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THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

VOLUME VII

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ENGLAND'S NAVAL EXPLOITS AGAINST SPAIN

A voyage to the Azores with two pinases, the one called the Serpent, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh, written by John Euesham Gentleman, wherein were taken the governor, of the Isle of Saint Michael, and Pedro Sarmiento governor of the Straits of Magalanes, in the year 1586.

[Sidenote: The governor of S. Michael taken prisoner.] The 10. of June 1586. we departed from Plimouth with two pinases, the one named the Serpent, of the burden of 35. Tunes and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to sir Walter Raleigh knight; and directing our course towards the coast of Spaine, and from thence towards the Isles of the Azores, we took a small barke laden with Sumacke and other commodities, wherein was the governor of S. Michael's Island, being a Portugal, having other Portugals and Spaniards with him. And from thence we sailed to the Island of Graciosa, to the Westward of the Island of Tercera, where we discried a saile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a Spaniard: But at the first not greatly respecting whom we took, so that we might haue enriched ourselves, which was the cause of this our trauaile, and for that we would not bee knowne of what nation we were, wee displayed a white silke ensigne in our maine toppe, which they seeing, made accompt that we had bene some of the king of Spaines Armadas, lying in wait for English men of war: but when we came within shot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and spread abroad the Crosse of S. George, which when they saw, it made them to flie as fast as they might, but all their haste was in vaine, for our shippes were swifter of saile then they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordinance and small shot with many letters, and the draft of the Straights of Magelan into the Sea, [Sidenote: Pedro Sarmiento the governor of the Straights of
Magellan taken prisoner, and thereupon immediately we tooke her, wherein wee also tooke a gentleman of Spaine, named Pedro Sarmiento, gouernour of the Straights of Magelan, which said Pedro we brought into England with us, and presented him to our soueraigne Lady the Queene.

[Sidenote: A ship laden with fish taken and released againe.] After this, lying off and about the Islands, wee descried another saile, and bearing after her, we spent the maine maste of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall tooke her, being laden with fish from Cape Blanke, the which shippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we descried two other sailes, the one a shippe and the other a Carauel, to whom we gaue chase, which they seeing, with all speede made in vnder the Isle of Graciosa, to a certaine Fort there for their succour, where they came to an anker, and hauing the winde of vs, we could not hurt them with our ships, but we hauing a small boate which we called a light horseman, wherein my selfe was, being a Musqueter, and foure more with Caliuers, and foure that rowed, came neere vnto the shore against the winde, which when they saw vs come towards them they carried a great part of their marchandize on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed, [Sidenote: One of the ships taken and sent away with 2. persons.] and as soon as we came within Musquet shot, they began to shoote at vs with great ordinance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the ende we boorded one wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoysed her sailes, and sent her away with two of our men, [Sidenote: The Caravel is taken.] and the other 7. of vs passed more neere vnto the shoare, and boorded the Carauel, which did ride within a stones cast from the shoare, and so neere the land that the people did cast stones at vs, but yet in despiet of them all we tooke her, and one onely Negro therein: and cutting her cables in the hawse, we hoysed her sailes and being becalmed vnder the land we were constrained to rowe her out with our boate, the Fort still shooting at vs, and the people on land with Musquets and caliuers, to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we answered them with the small force wee had; in the time of which our shooting, the shot of my Musquet being a crossebarre-shot happened to strike the gunner of the fort to death, euen as he was giuing leuell to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any losse or hurt on our side. [Sidenote: The prises sent home.] And now, hauing taken these fiue sailes and ships, we did as before, turne away the shippe with the fish, without hurting them, and from one of the other ships we tooke her maine Maste to serue our Admirals turne, and so sent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals (sauing that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with three other of the principal men and two Negroes) leauing them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for 10. dayes if neede were.

Thus setting our course for England, being off the Islands in the height of 41 degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe discrised a saile, then 10. saile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to sende home those prizes we had, and so left in both our Pinasses not aboue 60. men. [Sidenote: Two Carracks, 10. Gallions, 12. small ships.] Thus wee returned againe to the Fleece we had discrised, where wee found 24. saile of shippes, whereof two of them were Carracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Gallions, the rest were small shippes and Carauels all laden with Treasure, spices, and sugars with which 24. shippes we with two small Pinasses did fight, and kept company the space of 32. hours, continually fighting with them and they with vs, but the two Caracks kept still betwixt the Fleece and vs, that wee could not take any one of them, so wanting powder, wee were forced to give them ouer against our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessitie compelling vs, and that onely for want of powder, without losse of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at considering the
inequalitie of number) at length we gaue them ouer. [Sidenote: The 2. pinasses returne for England.] Thus we againe set our course for England, and so came to Plimouth within 6. hours after our prizes, which we sent away 40. hours before vs, where wee were receiued with triumphant ioy, not onely with great Ordinance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not sparing our Ordinance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and answere them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where sir Walter Ralegh being our owner, rewarded vs with our shares.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, Elephants teeth, waxe, hides, rice, brasil, and Cuser, as by the testimonie of John Euesham himselfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Beniamin Wood, William Cooper Master, William Cornish Master, Thomas Drake Corporall, John Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, John Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, John Row of Saltash, and many others, may appeare.

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A briefe relation of the notable seruice performed by Sir Francis Drake vpon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz: and of his destroying of 100. saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sacre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the Riuer of Lisbon, and thence crossing ouer to the Isle of Sant Michael, supprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that euer was scene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.

Her Maiestie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begunne in Spaine for the inuasion of England, by good aduise of her graue and prudent Counsell thought it expedient to preuent the same. Whereupon she caused a Fleete of some 30. sailes to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Ouer that Fleete she appointed Generall sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good seruices she had sufficient proofe) to whom she caused 4. ships of her Nauie royall to be deliuered, to wit, The Bonauenture wherein himselfe went as Generall; the Lion vnder the conduct of Master William Borough Controller of the Nauie; the Dread-nought vnder the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainebow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: vnto which 4 ships two of her pinasses were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added vnto this Fleet certaine tall ships of the Citie of London, of whose especiall good seruice the General made particular mention in his priuate Letters directed to her Maiestie. This Fleete set saile from the sound of Plimouth in the moneth of April towards the coast of Spaine.

