in our exercises. Yea they took such pleasure in our singing of psalms, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaab*, by which they entreated that we should sing.

Our general having now bestowed upon them divers things, at their departure they restored them again, none carrying with him any thing of whatsoever he had received, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happy, that they had found so free access to see us.

Against the end of three days more (the news having the while spread itself farther, and as it seemed a great way up into the country) were assembled the greatest number of people, which we could reasonably imagine, to dwell within any convenient

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June 26. Before his coming, were sent two Ambassadors or messengers, to our General, to signify that their *Hioh*, that is their K. was coming and at hand. They in the delivery of their message, the one spoke with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow : the other pronounced the same word by word after him, with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about half an hour. Which being ended, they by their signs made request to our General, to send something by their hands to their *Hioh* or King, as a token that his coming might be in peace. Our General willingly satisfied their desire ; and they glad men, made speedy return to their *Hioh*. Neither was it long before their K (making as princely a show as possibly he could) with all his train came forward.

In their coming forwards they cried continually after a singing manner, with a lusty courage. And as they drew nearer and nearer towards us, so did they more and more strive to behave themselves with a certain comeliness and gravity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Scepter or royal mace (made of a certain kind of black wood, and in length about a yard and a half) before the King. Whereupon hung two crowns, a bigger and a lesser, with three chains of a marvelous length, and often doubled ; besides a bag of the herb *Tabah*. The crowns were made of knitwork, wrought upon most curiously with Feathers of divers colors, very artificially placed, and of a formal fashion. The chains seemed of a bony substance, every kind or part thereof being very little, thin, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the midst. The number of links going to make one chain, is in a manner infinite : but of such a station it is among them, that few be the persons that are permitted

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to wear the same : and even they to whom it is lawful to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall use; as some ten, some twelve, some 20 and as they exceed in number of chains, so are they thereby known to be the more honorable personages.

Next unto him that bare this Scepter, was the King himself with his guard about him : his attire upon his head was a cowl of knitwork, wrought upon somewhat like the crown, but differing much both in fashion and perfectness of work, upon his shoulders he had on a coat of the skins of conies, reaching to his waist : his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins, some having cowls likewise such with feathers ; or covered over with a certain down, which grow up in the country upon an herb much like our lettuce ; which exceeds any other down in the world for fineness, and being laid upon their cowls by no minds can be removed : of such estimation is this herb among them, that the down thereof is not lawful to be worn but of such persons as are about the (rank of) king (to whom also it is permitted to wear a plume of feathers on their heads in sign of honor) and the seeds are not used but only in sacrifice to their gods. After these in their order, did follow the naked, sort of common people ; whose hair being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stuck plumes of feathers, but in the forepart only single feathers like horn, ever one pleasing himself in his own device.

This one thing was observed to be general among them all, that every one had his face painted, some with white, some with black, and some with other colors, every man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a present ; their train or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, having with them divers things, (such) as bags of *Tabah*, a root which they call *Petah*, whereof they make a kind of meal, and either bake it into bread, or eat it raw ; broiled fishes like a pilchard; the seed and down afore named, with such like.

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Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep bowl, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuff, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water ; about the brims there were hung pieces of the shells of pearls ; and in some places with two or three links at a place, of the chains fore-named : thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the only use of the gods they worshiped : and besides this, they were wrought upon with the matted down of red feathers, distinguished into divers works and forms.

In the meantime our General having assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger, and worst that might fall out) prepared himself to stand upon sure ground, that we might at all times be ready in our own defense, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

Wherefore every man being in a warlike readiness, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike show (as he did also at all other times of their resort) whereby if they had been desperate enemies, they could not have chosen, but have conceived error and fear, with discouragement to attempt any thing against us, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat near unto us, trooping together, they gave us a common or a general salutation : observing in the mean time a general silence. Whereupon he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the King assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice, what the other spake to him in secret : continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least half an hour. At the close whereof, there was a common *Amen*, in sign of approbation given by every person : and the King himself with the whole number of men and women, the little children only remaining behind, came further down the hill, and as they came set themselves again in their former order.

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And being now come to the foot of the hill and near our sort, the Scepter-bearer with a composed countenance and stately carriage, began a song, and answerable there unto, observed a kind of measures in a dance : whom the Ki. with his guard, and every sort of person following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the woman who danced but kept silent. As they danced they still came on : and our General perceiving their plain and simple meanings gave order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwark : where after they had entered, they yet continued their song, and dance a reasonable time : their women also following them with their wassail bowls in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torn, their dugs, breast, and other parts be spotted with blood, trickling down from the wounds, which with their nails they had made before their coming.

After that they had satisfied or rather tired themselves in this manner, they made signs to our general to have him lie down ; unto whom, both the king and divers others made several orations, or rather indeed it we had understood them, supplications, that he would take the province and kingdom into his hand, and become their King and patron : making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and his posterities which that they might make us indeed believe that it was their true meaning and intent ; the King himself with all the rest with one consent, and with a great reverence, joyfully singing a song, set the crown upon his head : enriched his neck with all their chains, and offering unto him many other things honored him by the name of *Hyoh*. Adding there unto (as it might seem) a song and a dance of triumph : because they were not only visited of gods (for so they still judged us to be) but the great and chief god was now become their god, their king and patron, and themselves were become the only happy and blessed people in all the world.

These things being so freely offered) our General thought

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not meet to reject or refuse the same : both for that we would not give them any cause of mistrust, or disliking of him (that being the only place, wherein at this present we were of necessity enforced to seek relief of many things) and chiefly, for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to pass, or what honor or profit it might bring to our country in time to come.

Wherefore in the name and to the use of her most excellent Majesty, he took the Scepter, Crown and dignity of the laid country into his hand : wishing nothing more then that it had lain so fitly for her Majesty to enjoy, as it was now her proper own, and that the riches and treasure thereof (wherewith in the upland countries it abounds) might with as great convenience be transported, to the enriching of her kingdom here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there : and especially, that so tractable and loving a people, as they showed themselves to be, might have means to have manifested their most willing obedience the more under her, and by her means, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the gospel be brought to the right knowledge, and obedience of the true and ever-living God.

The ceremonies of this resigning, and receiving of the kingdom, being thus performed, and the common sort but of men and women, leaving the king and his guard about him, with our general, dispersed themselves among our people, taking a diligent view or survey of every man, and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of us) they presently enclosing them about, offered their sacrifices unto them, crying out with lamentable shrieks and moans, weeping and scratching, and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nails, neither were it the woman alone which did this, but even old men, roaring, and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Satan so far prevail, in seducing these so harmless souls, and labored by all

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means, both by showing our great dislike, and when that served not, by violent with-holding of their hands from that madness, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift up towards heaven) to the living God whom they ought to serve : but so mad were they upon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not prevail (for as soon as they could get liberty to their hands again, they would be as violent as they were besot) till such time, as they whom they worshiped, were conveyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselves, they would with fury & outrage seek to have again.