The 16. of the said moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two ships of Middleborough, which came from Cadiz; by which we understoold that there was great store of warlike prouision at Cadiz and thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Vpon this information our Generall with al speed possible, bending himselfe thither to cut off their said forces and prouisions, vpon the 19. of April entered with his Fleet into the Harbor of Cadiz: where at our first entring we were assailed ouer against the Towne by sixe Gallies, which notwithstanding in short time retired vnder their fortresse.

There were in the Road 60. ships and diuers other small vessels vnder the fortresse: there fled about 20. French ships to Port Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might passe the sholdes. At our first comming in we sunke with our shot a ship of Raguza of a 1000. tunnes, furnished with 40. pieces of brasse and very richily laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at vs, but
altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30. of the said ships, and became Masters of the Road, in despight of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them vnder the Fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugenesse in burthen aboue 1200. tunnes, belonging to the Marquesse of Santa Cruz being at that instant high Admirall of Spaine. Fiue of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4. we fired, as they were taking in the Kings prouision of victuals for the furnishing of his Fleet at Lisbon: the fift a ship about 1000. tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron spikes, nailes, yron hoopes, horse-shooes, and other like necessaries bound for the West Indies we fired in like maner. Also we tooke a ship of 250. tunnes laden with wines for the Kings prouision, which wee caried out to the Sea with vs, and there discharged the said wines for our owne store, and afterward set her on fire. Moreover we tooke 3. Flyboats of 300. tunnes a piece laden with biscuit, whereof one was halfe vnladen by vs in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by vs ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oiles, wheat, and such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barkes (as we suppose) then burnt, suncke, and brought away with vs, amounted to 30. at the least, (in our judgement) about 10000. tunnes of shipping.

There were in sight of vs at Porto Real about 40. ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our aboad there, by reason of their continuall shooting from the Gallies, the fortresses, and from the shoare: where continually at places conuenient they planted new ordinance to offend vs with: besides the inconuenience which wee suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among vs. Whereupon when the flood came wee were not a little troubled to defend vs from their terrible fire, which neuerthelesse was a pleasant sight for vs to beholde, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay vpon vs day and night, in discharging the victuals, and other prouisions of the enemie. Thus by the assistance of the almightie, and the inuincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was achiueued in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spaine, which brend such a corrosive in the heart of the Marques of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he neuer enjoyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may iustly be supposed) died of extreame griefe and sorrow.

Thus hauing performed this notable seruice, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21. of the said moneth of April, with very small losse not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in disdaine of vs, to make some pastime with their ordinance, at which time the wind skanted vpon vs, whereupon we cast about againe, and stood in with the shoare, and came to an anker within a league of the towne: where the said Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length suffred vs to ride quietly.

We now haue had experience of Gally-fight: wherein I can assure you, that onely these 4. of her Maiesties ships will make no accompt of 20. Gallies, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were neuer Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunitie for their aduantage to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire, wee riding in a
narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and druuen to maintaine the same, vntill wee had discharged and fired the shippes, which could not conueniently be done but vpon the flood, at which time they might drive cleare off vs. Thus being victualed with bread and wine at the enemies cost for diuers moneths (besides the prouisions that we brought from home) our Generall dispatched Captaine Crosse into England with his letters, giving him further in charge to declare vnto her Maiestie all the particularities of this our first enterprize.

After whose departure wee shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither wee tooke at seuerall times of ships, barkes, and Carauels well neere an hundred, laden with hoopes, gally-oares, pipe-staues, and other prouisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, al which we burned, hauing dealt fauourably with the men and sent them on shoare. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance: and (as we suppose) to the vttre ouerthrow of the rich fishing of their Tunies for the same yere. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land; and the better to enioy the benefite of the place, and to ride in the harborow at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strong holds, which we tooke some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came before the hauen of Lisbon ankering nere vnto Cascais, where the Marques, of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing vs chase his ships a shoare, and take and cary away his barks and Carauels, was content to suffer vs there quietly to tary, and likewise to depart, and neuer charged vs with one canon-shot. And when our Generall sent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refused his chalenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

[Sidenote: The Carack called the Sanct Philip taken.] Our Generall thus refused by the Marques, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thought it convenient to spend no longer time vpon this coast: and therefore with consent of the chiefe of his Company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meete with a Portugale Carak called Sant Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had carried the 3. Princes of Iapan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great resistance he tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak that euer was then comming foorth of the East Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an euil signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name.

The riches of this prize seemed so great vnto the whole Company (as in trueth it was) that they assured themselues every man to haue a sufficient reward for his trauel: and thereupon they all resolued to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arriued in Plimouth the same Sommer with their whole Fleete and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and fyreing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselues and their neighbours of Holland haue
bene incouraged, being men as skilfull in Nauigation and of no lesse
courage then the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies: where
their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.

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A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel Antonie Winkfield
emploied in the voyiage to Spaine and Portugall, 1589. sent to his
particular friend, and by him published for the better satisfaction of
all such as hauing bene seduced by particular report, haue entred into
conceits tending to the discredite of the enterprise and Actors of the
same.

Although the desire of advancinge my reputation caused me to withstand the
many perswasions you vsed to hold me at home, and the pursuite of honorable
actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that advise,
which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in respect of the many assurances you
haue yeelded mee of your kindest friendship, I cannot suspect that you will
either loue or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therefore I
wil not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thanckful, or discharge
any part of that dutie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer
you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portugall haue passed
since our going out of England the 18 of Aprill, till our returne which was
the first of Iuly. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your
further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which
confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which
haue happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perswade you that
no light fansie did drawe me from the fruition of your dearest friendship,
but an earnest desire by following the warres to make my selfe more woorthy
of the same.

Hauing therefore determinately purposed to put on this habite of a
souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in the wars of the low
Countries, which are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her maiestie, or to
folow the fortune of this voyiage, which was an adventure of her and many
honorable personages, in reuenge of vnsupportable wrongs offered vnto the
estate of our countrey by the Castilian king: in arguing whereof, I find
that by how much the challenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much
is the iourney to be preferred before those defensiue wars. For had the
duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to
inuade: from whence could haue proceeded that glorious honor which these
late warres haue laid vpon him, or what could haue bene said more of him,
then of a Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a priuate Duell: Euen,
that he hath done no more then by his honor he was tied vnto. For the gaine
of one towne or any small defeat giueth more renoume to the Assailant, then
the defence of a countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can
yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well
the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of
former histories may assure us, which haue still laied the fame of all
warres vpon the Inuader. And do not ours in these dayes liue obscured in
Flanders, either not hauing wherewithall to manage any warre, or not
putting on armes, but to defend themselues when the enemie shall procure
them? Whereas in this short time of our aduenture, we haue won a towne by
escalade, battered and assaulted another, overthrown a mightie princes
power in the field, landed our armie in 3 seueral places of his kingdom,
marched 7 dayes in the heart of his country, lien three nights in the
suburbs of his principal citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof,
and possessed two of his frontier forts, as shall in discourse thereof more
particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an Inuader, and
in such an action as euyery day giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt
of, that my fortune did rather carry me thither than into the wars of Flanders. Notwithstanding the vehement persuasions you used with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof sithence you received them from others, you must give me leave to acquaint you with the error you were led into by them, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it stood more with the safety of our estate to bend all our forces against the prince of Parma, then to follow this action by looking into the true effects of this journey, will judiciously convince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the conquest of these countries against the prince of Parma be thought more easy for us alone now, then the defence of them was 11 years ago, with the men and money of the Queene of England? the power of the Monsieur of France? the assistance of the principal states of Germanie? and the nobility of their owne country? Could not an armie of more then 20000 horse, and almost 30000 foot, beat Don John de Austria out of the country, who was possessed of a very few frontier townes? and shall it now be laid upon her maiesties shoulders to remove so mightie an enemie, who hath left vs but 3 whole parts of 17 unconquered? It is not a journey of a few moneths, nor an auxiliary warre of fewe yeeres that can damnifie the king of Spainne in those places where we shall meet at euery 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will cost more the winning then will yeerely pay 4 or 5 thousand mens wages, where all the country is quartered by rivers which have no passage vnpfortified, and where most of the best soldiers of Christendom that be on our aduerse party be in pension. But our armie, which hath not cost her majestie much aboue the third part of one yeares expenses in the Low countries, hath already spoiled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groine of all sortes, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeares expedition called S. Iuan de Colorado, taken from him about 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ships well manned fit and ready to serve him for men of war against vs, laden for his store with corne, victuals, masts, cables, and other marchandizes; slaine and taken the principal men of war he had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriquezs de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commanders in Lisbon; and by these few adventures discovered how easily her majestie may without any great adventure in short time pull the Tirant of the world upon his knees, as well by the disquieting his vsurpation of Portugall as without difficulty in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an army so accomplished, as may not be subject to those extremities which we haue endured: except he draw, for those defences, his forces out of the Low countries and disfurnish his garrisons of Naples and Milan, which with safety of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane he shall rather be enforced thereunto, then by any force that can be vsed there against him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the journey (I know) been much disliked by some, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards value, too indifferently of his purposes against vs, or too vnworthily of them that undertooke this journey against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceed by insasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to undertake: And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good success theerof.

The chances of wars be things most vn Certaine: for what people soeuer undertake them, they are in deed as chastisements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to give some victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what wars they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shall find them to haue bin none other then against the
barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlands, whose yeelding rather to the name than act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they have considerately undertaken the conquest of our monarchie, consisting of a people united and always held sufficiently warlike: against whom what successse their inuincible army had the last yeere, as our very children can witness, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made known what they are euon vpon their owne dunghill, which, had it bene set out in such sort as it was agreed vpon by their first demand, it might haue made our nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promised vnto the Adventure, lost her maestie the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare, whose defensible rampires were greater then our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left unattempted?

It was also resolued to haue sent 600 English horses of the Low countries, whereof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the army assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugal, who foreran vs 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we should haue had from thence; foure of the 10 Dutch Companies; and 6 of their men of war for the sea, from the Hollanders: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good soldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then we had?

Did there not vpon the first thinking of the iourney diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselues better, and laid the want of so much money vpon the iourney?

Was there not moreouer a rounde summe of the aduenture spent in leuying, furnishing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the seruice of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a seruice of no smal moment?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue bene the 1 of February, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnes: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimouth for a wind, might haue druen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do liue by, had not God giuen vs in the ende a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galitia then hath bene often seen, where our owne force and fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse windes, that held vs two daies after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harbouorough to lose any part of the better, when it should come by hauing their men on shore: in which two daies 25 of our companies shipped in part of the fleet were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Vshant.

These burdens layed vpon our Generals before their going out, they haue patiently endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honour: for hauing done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horse, 3000 foot, and 20000 li. of their aduenture, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may be conjectured they would haue done with their ful complement?