After that time had a little qualified their madness, they then began to show and make known unto us their griefs and diseases which they carried about them, some of them having old aches, some shrunken sinews, some old sores and cancered ulcers, some wounds more lately received, and the like, in most lamentable manner craving help and cure thereof from us : making signs, that if we did but blow upon their griefs, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefs we could not but take pity on them, and to our own desire to help them : but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might understand we were but men and no gods, we used ordinary means, as lotions, plasters, and unguents most fitly (as far as our skills could guess) agreeing to the natures, of their griefs, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to give cure to their diseases by these means. The like we did from time to time as they resorted, to us.

Few were the days, wherein they were absent from us, during the whole time of our abode in that place : and ordinarily every third day, they brought their sacrifices, till such time, as they certainly understood our meaning, that we took no pleasure, but were displeased with them: whereupon their zeal abated ; and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased : notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort unto us in great abundance, and in such sort, that they often times forgot ; to provide meat for their own sustenance ; so

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that our general (of whom they made account as of a father) was fain to perform the office of a father to them, relieving them with such victuals as we had provided for our selves, as Mussels, Seals, and such like, wherein they took exceeding much content ; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to us, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompense us, with such things as they had, which they willingly forced upon us, though it were never so necessary or needful for themselves to keep.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery ; their bows and arrows (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they use very skillfully, but yet not do any great harm with them, being by reason of their weakness, more fit for children then for men, sending the arrow far off, nor with any great force : and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly bear, one of them would take upon his back, and without grudging carry it easily away, uphill and downhill an English mile together : they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance ; the use whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldom go, but for the most part run. One thing we observed in them with admiration : that if any time, they chanced to see a fish so near the shore that they might reach the place without swimming, they would seldom, or never miss to take it.

After that our necessary business was well dispatched, our General with his gentlemen, and many of his company, made a journey up into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country : their houses were all such as we have formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made several villages here and there. The inland we found to be far different from the shore, a goodly country and fruitful soil, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man : infinite was the company of very large and fat deer, which there we saw

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by thousands as we supposed in a herd : besides a multitude of a strange kind of conies, by far exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies are but small ; his tail like the tail of a Rat, exceeding long ; and his feet like paws of a Want or Mole ; under his chin on either side, he hath a bag, into which he gathered his meat, when he hath filled his belly abroad, that he may with it, either seed his young, or seed himself, when he lifts not to travaile from his burrow : the people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their Kings holidays coat was made of them.

This country our General named *Albion*, and that for two causes, the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie toward the sea : the other, that it might have some affinity even in name also, with our own country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our general caused to be set up a monument of our being there ; as also of her Majesties, and successors right and title to that kingdom, namely, a plate of brass, nailed fast to a great and firm post : whereon is engraved her grace's name, and the day and year of our arrival there, and of the free giving up, of the province and kingdom, both by the king and people, in to her Majesties hands : together with her highness picture, and arms in a piece of sixpence current English money, showing itself by a hole made of purpose through the place : underneath was likewise engraved the name of our General, &c.

The *Spaniards* never had any dealing, or so much as set a foot in this country : the utmost of their discourses, reaching only to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceived by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrows and miseries of this people, seem to themselves to increase upon them ; and the more certain they were of our going away, the more doubtful they showed themselves, what they might do ; so that we might easily

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judge that that joy (being exceeding great) wherewith they received us at our first arrival, was clean drowned in their excessive sorrow for our departing : for they did not only lose of a sudden all mirth, joy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar rejoicing one with another, and all pleasure what ever flesh and blood might be delighted in, but with sighs and sorrowings, with heavy hearts and grieved minds, they poured out woeful complaints and moans, with bitter tears and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort, they only accounted themselves as castaways, and those whom the gods were about to forsake : so that nothing we could fay or doe, was able to ease them of their so heavy a burthen, or to deliver them from so desperate a strait, as our leaving of them did seem to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit seeing they could not still in joy our presence, they (supposing us to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to entreat us that being absent, we would yet be mindful of them, and making signs of their desires, that in time to come we would see them again, they stole upon us a sacrifice, and set it on fire ere we were aware : burning therein a chain and a bunch of feathers. We labored by all means possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not prevail, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalms, whereby they were assured immediately to forget their folly, and leave their sacrifice unconsumed, suffering the fire to go out, and imitating us in all our actions, they fell to lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven as they saw us do.

The 23rd of *July* they took a sorrowful farewell of us, but being loath to leave us, they presently ran to the tops of the hills to keep us in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices to our departure. ,

Not far without this harbor, did lye certain Islands (we called them the Islands of Saint *James*) having on them plen-

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July 24. tiful and great store of seals and birds, with one of which we fell, *July 24th*, whereupon we found such provision as might competently serve our turn for a while : we departed again the day next following, *viz. July 25th*. And our General now considering, that the extremity of the cold not only continued but increased, the Sun being gone father from us, and that the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the northwest, cut off all of finding a passage through the northern parts, thought it necessary to loose no time, and therefore with general consent of all, bent his course directly to run with the Islands of the *Moluccas*. And so having nothing in our view but air and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full 68 days together, we continued our course through the main Ocean, till *Sept. 30.* *September 30th* following, on which day we fell in kenne of certain Islands, lying about eight degrees to the Northward of the line.

From these Islands presently upon the discovery of us, came a great number of canoes, having each of them in some four, in some fix, in some fourteen or fifteen men bringing with them Coquos, (?) fish, Potatoes, and certain fruits to small purpose.

Their canoes were made after the fashion, that the canoes of all the rest of the Islands of *Moluccas* for the most part are: that is, of one tree, hollowed within with great art and cunning, being made so smooth both within and without, that they bore a glass, as if it were a harness most finely burnished : at prow and stern they had of one fashion, yielding inward in manner of a semi-circle, of a great height, and hung full of certain white and glittering shells for bravery : on each side of their canoes, lay out two pieces of timber about a yard and half long, more or less according to the capacity of their boat. At the ends whereof was fastened crosswise a great cane, the use whereof was to keep their canoes from overthrowing, and that they might be equally born up on each side.

The people themselves have the nether parts of their ears

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cut round or circle-wise, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, wherein they hang things of a reasonable weight: the nails on the fingers of some of them, were at least an inch long and their teeth as black as pitch ; the color whereof they use to renew by often eating of an herb, with a kind of powder, which in a cane they carry about them for the same purpose. The first sort and company of those canoes being come to our ship (which then by reason of a scant wind made a little way) very subtly and against their natures, began in peace to traffic with us, giving us one thing for another very orderly, intending (as we perceived, hereby to work a greater mischief to us : entreating us by signs most earnestly to draw nearer towards the shore, that they might (if possible) make the easier prey both of the ship and us. But these passing away, and others continually resorting, we were quickly able to guess at them what they were : for if they received any thing once into their hands, they would neither give recompense nor restitution of it, but thought what ever they could finger to be their own : expecting always with brows of brass to receive more, but would part with nothing : yea being rejected for their bad dealing, as those with whom we would have no more to do using us so evilly, they could not be satisfied till they had given the attempt to revenge themselves, because we would not give them whatsoever they would have for nothing : and having stones good store in their canoes, let fly many of them against us. It was far from our Generals meaning to requite their malice by like injury. Yet that they might know he had power to do them harm (if he had lifted) he caused a great piece to be shot off, not to hurt them but to affright them. Which wrought the desired effect amongst them, for at the noise thereof ; they every own leaped out of his canoe into the water, and diving under the keel of their boats, stayed them from going any way till our ship was gone a good way from them. Then they all lightly recovered into their canoes, and got them with speed toward the shore.

1579. Notwithstanding other new companies (but all of the same mind) continually made resort upon us. And seeing that there was no good to be got by violence they put on a show of seeming honesty, and offering in show to deal with us by way of exchange ; under that pretense they cunningly fell a-filching of what they could, and one of them pulled a dagger and knives from one of our mens girdles, and being required to restore it again, he rather used what means he could to catch at more. Neither could we at all be rid of this ungracious company, until we made some of them feel some smart as well as terror : and so we left that place by all passengers to be known hereafter by the name of the *Island of Thieves*

October 3 Till the 3rd of *October* we could not get clear of these consorts, but from thence we continued our course without sight of land till the 16th of the same month, when we fell with four Islands, standing in 7 de. 5. mi. to the northward of the line. We coasted them till the 21st day, and then anchored and watered upon the biggest of them called *Mindanao*. The 22nd of *October* as we passed between 2 Islands, about six or eight leagues south of *Mindanao*, there came from thence two canoes to have talk with us, and we would willingly have talked with them, but there arose so much wind that put us from them to the southwards. *October 25th* we passed by the Island named *Talao* in 3 deg. 40. min. we saw to the Northward of it three or four other Islands, *Teda, Sela, Saran*, (3 Islands so named to us by an *Indian*) the middle whereof stands in 3 deg. we passed the last save one of these, and 1st day of the following month in like manner, we passed the Isle *Suaro*, in 1. deg. 30. mi. and the 3rd of *November* we came in sight of the Islands of the *Moluccas* as we desired.

These are four high-peaked Islands, their names, *Tirenate, Tidore, Matchan, Bachan*, all of them very fruitful, and yielding abundance of cloves, whereof we furnished our selves of as much as we desired at very cheap rate. At the East of them lies a very great Island called *Gillola*.

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We directed our course to have gone to *Tidore*, but in coasting along a little Island belonging to the King of *Terenate*, November 4th his Deputy or Viceroy with all expedition came off to our ship in a canoe, and without any fear or doubting of our good meaning came presently aboard. Who after some conference with our General, entreated him by any means to run with *Terenate*, not with *Tidore*, assuring him that his King would be wondrous glad of his coming, and be ready to do for him what he could, and what our General in reason should require: For which purpose he himself would that night be with his King to carry him the news : with whom if he once deal, he should find, that as he was a King so his word should stand ; whereas if he dealt with the *Portuguese* (who had the command of *Tidore*) he should find in them nothing but deceit and treachery. And besides that if he went to *Tidore* before he came to *Terenate*, then would his King have nothing to do with us, for he held the *Portuguese* as an Enemy. On these persuasions our General resolved to run with *Terenate*, where the next day very early in the morning we came to anchor : And presently, our General sent a messenger to the King with a velvet cloak for a present and token that his coming should be in peace : and that he required no other thing at his hands, but that (his Victuals being spent in so long a Voyage) he might have supply from him by way of traffic and exchange of Merchandise (whereof he had store of divers sorts) of such things as he wanted. Which he thought he might be the bolder to require at his hands, both for that the thing was lawful, and that he offered him no prejudice or wrong therein, as also because he was entreated to repair to that place by his Viceroy at *Mutir*, who assured him of necessary provision in such manner as now he required the same.

Before this, the Viceroy according to his promise had been with the King, signifying unto him what a mighty Prince and Kingdom we belonged unto, what good things the King might receive from us, not only now ; but for here after by way of

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traffic ; yea what honor and benefit it might be to him, to be in league and friendship with so noble and famous a Prince as we served : And farther what a discouragement it would be to the *Portuguese* his Enemies to hear and see it. In hearing whereof the King was so presently moved to the well liking of the matter, that before our messenger could come half the way, he had sent the Viceroy with divers others of his Nobles and Councillors to our General, with special message that he should not only have what things he needed, or would require with peace and friendship, but that he would willingly entertain amity with so famous and renowned a Prince as was ours, and that if it seemed good in her eyes to accept of it, he would sequester the commodities and traffic of his whole Island from others, especially from his enemies the *Portuguese* (from whom he had nothing but by the Sword) and reserve it to the intercourse of our Nation, if we would embrace it : In token whereof he had now sent to our General his Signet, and would within short time after, come in his own person with his brethren and Nobles with boats or canoes unto our ship, and be a means of bringing her into a safer Harbor.

While they were delivering their message to us, our Messenger was come unto the Court, who being met by the way by certain noble personages, was with great solemnity conveyed: into the Kings presence ; at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained, and having delivered his errand together with his present unto the King, the King seemed to him to judge himself blame-worthy that he had not sooner hastened in person to present himself to our General, who came so far and from so great a Prince ; And presently with all expedition, he made ready himself with the chiefest of all his States and Councillors to make repair unto us.

The manner of his coming as it was Princely, so truly it seemed to us very strange and marvelous, serving at the present not so much to set out his own royal and kingly state (which was great) as to do honor to her Highness to whom we belonged

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wherein how willingly he employed himself, the Sequel will make manifest.

First therefore, before his coming, did he send off three great and large Canoes, in each whereof, were certain of the greatest personages that were about him, attired all of them in white Layvn, or cloth of Calecut, having over their heads, from one end of the Canoe to the other, a covering of thin and fine mats, born up by a frame made of Reeds, under which every man sat in order according to his dignity ; the hoary heads of many of them, set forth the greater reverence due to their persons, and manifestly showed, that the King used the advice of a grave and prudent Counsel in his affairs. Besides these, were divers others, young and comely men, a great number attired in white as were the other, but with manifest differences : having their places also under the same covering, but in inferior order, as their calling required.

The rest of the men were Soldiers, who stood in comely order round about on both sides ; on the outside of whom, again did sit the rowers in certain galleries, which being three on each side all along the Canoe, did lie off from the side thereof, some three or four Yards, one being orderly built lower then the other : in every of which Galleries was an equal number of Banks, whereon did sit the Rowers, about the number of four-score in one Canoe : In the forepart of each Canoe, sat two men, the one holding a labret, the other a piece of brass, whereon they both at once stroke ; and observing a due time and reasonable space between each stroke, by the sound thereof, directed the Rowers to keep their stroke with their oars ; as on the contrary, the Rowers ending their stroke with a song, gave warning to the others to strike again ; and so continued they their way with marvelous swiftness : neither were their Canoes naked or unfurnished of warlike munition, they had each of them, at least one small cast piece of about a yard in length mounted upon a stock, which was set upright ; besides every man except the Rowers, had his Sword, Dagger, and Targer,

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and some of them some other weapons, as Lances, Callivers, Bows, Arrows, and many Darts.