For the losse of our men at sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be said more, then that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honor of them against whom they were intended: and he will still shew himselfe the Lord of hosts in doing great things by
them, whom many have sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the service at land, as would have made a mighty subject stoop under them, I do not see how any man could justly have layd any reproach upon him who commanded the same, but rather have lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom forren countries have for their conduct in service worthily esteemed of, should not only in their own country not be seconded in their honorable endeavors, but mightily hindered, even to the impairing of their own estates, which most willingly they have adventured for the good of their countries: whose worth I will not value by my report, lest I should seem guilty of flattery (which my soul abhorreth) and yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instruction against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shall understand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained vp in the wars of the Admiral of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men under the erle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations he then discharged, I leaue to the report of them who obserued those seruices. Vpon the breach betwixt Don Iohn and the States, he was made Colonel general of all the English forces there present, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres: he was then made Marshal of the field under Conte Hohenlo: and after that, General of the army in Frisland: at his coming home in the time of Monsieurs government in Flanders, he was made lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yere he was sent for, and sent Generall of the English forces which her majestie then lent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leicesters going ouer. And he was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemy being upon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should have bene tried by battel. Al which places of commandement which neuer any Englishman successively attained vnto in forren wars, and the high places her majestie had thought him worthy of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he undertooke.

What fame general Drake hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his adventures to the west Indies, and the scourges he hath laid vpon the Spanish nation, I leaue to the Southerne parts to speake of, and refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of the same, and beseech you considering the waighty matters they have in all the course of their liues with wonderfull reputation managed, that you wil esteemme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they vndertooke, especially hauing gone thus far in the view of the world, through so many incombrances, and disappointed of those agreements which led them the rather to vndertake the seruice. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either to much opinionated of the voyage, or conceited of the Commanders, that labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of them both, have not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknesses and wants that have bene amongst vs, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the iourney, and do thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we find in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders haue bene receiued home with triumph for lesse merite, and that our owne countrey hath honored men heretofore with admiration for adventures vnequal to this: it might therefore in those daies have seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances, for that then all men were ready to gue enery man his due. But I hold it most necessary in these daies, sithence every vertue findeth her direct opposite, and actions woorthy of all memory are in danger to be enuiously obscured, to denounce the prayses of the action, and actors to the ful, but yet no further then with sinceritie of trueth, and not without grieuing at the injury of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men and matters,
which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest
applause that might be. But to answere the reports which haue bene giuen
out in reproach of the actors and action by such as were in the same: let
no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents
of war had any purpose of returning, did first aduise of some occasion that
should moue them thereunto: and hauing found any whatsoever did thinke it
sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out
matter that might colour their coming home.

Of these there were some, who hauing noted the late Flemish warres did
finde that many yong men haue gone ouer and safely returned souldiers
within fewe moneths, in hauing learned some wordes of Arte vsed in the
warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs:
which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalitie that
was amongst vs.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be
drunke with the plentie of wines.

The scarsitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victuals
in the Campe:

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done: And that therefore
they could be content to lose their time, and adventure to returne home
againe.

These men haue either conceiued well of their owne wits (who by obseruing
the passages of the warre were become sufficient souldiers in these fewe
weeks, and did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred
at) or missing of their Portegues and Milrayes [Footnote: Coins current in
Spain and Portugal.] which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather
returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the iourney.
For seeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one escaped the
bullet this day it might light vpon him to morow, the next day, or any day;
and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but that euery place
brought foorth new enemies, they were glad to see some of the poore
souldiers fal sicke, that fearing to be infected by them they might iustly
desire to go home.

[Sidenote: Answere to the first.] The sicknesse I confesse was great,
because any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary among
Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whithersoever they goe
to want the fulnesse of their flesh pots? Haue not ours decayed at all
times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? haue they
not abundantly perished in the Low countreys with cold, and rawnesse of the
aire, euen in their garrisons? Haue there not more died in London in sixe
moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the strongest? And
could the Spanish armie the last yeere (who had all prouisions that could
be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fittest season, in the yeere for
our Climate) auoyd sicknes among their souldiers? May it then be thought
that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather,
and hot wines to distemper them withall?

But can it be, that we haue lost so many as the common sort perswade
themselves wee haue? It hath bene prooued by strickt examinations of our
musters, that we were neuer in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth
11000. souldiers, nor aboue 2500. Marriners. It is also evident that there
returned aboue 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the seuerall payments
made to them since our coming home. And I haue truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest returned home. So as we neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home aboue 6000. with vs, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in belieuing that we haue lost 16000. men by sickness.

[Sidenote: Answere to the second.] To them that haue made question of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertained thereunto in that there were so many drunkards amongst vs) I answere that in their gouernment of shires and parishes, yea in their very housholdes, themselues can hardly bridle their vassals from that vice. For we see it is a thing almost impossible, at any your Faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Ale-poles vnfrequented: And we obserue that though any man hauing any disordered persons in their houses, do Locke vp their drinke and set Butlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselues drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to secke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Maiors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselves sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could neuer reach to in England, and having it there without mony euin in their houses where they lie and hold their guard, can be kept from being drunk; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for euery drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that haue runne into these disorders? Euen our newest men, our yongest men, and our idelest men, and for the most part our slouenly prest men, whom the Justices, (who haue alwayes thought vnwoorthily of any warre) haue sent out as the scumme and dregs of their countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselues with these hote wines, haue brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselues. But I hope, as in other places the recouerie of their diseases doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, so the remainder of these which haue either recouered, or past without sickness will proue most fit for Martiall seruices.

[Sidenote: Answere to the third.] If we haue wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid vpon the captaines (who are to prouide for their seuerall Companies) then vpon the Generals, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that euery captaine, vpon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could prouide themselues of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince. But admit euery Captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neuer the lesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) be vnexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowen wars but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope wil warne those that hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of such as may better preserue mens liues by their skill.

[Sidenote: Answere to the fourth.] From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may conjecture in that we marched through a countrey neither plentifulf of such prouisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprouided for. And that the General commanded all the mules and asses that were laden with any baggage to be vnburdened and taken that vse: and the earle of Essex and he for money hired men to cary men vpon pikes. And the earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw down his own stuffe, I meane apparel and necessaries which he had there, from his owne
cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men vpon
to vpon them. Of whose honourable deservings I shall not need here to make any
particular discourse, for that many of his actions do hereafter give me
occasion to obserue the same.