These Canoes coming near our Ship in order, rowed round about us one after another, and the men as they pass by us, did us a kind of homage with great solemnity, the greatest Personages beginning first, with reverend countenance and behavior to bow their bodies even to the ground : which done, they put our own messenger aboard us again, and signified to us that their King (who himself was coming) had sent them before him to conduct our Ship into a better road, desiring a Halter to be given them forth, that they might employ their service as their King commanded, in towing our Ship therewith to the place assigned.

The King himself was not far behind, but he also with six grave and ancient Fathers in his Canoe approaching, did at once together with them, yield us a reverend kind of obedience in far more humble manner, then was to be expected ; he was of a tall stature, very corpulent and well set together, of a very Princely and gracious countenance ; his respect amongst his own was such, that neither his Viceroy of *Mutir* afore named, nor any other of his Counselors, dared speak unto him but upon their knees, nor rising again till they were licenced.

Whose coming as it was to our General, no small cause of good liking, so was he received in the best manner we could, answerable unto his state : our Ordinance thundered, which we mixed with great store of small bore, among which sounding our trumpets and other instruments of music, both of still and loud noise, wherewith he was so much delighted, that requesting our music to come into the boat, he joined his canoe to the same, and was towed at least a whole hour together, with the boat at the stern of our ship. Besides this our General sent him such presents, as he thought, might both requite his courtesy already received, and work a farther confirmation of that good liking and friendship already begun.

The King being thus in musical paradise, and enjoying that

[Null]

wherewith he was so highly pleased ; his brother named *Moro* with no less bravery, then any of the rest, accompanied also with a great number of gallant followers, made the like repair, and gave us like respect ; and his homage done he fell astern of us, till we came to anchor : neither did our General leave his courtesy unrewarded, but bountifully pleased him also before we parted.

The King as soon as we were come to anchor, craved pardon to be gone, and so took leave, promising us, that the next day he would come aboard, and in the mean time would prepare and fend such Victuals as were requisite and necessary for our provision.

Accordingly the same night, and the morrow following, we received what was there to be had, by way of traffic, *to wit*, Rice in pretty quantity, Hens, Sugar-canes, imperfect and liquid Sugar, a fruit which they call *Figo* (*Magellan* calls it a Fig of a span long, but is no other than that which the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* have named *Plantans*) Coccoes and a kind of meal which they call *Sago*, made of the tops of certain trees, tasting in the mouth like sour curds, but melts away like Sugar ; whereof they make a kind of cake which will keep good at least ten years; of this last we made the greatest quantity of our provision ; for a few Cloves we did also traffic, whereof for a small matter, we might have had greater store, than we could well tell where to bestow : but our General's care was that the Ship should not be too much pestered or annoyed therewith.

At the time appointed our General (having set all things in order to receive him) looked for the King's return, who failing both in time and promise, sent his Brother to make his excuse, and to entreat our General to come on shore ; his brother being the while to remain aboard, as a pawn for his safe restoring : our General could willingly have consented, if the King himself had not first broken his word the consideration whereof, bred an utter disliking in the whole company, who by no

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means would give consent, he should hazard himself, especially, for that the Kings Brother had uttered certain words, in secret conference with our General aboard his Cabin, which bred no small suspicion of ill intent, our General being thus resolved not to go ashore at that time, reserved the Viceroy for a pledge, and so sent certain of his Gentlemen to the Court, both to accompany the King's Brother, and also with special message to the King himself.

They being come somewhat near unto the Castle, were received by another Brother of the Kings, and certain others of the greater States and conducted with great honor towards the Castle, where being brought into a large and fair house, they saw gathered together a great multitude of people, by supposition at least a thousand, the chief whereof were placed round about the House, according as it seemed to their degree and calling, the rest remained without.

The House was in form four square, covered all over with cloth of divers colors, not much unlike our usual Pentadoes (?) borne upon a frame of Reeds, the sides being open from the ground fell to the covering, and furnished with seats round about: it seems it was their Council house and not commonly employed to any other use.

At the side of this house next unto the Castle was seated the chair of state, having directly over it, and extending very largely every way, a very fair and rich Canopy, as the ground also for some ten or twelve paces compass, was covered with cloth of Arras.

Whilst our Gentlemen attended in this place the coming of the King, which was about the space of half an hour, they had the better opportunity to observe these things ; as also that before the Kings coming, there were already set three-score noble grave and ancient personages, all of them reported to be of the Kings privy Council; at the nether end of the house were placed a great company of young men, of comely personage and attire. Without the house on the right side, stood four

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ancient comely hoary-headed men, clothed all in red down to the ground, but attired on their heads not much unlike the *Turks* ; these they called *Romans*, or Strangers, who lay as Lidgiers there to keep continual traffic with this people : there were also two *Turks* one *Italian* as Lidgiers ; and last of all one *Spaniard*, who being freed by the Kings out of the hands of the *Portuguese*, in the recovering of the Island, served him now instead of a Soldier.

The King at last coming from the Castle with 8 or 10 more grave Senators following him had a very rich Canopy (adorned in the midst with embossings of Gold) borne over him, and was guarded with 12 Lances the points turned downward : our men (accompanied with *Moro* the King's brother) rose to meet him, and he very graciously did welcome and entertain them.

He was for Person, such as we have before described him, of low voice, temperate in speech, of Kingly demeanor, and a *Moore* by Nationality. His attire was after the fashion of the rest of his Country, but far more sumptuous, as his condition and state required : from the waist to the ground, was all Cloth of Gold, and that very rich ; his Legs bare, but on his feet a pair of Shoes of Cordivant dyed Red : in the attire of his head, were finely wreathed in divers rings of plated Gold, of an inch, or an inch and half in breadth, which made a fair and princely show, somewhat resembling a crown in form; about his neck he had a chain of perfect Gold, the links very great and one folded double ; on his left hand was a Diamond, an Emerald, a Ruby, and a Turquoise, four very fair and perfect jewels ; on his right hand in one Ring, a big and perfect Turquoise, and in another Ring many Diamonds of a smaller size, very artificially set and couched together.

As thus he sat in his Chair of State, at his right side there stood a Page with a very costly fan (richly embroidered and beset with Sapphires) beating and gathering the air to refresh the King, the place being very hot, both by reason of the Sun, and the assembly of so great a multitude. After a while our gentle-

men having delivered their message, and received answer, were licenced to depart, and were safely conducted back again, by one of the chief the Kings Counsel, who had charge from the King himself to perform the same.