[Sidenote: Answere to the fift.] And the great complaint that these men
make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the
wants of the war; for if to feed vpon good bieues, muttons and goats, be to
want, they haue endued great scarcitie at land, wherunto they neuer
wanted, two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat
with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather
to starue then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we had too
many, who if their time had serued for it, might haue seen in many campes
in the most plentifull countries of the world for victuals, men daily die
with want of bread and drinke in not hauing money to buy, nor the countrey
yelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and
Portugall do in euery place affoord the best water that may be, and much
more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although some haue most injuriously exclaimed against the smal
provisions of victuals for the sea, rather grounding the same vpon an euill
that might haue fallen, then any that did light vpon vs: yet know you this,
that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted before they
came to the Groine, that whosoeuer made not very large provisions for
himselfe and his company at the Groine, was very improudent, where was
plentifull store of wine, biefe, and fish, and no man of place prohibited to
lay in the same into their ships, wherewith some did so furnish themselves,
as they did not onely in the journey supplie the wants, of such as were
lesse provident then they, but in their returne home made a round
commodity of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such
store of provisions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would
haue vsed his diligence could haue wanted his due proportion thereof, as
might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimmouth, and the
plentifull sale thereof made out of the marchants ships after their comming
into the Thames.

But least I should seeme vnsto you too studious in confuting idle opinions,
or answering friuolous questions, I wil adresse me to the true report of
those actions that haue passed therein: wherein I protest, I will neither
hide any thing that hath hapned against vs, nor attribute more to any man
or matter, then the iust occasions thereof lead me vnto: wherein it shall
appeare that there hath bene nothing left vndone by the Generals which was
before our going out vndertaken by them, but that there hath bene much more
done then was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should haue reaped
the fruit of our adventure.

[Sidenote: Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20 of April.] After
6 daies sailing from the coast of England, and the 5 after we had the wind
good being the 20 of April in the euening, we landed in a baie more then an
English mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnasses without any
impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one
halfe mile we were encountred by the enimie who being charged by ours,
retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages,
houses and mils next adioining, and very neere round about the towne, into
the which the Galeon named S. Iohn (which was the second of the last yeeres
Fleet agaynst England) one hulke, two smaller ships and two Gallies which
were found in the road, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies as they
passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris hauing
that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the
land side (for it standeth vpon the necke of an Iland) with a wall vpon a
dry ditch; whereupon he resolved to trie in two places what might bee done against it by escalade, and in the mean time advised for the landing of some artillery to beat vpon the ships and gallyes, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the first piece the gallyes abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and musketers that were placed vpon the next shore, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the companies, and other prouisions ready for the surprise of the base towne which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men vnder the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boats and pinnesses, wherein were placed many pieces ol artillery to beat vpon the tonne in their aproch: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which joyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Bret with 300 men to enter by escalade. All the companies which should enter by boat being imberked before the low water, and hauing giuen the alarume, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonell Bret and Colonell Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne company whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which be cleared before that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who maintained the fight against Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backes, were druen to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolued in councell how to make their defences, if they were approched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore vpon the discouery of our boats, they of the high towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the lowe towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on euery side.

Then the towne being entred in three seuerall places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with lesse peril doe, for that ours being strangers here, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Iland, and others hid themselues in chambers and sellers, which were euery day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a commissary of victuals called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 souldiours being in seuen companies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the iourney of England, namely:
Vnder Don Iuan de Luna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.

Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.

Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.

Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Iuan, with some of the towne were in the fort.

Don Gomez de Caramasal then at Madrid.

Captaine Manço Caucaso de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Iohn de Mosalle, and Don Pedro Poure de Leon.

Also he saith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000 of biscuit, some in Batansas, some in Ribadeo, and the rest there.

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ships.

That there were lately come vnto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats.

That there were 1000 iarres of oile.

A great quantity of beans, peaze, wheat, and fish.

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

And that not twenty daies before, there came in three barks laden with match and harquebuzes.

Some others also found fauour to be taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common soldiery, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I conjecture, first and last, after we had entred the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found evenry celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drinking, both grew themselues for the present senselesse of the danger of the shot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, and tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortality. There was also abundant store of victuals, salt, and all kinde of prouision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissary of victuals there, to be the beginning of a magasin of all sorts of prouision for a new voyage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged vs, and prejudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ships. And hauing ouercharged the artillery of the gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two daies together, the fire and ouercharging of the pieces being so great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not aboue sixteene taken out whole; the rest with ouercharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into diuers shippes. The same day was the cloister on the South side of the toweone entred by vs, which ioyned very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the
same with our musquetiers.

The next day in the aftermoone there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, even to the gates of the towne, as resolutely (ledde by what spirit I know not) as though they would haue entred the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eightene of theirs, they tooke them to their heelees in the same disorder they made their approch, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Huntley was sent into the countrey with three or four hundred men, who brought home very great store of kine and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long munition-house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewise brought some artillery to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily sene vnto, and the fury thereof preuented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouisions we found there, to our woonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day were planted vnder the gard of the cloister two demy-canons, and two coluerings against the towne, defended or gabioned with a crosse wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the first and second fire whereof shooke all the wall downe, so as all the ordinance lay open to the enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordinance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leauing a gard vpon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue bene giuen) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall hauing planted his ordinance ready to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our Drum; immediatly after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum before: wherein also they intreated to haue faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skilfull view of the towne (which is almost all seated vpon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the seuenth after we were entred the base towne) had bedded their powder, but indeede not farre enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the canon being thought assaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen vp by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot who lead the Generals foot-companie, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandment was ouer the horsemen. And to that of
the Myne, Captaine Iohn Sampson, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonel to the Master of the Ordinance, with certaine selected out of dierers Regiments. All these companies being in armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in al places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reason the powder brake out backewards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of every company into the country for prouisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthony Sampson was sent out with some 500 to fetch in prouisions for the army, who was encountred by them of the country, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the companies aforesayd being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in pinnesses, making proffer to attempt a strong fort vpon an Iland before the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was giuen to the traine of the mine, which blew vp halfe the tower vnder which the powder was planted. The assailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the mine presently to giue the assault, performed it accordingly; but too soone: for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being vnder that part of the tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully lost; who hauing three or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recouer him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be alieue, there was ten or twelue lost in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the loose earth (which was indeed but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from vnder their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall vnbattered. For let no man thinke that culuerin or demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who serued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of best judgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approch was vnlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two dayes battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper towne, hauing no other way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as
great peril of their lives by the displeasure of their king in giving it
up, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before
the assault, in the view of our army, they burnt a cloister within the
towne, and many other houses adjoyning to the castle, to make it more
defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of
holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us suddenly made
proud) layed that misfortune upon us.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure canons, and other pieces of batter
promised to the journey, and not performed, might have made her Majesty
mistresse of the Groine: for though the mine were unfortunate, yet if the
other breach had bene such as the earth would have held our men thereon, I
doe not thinke but they had entred it thorouly at the first assault giuen;
which had bene more then I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was,
is no more then the Prince of Parma hath in winning of all his townes
endured, who never entred any place at the first assault, nor aboue three
by assault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that
the Conde de Andrada had assembled an armie of eight thousand at Puente de
Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the
beginning of an armie: in that there was a greater leauie ready to come
thither under the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieue the
Groine, or to encampe themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to
hinder the same; for to that purpose had the marquesse of Seralba written
to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then
confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the countrey,
(for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure
hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victuals plentifully)
the General, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day
following to visit them, against whom he carried but nine Regiments: in
the avantgard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris,
and Colonell Sidney: in the Battle, that of the General, of Colonell
Lane, and Colonell Medkerk: and in the Rearward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell
Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments
with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillerie. About
ten of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from
the campe, we discouering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the
vantgard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captain Anthonie
Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who diuided them into three
troups; the one he appointed to Captain Middleton to be conducted in a way
on the left hand: another to Captain Eriington to take the way on the right
hand, and the body of them (which were Musquetiers) Captain Wingfield
tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by
Captain Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captain
Wingfield, so as being the first charge upon the enemy, was in the
instant seconded by Captain Wingfield, who beat them from place to place
(by having very good places of defence, and crosse walles which they
might have held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is over
a creek coming out of the Sea, builded of stone upon arches. On the foot
of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly
entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir
Edward Norris marching in the point, of the pikes, without stay passed to
the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captain Hinder, Captain
Fullford, and divers others, who found the way cleare over the same, but
through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their army
flanked upon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was
barricaded with barrels: but they who should have guarded the same, seeing
the proud approach we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir
Edward entred, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with very
earnestnesse in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grieuously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also hauing his Caske shot off, had fiue wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempt (which was of woonderfull difficulty) as their brauest men that defended that place being ouerthrowen, their whole army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselues vnto. [Sidenote: The notable ouerthrow giuen to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.] There was taken the Standard with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our vantgard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their standes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captaine Cooper and one priuate souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong baricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an army so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vantgard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might haue seene the countrye more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort lefte behinde, they were so hotly pursued. Our sailers also landed in an Iland next adioyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might haue guien vs any assurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our journey but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The last two nights, there were that vndertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side: but they within suspected as much, made so good defence against vs, as they prevented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euyry house of the low towne, insomuch as I may iustly say, there was not one house lefte standing in the base towne, or the cloister.

The next day being the eight of May, we embarked our army without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impossible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue attempted something against vs in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commissary aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Termeis de Santisso, to bring all the forces against vs that they could possible raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an army thither, where withall they might either besiege vs in their base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betwenee vs and our place of imbarking, to fight with us vpon the aduantage; for they had aboue 15000 souldiers vnder their commandements.
After we had put from thence, we had the wind so contrary, as we could not
under nine days recover the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth
day the Earl of Essex, and with him M. Walter Devereux his brother (a
Gentleman of wonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall
of the footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath always bene most inward with
him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earl haung put
himself into the journey against the opinion of the world, and as it
seemed to the hazzard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement
of his reputation, (for as the honourable carriage of himselfe towards all
men doth make him highly esteemed at home; so did his exceeding
forwardnesse in all services make him to bee woondered at amongst vs) who,
I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in,
where he lay, because he would avoid the importunity of messengers that
were dayly sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to
himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to
land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay vp and downe
about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with corne, and
brought them into the fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with
our fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the riuer
which Cannas standeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those
Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship
he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard vpon that coast, would not
abide, but fled vp into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, vnder the shot of the castle,
and aboue the waste in water, more then a mile from the towne, wherein many
were in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great, and the sea went
high, which ouerthrew one boat, wherein fiue and twenty of Captaine
Dolphins men perished. The enemy being fiue companies of Spaniards vnder
the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against
vs, and in our landing made their approch close by the water side. But the
Earl of Essex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, hauing landed
sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to holde the way by the
water side, and led the other ouer the Sandhils; which the enemy seeing,
drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to
encounter vs, but indeed to make their speedy passage away:
notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which
were sent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Jackson, they stood
the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push,
Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had
reason to follow them, all our companies were drawn to the towne; which
being unfortified in any place, we found vndefended by any man against vs.
And therefore the Generall caused the castle to be summoned that night;
which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio
de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don
Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliuer the same; which he honestly
performed. [Sidenote: Peniche taken.] There was taken out of the castle
some hundred shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugals
withall, and twenty barrels of powder: so as possessing both the towne and
the castle, we rested there one day: wherein some Friers and other poore
men came vnto their new king, promising in the name of their countrey next
adioyning, that within two dayes he should haue a good supply of horse and
foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company
of horses were vnshipped.