Our Gentlemen observing the Castle as well as they could, could not conceive it to be a place of any great force two only Canons they there saw, and those at that present untraversable because unmounted. These with all other furniture of like sort which they have, they have gotten them from the *Portuguese*, by whom the Castle it self was also built, while they inhabited that place and Island. Who seeking to settle a tyrannous government (as in other places so) over this people, and not contenting themselves with a better estate than they deserved (except they might (as they thought) make sure work by leaving none of the royal blood alive, who should make challenge to the Kingdom) cruelly murdered the King himself (father to him who now reigns) and intended the like to all his sons. Which cruelty instead of establishing brought such a shaking on their usurped estate, that they were fain, without covenanting to carry away Goods, Muniton, or any thing else to quit the place and the whole Island to save their lives.

For the present King with his brethren in revenge of their father's murder, so bestirred themselves, that the *Portuguese* were wholly driven from that Island, and glad that he yet keeps footing in *Tidore*. These four years this King has been increasing, and was (as was affirmed) at that present, Lord of an hundred Islands thereabout ; and was even now preparing his forces to hazard a chance with the *Portuguese* for *Tidore* itself.

The People are *Moores*, whose Religion consists much in certain superstitious observations of new Moons, and certain seasons with a rigid and strict kind of fasting. We had experience hereof in the Viceroy and his retinue who lay aboard us all the time for the most part during our abode in this place : who during their prescribed time, would neither eat nor drink, not so much as a cup of cold water in the day (so zealous are they

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in their self devised worship) but yet in the night would eat three times and chat very largely. This *Terenate* stands in 27 min. North latitude.

While we rode at anchor in the harbor of *Terenate*, besides the Natives there came aboard us another, a goodly Gentleman, very well accompanied with his Interpreter, to view our Ship, and to confer with our General ; he was appareled much after our manner most neat and Court-like, his carriage the most respective, and full of discreet behavior that ever we had seen; He told us that he was himself but a stranger in those Islands, being a natural of the Province of *Paghia* in *China* ; his name, *Paufaos* of the family of *Hombu*, of which family there had 11 reigned in continual succession these two hundred years, and King *Boxog* by the death of his elder brother (who died by a fall from his Horse) the rightful heir of all *China*, is the twelfth of this race, he is 22 years of age ; his Mother yet living : he hath a Wife, and by her one Son : he is well beloved, and highly honored of all his subjects, and lives in great peace from any fear of Foreign invasion : but it was not this man's fortune to enjoy his part of this happiness both of his King and Country, as he most desired.

For being accused of a capital crime whereof (though free) yet he could not evidently make his Innocence appear, and knowing the peremptory justice of *China* to be irrevocable, if he should expect the sentence of the Judges ; he beforehand made suite to his King, that it would please him to commit his trial to God's providence and judgement, and to that end to permit him to travel, on this condition, that if he brought not home some worthy Intelligence, such as his Majesty had never had before, and were most fit to be known, and most honorable for *China*, he should forever live an Exile, or else die for daring to set foot again in his own Country : for he was assured that the God of Heaven had care of Innocents.

The King granted his suite, and now he had been three years abroad, and at this present came from *Tidore* (where he had re-

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mained two Months) to see the English General, of whom he heard such strange things, and from him (if it pleased God to afford if) to learn some such Intelligence as might make way for his return into his Country, and therefore he earnestly entreated our General, to make relation to him of the occasion, way, and manner of his coming so far from *England* thither, with the manifold occurrences that had happened to him by the way.

Our General gave ample satisfaction to each part of his request ; the stranger harkened with great attention and delight to his discourse, and as he naturally excelled in memory (besides his help of Art to better the same) so he firmly printed it in his mind, and with great reverence thanked God, who had so unexpectedly brought him, to the notice of such admirable things. Then fell he to entreat our General with many most earnest and vehement persuasions, that he would be content to see his Country before his departure any farther Westward, that it should be a most pleasant, most honorable, and most profitable thing for him that he should gain hereby the notice, and carry home the description of one of the most ancient, mightiest and richest Kingdoms in the world. Hereupon he took occasion to relate the number and greatness of the Provinces; with the rare Commodities and good things they yielded ; the number, stateliness, and riches of their Cities, with what abundance of Men, Victuals, Munitions, and all manner of necessities and delightful things they were stored with : In particular, touching Ordinance and great Guns (the late invention of a sea-bound *Friar* among us in *Europe*) he related that in *Sunuien* (by some called *Quinzai*) which is the chief City of all *China*, they had brass ordnance of all sorts (much easier to be traversed than ours were, and so perfectly made that they would hit a shilling) above two thousand years ago. With many other worthy things which our General's own experience (if it would please him to make trial) would (better than his relation) assure him of. The breeze would shortly serve very fitly to carry him thither and

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Nov. 9. By the ninth of *November* having gotten what provision the place could afford us, we then set sail ; and considering that our Ship for want of trimming was now grown foul, that our casks and vessels for water were much decayed ; and that divers other things stood in need of reparation, our next care was, how we might fall with such a place where with safety we might a while stay for the re-dressing of these inconveniences. The calmness of the winds, which are almost continual before the coming of the breeze (which was not yet expected) persuaded us it was the fittest time that we could take.

Nov. 14. With this resolution we sailed along till *November* 14th at what time we arrived at a little Island (to the South of *Celebes*) standing in 1 deg. 40. min. towards the pole antarctic ; which being without Inhabitants, gave us the better hope of quiet abode. We anchored, and finding the place convenient for our purposes (there wanting nothing here which we stood in need of, but only water which we were fain to fetch from another Island somewhat farther to the South) made our abode here for six and twenty whole days together.

The first thing we did, we pitched our Tents and entrenched ourselves as strongly as we could upon the shore, least at any time perhaps we might have been disturbed by the inhabitants of the greater Island which lay not far to the Westward of us ; after we had provided thus for our security, we landed our Goods, and had a Smith's Forge set up, both for the making of

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some necessary ship-work, and for the repairing of some iron-hooped casks, without which could not long have served our use : and for that our Smith's coals were all spent long before this time, there was order given and followed for the burning of charcoal, by which that want might be supplied.

We trimmed our Ship, and performed our other business to our content. The place affording us not only all necessities (which we had not of our own before) there unto, but also wonderfully refreshing to our wearied bodies, by the comfortable relief and excellent provision that here we found, whereby of sickly, weak, and decayed (as many of us seemed to be before our coming hither) we in short space grew all of us to be strong, lusty, and healthy persons. Besides this, we had rare experience of God's wonderful wisdom in many rare and admirable creatures which here we saw.

The whole island is a through grown wood, the trees for the most part are of large and high stature, very straight and clean without boughs, save only in the very top. The leaves whereof are not much unlike our Brooms in *England* : Among these Trees, night by night did show themselves an infinite swarm of fiery-seeming worms flying in the air, whose bodies (no bigger then an ordinary fly) did make a show, and give such light as if every twig on every tree had been a lighted candle : or as if that place had been the Starry Sphere. To these we may add the relation of another, almost as strange a creature, which here we saw, and that was an innumerable multitude of huge bats or rear-mice, equaling or rather exceeding a good hen in bigness. They fly with marvelous swiftness, but their flight is very short; and when they light, they hang only by the boughs with their backs downward.

Neither may we without ingratitude (by reason of the special use we made of them) omit to speak of the huge multitude of a certain kind of crayfish, of such a size, that one was sufficient to satisfy four hungry men at a dinner, being a very good and restorative meat ; the special means (as we conceived it) of our increase of health.

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They are as far as we could perceive, utter strangers to the Sea, living always on the Land, where they work themselves earths(?), as do the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caves under the roots of the most huge and monstrous trees, where they lodge themselves by companies together. Of the same sort and kind found in other places, about the Island *Celebes* some that for want of other refuge, when we came to take them, did climb up into trees to hide themselves, whether we were enforced to climb after them, if we would have them, which we would not stick to do rather than to be without them: this Island we called *Crab-Island*.

Dec. 12.*Dec.* 16.

All necessary causes of our staying longer in this place being at last finished, our General prepared to be in a readiness, to take the first advantage of the coming of the breeze or wind which we expected ; and having the day before, furnished ourselves with fresh water from the other Island, and taken in provision of wood and the like : *December* 12th we put to Sea directing our course toward the West : the 16th day we had sight of the Island *Celebes* or *Silebis*, but having a bad wind, and being entangled among many Islands, encumbered also with many other difficulties, & some dangers, and at last meeting with a deep Bay, out of which we could not in three days turn out again, we could not by any means recover the North of *Silebis*, or continue on our course farther West, but were forced to alter the same toward the South ; finding that course also to be both difficult and very dangerous, by reason of many shoals, which lay far off here and there among the Islands, insomuch, that in all our passages from *England* hitherto, we had never more care to keep ourselves afloat, and from sticking on them: thus were we forced to beat up and down with extraordinary care and circumspection until *January* 9th at which time, we supposed that we had at last attained a free passage, the land turning evidently in our fight about to Westward, and the Wind being enlarged followed us as we desired with a reasonable Gale.

Jan. 9.

When lo, on a sudden, when we least suspected no show or

1579.[80] suspicion of danger appearing to us, and we were now sailing onward with full sails, in the beginning of the first watch of the said day at night, even in a moment our ship was laid up fast upon a desperate shoal, with no other likelihood in appearance, but that we with her must there presently perish : there being no probability how any thing could be saved, or any Person escape alive.

The unexpectedness of so extreme a danger, presently roused us up to look about us, but the more we looked, the lesser hope we had of getting clear of it again, so that nothing now presented itself to our minds, but the ghastly appearance of instant death, affording no respite or time pausing, called upon us to turn our thoughts another way, to renounce the World, to deny our selves, and to commend our selves into the merciful hands of our most gracious God, to this purpose we presently fell prostrate, and with joined prayers sent up unto the throne of grace, humbly besought Almighty God, to extend his mercy unto us in his Son *Christ Jesus*; and so preparing as it were our necks unto the block, we every minute expelled the final stroke to be given unto us.

Notwithstanding that we expected nothing but imminent death, yet (that we might not seem to tempt God, by leaving any second means unattempted which he afforded) presently as soon as prayers were ended, our General (exhorting us to have the especiallest care of the better part, *to wit*, the Soul, and adding many comfortable speeches of the joys of that other life, which we now alone looked for) encouraged us all to bestir ourselves, showing us the way thereto by his own example ; and first of all the pump being well plied, and the ship freed of water, we found our leaks to be nothing increased, which though it gave us no hope of deliverance, yet it gave us some hope of respite, insomuch, as it assured us that the bulk was sound, which truly we acknowledged to be an immediate providence of God alone, insomuch, as no strength of wood and iron could have possibly born so hard and violent a shock, as our Ship

1579.[80] did, dashing herself under full sail against the Rocks, except the extraordinary hand of God, had supported the same.

Our next assay was for good ground and anchor-hold, to Seaward of us (whereon to halt) by which means if by any, our General put us in comfort, that there was yet left some hope to clear our selves ; in his own person, he therefore undertook the charge of sounding, and but even a boat's length from the Ship, he found that the bottom could not by any length of line be reached unto ; so that the beginnings of hope, which we were willing to have conceived before, were by this means quite dashed again, yea, our misery seemed to be increased, for whereas at first we could look for nothing but a present end, that expectation was now turned, into the awaking for a lingering death, of the two, the far more fearful to be chosen ; one thing fell out happily for us, that the most of our men did not conceive this thing, which had they done, they would in all likelihood have been so much discouraged, that their sorrow would the more disable thereto have sought the remedy ; our General with those few others, that could judge of the event wifely, dissembling the same, and giving in the meantime cheerful speeches, and good encouragements unto the rest.

For whiles it seemed to be a clear case, that our Ship was so fast moored, that she could not stir ; it necessarily followed, that either we were there to remain on the place with her ; or else leaving her to commit ourselves in a most poor and helpless state to seek some other place of stay and refuge, the better of which two choice, did carry with it the appearance of worse than one thousand deaths.

As touching our Ship this was the comfort that she could give us, that she herself lying there confined already upon the hard and pinching Rocks did tell us plainly, that she continually expected her speedy dispatch, as soon as the Sea and winds should come, to be the severe Executioners of that heavy judgement ; by the appointment of the eternal judge alrea-

1579.[80] dy given upon her, who had committed her there to Adamantine bounds in a most narrow prison, against their coming for that purpose : so that if we would stay with her, we must perish with her ; or if any by any yet unperceivable means, should chance to be delivered, his escape must needs be a perpetual misery, it being far better to have perished together, than with the loss and absence of his friends, to live in a strange Land : whether a solitary life (the better choice) among wild beasts, as a bird on the mountains without all comfort or among the barbarous people of the Heathen, in intolerable bondage both of body and mind.

And put the case that her day of destruction should be deferred, longer than either reason could persuade us, or in any likelihood could seem possible (it being not the power of Earthly things to endure what she had suffered already) yet could our abode there profit us nothing, but increase our wretchedness, and enlarge our sorrows, for as her store and Victuals were not much (sufficient to sustain us only some few days, without hope of having any increase, no not so much as a cup of cold water) so must it inevitably come to pass, that we (as children in the Mother's Womb) should be driven even to eat the flesh from of our own arms, she being no longer able to sustain us ; and how horrible a thing this would have proved, is easy by any one to be deceived.

And whither (had we departed from her) should we have received any comfort ; nay the very impossibility of going, appeared to be no lesser, than those other before mentioned : our Boat was by no means able at once to carry above 20 persons with any safety, and we were 58 in all, the nearest Land was six leagues from us, and the wind from the shore directly bent against us ; or should we have thought of setting some ashore, and after that to have fetched the rest, there being no place thereabout without Inhabitants, the first that had landed must first have fallen into the hand of the Enemy, and so the rest in order, and though perhaps we might escape the Sword, yet

1579.[80] would our life have been worse then death, not alone in respect of our woeful captivity, and bodily miseries, but most of all in respect of our Christian liberty, being to be deprived of all public means of serving the true God, and continually grieved with the horrible impieties and devilish Idolatries of the Heathen.