The Generals there fully resolued, that the armie should march ouer land to
Lisbone vnder the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake
should meete him in the riuer therof with the Fleeete; and there should be
one Company of foote left in the garde of the Castle, and sixe in the
ships: also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there with prouisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the euent of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk, in the vantgard: Generall Drake, Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the battel: Sir Iames Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Hunulties, and Colonell Brets in the arrearward. By that time our army was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowne the honourable desire he bad of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, stood vpon the ascent of an hill, by the which our battalions must of necessity march and with a pleasing kindnesse tooke his leaue seuerally of the Commanders of euery regiment, wishing vs all most happy successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the injury of the weather did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon with our fleet. The want of cariages the first day was such, as they were enforced to cary their munition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march captaine Crispe the Prouost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arriuall in Portugall) had broken vp an house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his brest, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectiuely regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doeth onely holde within compasse. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horse and foot against vs at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would haue held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our vantgard came in, they left the towne and the castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, vpon a commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectiuely obserued, then I thinke would haue bene in our owne countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the prouision of victuals for vs, whereby we were driven for that time into a great scarcity. Which moued the Colonell generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise the king what necessity we were in, before we should of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king: who after some expostulations vsed, took the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieued.

The third day we lodged our army in three sundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Caualleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horses thorow 40 of them, and himselfe thorow more than 200 with forty horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had divers intelligences that the enemy would tary vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done aduantageously; for we had a bridge to passe ouer in the same
place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared
tunto vs that he had in purpose to encampe there; for we found the ground
staked out where their trenches should haue bene made: and their horsemen
with some few shot shewed themselues vpon an hill at our comming into that
village: whom Sir Henry Norris (whose regiment had the point of the
vantgard) thought to draw vnto some fight, and therefore marched without
sound of drumme, and somewhat faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere
them, before he were discouered, for he was shadowed from them by an hil
that was betwene him and them: but before he could draw his companies any
thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, drew
themselves into a village, more than one English mile from thence, and
neere the enemy: who not daring to do any thing against vs in foure dayes
before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that
regiment, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall salutation
thorow all the Countrey, as they came: whom our yoong shouldiers (though it
were vpon their guard, and before the watch was discharged) began to
entertaine kindly, but haung got within their guard, they fell to cut
their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two
next Companies, whose Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were
lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes vpon them
in so resolute manner, as they presently draue them to retire with losse:
they killed of ours at their first entrance foarteene, and hurt sixe or
seuen.

The next day we lodged at Aluelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many
of our souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were
poisoned, and thereon presently; died. Some do think it came rather by
eating hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it
were by water or by hony, the poor men were poisoned.

That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Rodger Williams went out about
eleuen of the clock with 1000 men to lie in ambuscade neere the town, and
hauing layed the same very neere, sent some to giue the alarme vnto the
enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but
the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned assone as
it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was
ready to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the evening we came to the suburbs of Lisbon at the very
entrance whereof Sir Rodger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield
with him, tooke thirty shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the
streets till they came very neere the town; where they found none but old
folks and beggars, crying, Viua el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut vp:
for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some
houses by the water side, full of corne and other prouisions of victuals,
least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great
riches in many houses.

The foure regiments that had the vantgard that day, which were Colonell
Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I
name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to hold guard in the
nearest street of the Suburbs: the battell and arreward stood in armes all
the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine
Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held
guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in three places very neere the
town wall, and so held the same till the other regiments came in the
morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houses that
stood upon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them,
might thereby greatly have annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without peril) to take a church called S. Antonio, which joined to the wall of the towne, and would have been a very evil neighbor to the towne: but the enemy having more ease entry into it then we gained it before us. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battle and arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their shot upon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thoroughly weary with our six days march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest; whereof the enemy being advertized, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the towne, and made their approach in three several streets upon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the army was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men to arms, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt he died within four days after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This resistance made as well here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them euven to the gates of the towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselves again. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant maior Captaine Wilson slew with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, as well in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Cascas, and possessed the towne without any resistance: many of the inhabitants at their discovery of our nauy, fled with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on board, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to all the army he had brought; which offer they joyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chief men of their towne, to signifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without peril of the shot of the castle, which being guarded by 65 Spaniards, held still against him.

As our fleet were casting ancre when the canne first into that road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also have ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would have passed vp the river, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnesse or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran herselfe upon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth, by the salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke ships of the port of Portugal, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant maior of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuuel.
The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to advise with them, whether it were more expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall horse and foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some convenient number to Cascais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that which for the necessity of the service was brought along with vs: whereunto, some carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000 for our artillery; promising to themselves, that the enemy being well beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose unbelief was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) persuaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall not willing to leave any occasion of blot to be layed upon him for his speedy going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; told them that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their journey, but an adventure therein (which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, and wonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in trial thereof, as what end soever happened, could nothing impair their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should have that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came thereby to make him so strong, that he might send the like number for his munition, he would resolve to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not convenient to diuide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, and keeping a remainder behind, sithence he saw them the day before so boldly sally upon his whole army, and knew that they were stronger of Soulsdiers armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Cascais, they expected more supplies from all places, of Soulsdiers: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderly regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an army against such an enemy, before he knew either the fulnesse of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Council at Peniche, and confirmed by public protestation the first day of our march, that our nauy should meet vs in the river of Lisbon, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the mean of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the advertisements he received from the Portugals, or willing by any promise to bring such an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in trial) assured the Generall, that upon his first landing, there would be a revolt of his subjects: whereof there was some hope gien at our first entry to Peniche, by the maner of the yelding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it most convenient speedily to march to the principal place, thereby to give courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friers also and the poore people that came vnto him, promised, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two dayes came many more Priests, and some very few gentlemen on horsebacke; but not til we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weaknesse of that people. There they tooke two dayes more: and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with assurance, that so soon as our army should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King
and fall vpon the Spaniards.