Our misery being thus manifest, the very consideration whereof must needs have shaken flesh and blood, if faith in God's promises had not mightily sustained us, we passed the night with earnest longings that the day would once appear, the mean time we spent in often prayers and other godly exercises, thereby comforting ourselves, and refreshing our hearts, striving to bring ourselves to a humble submission under the hand of God, and to a referring ourselves wholly to his goodwill and pleasure.

The day therefore at length appearing, and it being almost full Sea about that time, after we had given thanks to God for his forbearing of us hitherto, and had with tears called upon him to bless our labors, we again renewed our travel, to see if we could now possibly find any anchor-hold, which we had formerly sought in vain. But this second attempt proved as fruitless as the former, and left us nothing to trust to, but prayers and tears seeing it appeared impossible that ever the forecast, council, policy, or power of man could ever effect the delivery of our Ship, except the Lord only miraculously should do the same.

It was therefore presently motioned, and by general voice determined to commend our case to God alone, leaving our selves wholly in his hand ; to spill or save us as seemed best to his gracious wisdom. And that our faith might be the better strengthened, and the comfortable apprehension of Gods mercy in Christ be more clearly felt ; we had a Sermon, and the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Savior celebrated.

After this sweet repast was thus received, and other holy exercises adjoined were ended, lest we should seem guilty in any

1579.[80] respect for using all lawful means we could not invent; we fell to one other, practice yet unassayed, *to wit*, to unloading of our Ship by casting some of her goods into the Sea ; which thing as it was attempted most willingly, so was it dispatched in very short time. So that even those things which we before this time nor any other in our case could be without, did now seem as things only worthy to be despised ; yea, we were herein so forward, that neither our munition for defense, nor the very meal for sustentation of our lives could find favor with us, but every thing as it first came to hand went overboard, assuring ourselves if this, that if it pleased God once to deliver us out of that most desperate strait wherein we were, he would fight for us against our Enemies, neither would he suffer us to perish for want of bread. But when all was done, it was not any of our endeavors, but God's only hand that wrought our delivery ; 'twas he alone that brought us even under the very stroke of death ; 'twas he alone that said unto us, Return again ye sons of men ; 'twas he alone that set us at liberty again, that made us safe and free, after that we had remained in the former miserable condition, the full space of twenty hours, to his glorious name be the everlasting praise.

The manner of our delivery (for the relation of it will especially be expected) was only this. The place whereon we sat so fast was a firm Rock in a cleft, whereof it was we struck on the Larboard side, at low Water there was not above six foot depth in all on the Starboard, within little distance as you have heard no bottom to be found, the breeze during the whole time that we thus were stayed, blew somewhat stiff directly against our broad side, and so perforce kept the Ship upright : It pleased God in the beginning of the tide, while the water was yet almost at lowest, to slacken the stiffness of the Wind ; and now our Ship who required thirteen foot (of) water to make her fleet, and had not at that time on the one side above seven at most, wanting her prop on the other side, which had too long already kept her up, fell a heeling towards the deep Water,

1579.[80] and by that means freed her Keel and made us glad men.

This shoal is at least three or four leagues in length, it lies in two deg. lacking three or four minutes South latitude. The day of this deliverance was the tenth of *January*.

Jan. 10.

Of all the dangers that in our whole Voyage we met with, this was the greatest, but it was not the last as may appear by what ensued. Neither could we indeed for along season free ourselves from the continual care and fear of them, nor could we ever come to any convenient anchoring, but were continually for the most part tossed among the many Islands and shoals (which lie in infinite number round about on the South parts of *Celebes*) till the eighth day of the following Month.

Jan. 12.

Jan. 12th being not able to bear our sails by reason of the tempest and fearing of the dangers, we let fall our anchors upon a shoal in 3 deg. 30. min. *Jan. 14th* we were gotten a little farther South, whereat an Island in 4 deg. 6 min. we again cast anchor and spent a day in watering and wooding. After this we met with foul weather, Westerly winds, and dangerous shoals for many days together insomuch, that we were utterly weary of this coast of *Sillebis*, and thought best to bear with *Timor*. The Southernmost cape of *Sillebis* stands in 5 deg. that side the line.

Jan. 14.

Jan. 20.

But of this coast of *Sillebis* we could not so easily clear ourselves. The 20th of *January* we were forced to run with a small Island not far from thence ; where having sent our Boat a good distance from us to search out a place where we might anchor: we were suddenly environed with no small extremities, for there arose a most violent, yea an intolerable flaw and storm out of the Southwest against us, making us (who were on a Lee shore amongst most dangerous and hidden shoals) to fear extremely not only the loss of our Boat and Men, but the present loss of ourselves, our Ship and goods, or the casting of those men whom God should spare into the hands of Infidels. Which misery could not by any Power or Industry of ours have been avoided, if the merciful goodness of God had not (by staying the outrageous extremities wherewith we were set upon

1579.[80] upon) wrought our present delivery, by whose unspeakable mercy our men and Boat also were unexpected, yet safely, restored unto us.

Jan. 26. We got off from this place as well as we could, and continued on our course till the 26th day, when the wind took us, very strong against us, West and West Southwest, so as that we could bear no more sail, till the end of that Month was full expired.

Feb. 1. *February 1.* we saw very high land, and as it seemed well inhabited, we would fain have borne with it to have got some succor, but the weather was so ill, that we could find no Harbor, and we were very fearful of adventuring ourselves too far, amongst the many dangers which were near the shore. The third day also we

Feb. 3. saw a little Island, but being unable to bear any sail, but only to lie at Hull, we were by, the storm carried away, and could nor reach it.

Feb. 6. *February 6th* we saw five Islands, one of them towards the East, and four towards the West of us a one bigger then another, at the biggest of which we cast anchor, and the next day watered and wooded.

Feb. 8. After we had gone hence on *February 8th* we descried two Canoes, who having descried us as it seems before, came willingly unto us, and talked with us, assuring and conducing us to their Town not far off, named *Barativa*, it stands in 7 deg. 13. min. South the line.

The People are Gentiles of handsome body, and comely stature, of civil demeanor, very just in dealing, and courteous to strangers, of all which we had evident proof, they showing themselves most glad of our coming and cheerfully ready to relieve our wants, with whatsoever their Country could afford. The men go all naked save their heads and secret parts, every one having one thing or other hanging at his ears. Their women are covered from the middle to the soot wearing upon their naked arms Bracelets, and that in no small number, some having nine at least upon each arm, made for the most part of horn or brass, whereof the lightest (by our estimation) would weigh two ounces.

1579.[80] With this People linen cloth (whereof they make roles for their heads and girdles to wear about their loins) is the best Merchandise and of greatest estimation. They are also much delighted with *Margaretas* (which in their language they call *Saletta*) and such other like trifles.

Their Island is both rich and fruitful, rich in Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Sulphur, &c. neither are they only expert to try those metals, but very skillful also in working of them artificially, into divers Forms and Shapes, as pleases them best. Their fruits are divers likewise and plentiful, as Nutmegs, Ginger, long Pepper, Lemons, Cucumbers, Cocos, Figs, Sago, with divers other sorts, whereof we had one in reasonable quantity, in bigness, form and husk, much like a bay-berry, hard in substance, but pleasant in taste, which being food becomes soft, and is a most profitable and nourishing meat of each of these we received of them, whatsoever we desired for our need ; insomuch, that such was Gods gracious goodness to us) the old Proverbs was verified with us, *After a storm comes a calm, after war peace, after scarcity follows plenty*; so that in all our Voyage (*Terenate* only excepted) from our departure out of our own Country hitherto, we found not anywhere greater comfort and refreshing, than we did it this time in this place, in refreshing and furnishing ourselves ; here we spent two days, and departed hence *February* 10.

Feb. 10.

Feb. 12.

When we were come into the height of 8 deg. 4 min. *Feb.* 12th in the morning we espied a green Island to the Southward; not long after, two other Islands on the same side, and a great one more towards the North ; they seemed all to be well inhabited, but we had neither need nor desire to go to visit them, and so we passed by them. The 14th day we saw some other reasonable big Islands, and *February* 16th we passed between four or five big Islands more which lay in the height 9 deg. 40. min.

Feb. 14.

Feb. 16.

Feb. 18.

The 18th we cast anchor under a little Island, whence we departed again the day following ; we wooded here, but other relief except two Turtles we received none.

1579.[80]
Feb. 22. The 21st day we lost sight of three Islands on our Starboard side which lay in ten deg. and some odd minutes.

Mar. 9. After this, we passed on to the Westward without stay or any thing to be taken notice of, until the ninth of *March* when in the morning we spied land, some part thereof very high in 8 d. 20. m. South latitude, here we anchored that night, and the next day weighed again, and bearing farther North, and near the shore we came to anchor the second time.

Mar. 11. The eleventh of *March* we first took in water, and after sent our boat again to shore, where we had Traffic with the people of the Country ; whereupon the same day, we brought our Ship more near the Town ; and having settled ourselves there that night, the next day our General sent his man a shore, to present the King with certain Cloth both Linen and Woollen, besides some Silks, which he gladly and thankfully received, and returned Rice, Cocos, Hens, and other Victuals in way of recompense. This Island we found to be the Island *Java* the middle whereof stands in 7 deg. and 30. min. beyond the Equator.

Mar. 13. The 13th of *March* our General himself with many of his gentlemen, and others went to shore, and presented the King, (of whom he was joyfully and lovingly received) with his music, and showed him the manner of our use of Arms, by training his men with their Pikes and other weapons, which they had before him, for the present we were entertained as we desired, and at last dismissed with a promise of more Victuals to be shortly sent us.

Mar. 14. In this Island there is one chief, but many under-governors or petty kings, whom they call *Raias*, who live in great familiarity and friendship one with another. The 14th day we received
Mar. 15. Victuals from two of them, and the day after that, *to wit*, the 15th three of these Kings in their own Persons came aboard to see our General, and to view our ship and warlike munition. They were well pleased with what they saw, and with the entertainment which we gave them. And after these had been with us,

1579.[80] and on their return had, as it seems, related what they found, *Raia Donan* the chief King of the whole land bringing Victuals with him for our relief, he also the next day after came aboard us. Few were the days that one or more of these kings did miss to visit us, insomuch, that we grew acquainted with the names of many of them, as of *Raia Pataira*, *Raia Cabocapalla*, *Raia Mangbango*, *Raia Bocabarra*, *Raia Timbanton*; whom our General always entertained with the best cheer that we could make, and showed them all the commodities of our Ship, with our Ordinance and other Arms and Weapons, and the several furnitures belonging to each, and the uses for which they served. His music also and all things else whereby he might doe them pleasure, wherein they took exceeding great delight with admiration.

Mar. 21. One day amongst the rest, viz. *March 21st* *Raia Donan* coming aboard us, in requital of our music which was made to him, presented our General with his Country music, which though it were of a very strange kind, yet the sound was pleasant and delightful: the same day he caused an Ox also to be brought to the waterside, and delivered to us, for which he was to his content rewarded by our General, with divers sorts of very costly Silks which he held in great esteem.

Though our often giving entertainment in this manner, did hinder us much in the speedy dispatching of our business, and made us spend the more days about them, yet here we found all such convenient help, that to our contents we at last ended them; the matter of great Importance which we did (besides Victualing) was the new trimming and washing of our Ship, which by reason of our long Voyage was so overgrown with a kind of a shell-fish sticking fast unto her, that it hindered exceedingly, and was a great trouble to her sailing.

The People (as are their Kings) are a loving, a very true and just dealing People. We trafficked with them for Hens, Goats, Cocos, Plantans, and other kind of Victuals, which they offered us in such plenty that we might have laden our Ship if we had needed.

1580. We took our leave(s) and departed from them the 26th of
Mar. 26. *March*, and set our course West South West, directly towards
the cape of good hope, or *Bon Esperance*, and continued without
May 21. touch of ought but air and water, till the 21st of *May*, when we
spied land (to wit a part of the main *Africa*) in some places very
high under the latitude of 31 deg. and half.
- June 15.* We coasted along until *June 15th* on which day, having very fair
weather, and the Wind at South East, we passed the Cape itself so
near in sight, that we had been able with our pieces to have shot to
land.
- July 15.* *July 15th* we fell with the land again about *Rio de Cesto(s)*, where
we saw many *Negroes* in their Boats a fishing, whereof two came
very near us, but we cared not to stay, nor had any talk or dealing
with them.
- July 22.* The 22nd of the same month, we came to *Sierra Leone*, and
spent two days for watering in the mouth of *Tagoine*, and then
July 24. put to Sea again ; here also we had Oysters, and plenty of Lem-
mons, which gave us good refreshing.
- Aug. 15.* We found ourselves under the *Tropic of Cancer August 15th*
Aug. 16. having the wind at North-East, and we 50 leagues off from the
nearest land.
- The 22nd day we were in the height of the *Canaries*
Sept. 26. And the 26th of *Sept.* (which was Monday in the just and ordi-
nary reckoning of those that had stayed at home in one place or
Country, but in our computation was the Lord's day or Sunday)
we safely with joyful minds and thankful hearts to God, arrived
at *Plymouth*, the place of our first setting forth after we had spent
2 years 10 months and some few odd days beside, in seeing the
wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many admirable
things, in going through with so many strange adventures, in
escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so many
difficulties in this our encompassing of this nether Globe, and
passing round about the World, which we have related.

Soli rerum maximarum Effectori,

Soli totius mundi Gutbernatori,

Soli suorum Conservatori,

Soli Deo fit semper Gloria.

F I N I S.

TRANSCRIBER'S NOTES

The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake was first published in 1626. The virtually unchanged 1652 edition given here retains the original pagination but for convenience and annotation, etc., modern spelling has been substituted for the antiquated English text.

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