After two nights tarinace at Lisbon, the King, as you haue heard, promised a supply of 3000 foot, and some horse: but all his appointments being expired, even to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a cornet of 40, nor his foot furnish two ensignes fully, although they caried three, or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in euery place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, hauing done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and giuen credit to his many promises, even to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might haue engaged himselfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against vs, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artilllery and munition being fiftenee miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sickenesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his prelacy did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he saw no semblance: or he like a silly louer, who promiseth himselfe fauor by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friers had by following him with such deuotion, I know not, but sure I am, the Laity did respite their homage till they might see which way the victory would sway; fearing to shew themselues apparently vnto him, lest the Spaniard should after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to account: yet sent they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and vs try by blowes, who should carry away the crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very wel subiect themselues to any gouernment, where they may liue free from blowes, and haue liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazzard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on any minds thorowly to reuolt, they had three woonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselues did in generall confesse, that there were not aboue 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easily they might haue preuailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approch they tooke them all in, and combined themselues in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thither, when the sally was made vpon vs by their most resolute Spaniards, how easily might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof?

And two dayes after our comming to Cascais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came against vs as farre as S. Iulians by land, as you shal presently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occasion to shew their deuotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing sought them in Galitia vpon disaduantage to beat them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof we gaue sufficient testimony in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon any hazzard.
For, what civil country hath ever suffered themselves to be conquered so few men as they were; to be deprived of their natural King, and to be tyrannized over thus long, but they? And what country, living in slavery under a stranger whom they naturally hate, having an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie still with the yoke upon their necks, attending if any strangers would unburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves under it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they be great talkers, whom the General had no reason to distrust without trial, and therefore marched on into their country: but they performed little in action, whereof we could have had no proof without this thorough trial. Wherein he hath discovered their weakness, and honorably performed more then could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these malcontents, who seek occasions of slander, have reported him to be suspicious of a people, of whose infidelity he had no testimony: and to be fearful without cause, if he had refused to give credit to their promises without any adventure? Let no trifling questioner therefore further enquire why he marched so many days to Lisbon, and tarried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gave order for our marching away; himself, the Earl of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole army was drawn into the field, and marched out of the town, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the rearward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would have issued out upon our rising; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the field, every battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that night into Cascais. Had we marched thorough this Country as enemies, our Soldiers had beene well supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had beene the richest army that ever went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of every house, there were many Warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchandizes.

In our march that day the galleys which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the river) attended vs till we were past S. Julians, bestowing many shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, sauing that they strooke off a gentlemen's legend, and killed the Sergeant majors molynder vnder him. The horsemen also followed vs afarre off, and cut off as many sick men as were not able to holde in marche, nor we had carriage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching strongly towards vs, and then came as farre as S. Julian: which newes was so welcome to the Earl of Essex and the Generals, as they offered every one of them to give the messenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the General desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a messenger with a trumpet, by whom he writ a cartell to the General of their army, wherein he gave them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and fear of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was five of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out vpon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durst attend his comming, and there to try out the justnesse of their quarrel by battell: by whom also the Earl of Essex (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his countreys, before his owne safety) sent a particular cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not admit
of that; sixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, should
meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes
with them; and that they should haue assurance of their returne and
honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in
the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encampd, but they
were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden
feare that we had bene come vp on them, as the Generall was the next day
certainly informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could
not get other answere to either of his letters, but threatening to be
hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused
to be written vp on the backside of their passport, that if they did offer
any violence vnto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had
of theirs: which made them to advise better of the matter, and to returne
them home; but without answere.

After our army came to Cascais, and the castle summoned, the Castellan
thereof granted, that vpon fiue or sixe shot of the canon he would deliuer
the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his
distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals as he could not
holde it many dayes, because he saw it otherwise defensible enough,
determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessity then to bring the
cannon, and therefore onely set a gard vpon the same, lest any supply of
those things which he wanted should be brought vnto them. But he still
standing vpon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he
determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pieces of battery against
it: vpon the first fire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to go away
with his baggage and armies; he had one canon, two culuerings, one
basiliske, and three or foure other field pieces, threescore and fiue
Souldiours, very good store of munition and victualles enough in the
Castle: insomuch as he might haue held the same longer then the Generall
had in purpose to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the
guard thereof; till the artillery was taken out, and our army embarked;
which without hauing that fort, we could not without great peril haue done.
When we were ready to set saile (one halfe of the fort being by order from
the Generall blowen vp by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the second of Iune, and
so continued sise dayes after to fetch in some hulks to the number of
threescore, of Dansik, Stetin, Rostock, Lubeck and Hamburgh, laden with
Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the kings prouision, and going for
Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and waxe:
amongst which were some of great burthen woonderful well builded for
sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought
that they were brought for the kings prouision, to reinforce his decayed
nauy: whereof there was the greater likelyhood, in that the owner of the
greatest of them which caried two misnes, was knowen to be very inward with
the Cardinal, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed
himself vnto his small boat, wherein he recouered S. Sebastians: into the
which our men, that before were in flieboats, were shipped, and the
flieboats sent home with an offer of corne, to the value of their hire. But
the winde being good for them for Rochel, they chuse rather to lose their
corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses
with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of Iune, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very
sicke, departed for England, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselves
very forward to all seruices, and in their departure very vnwilling to
leave vs: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road vntill the
eight thereof.

The sixt day the Earle of Essex, vpon receit of letters from her Maiesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to go, but found the Generalls very unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the army. And the same day there came vnto vs two small barks that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed vpwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go with the Iles of Açores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whose prouision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolued to continue our course for the Hands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generals that were sent ouerland, was departed before not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him; for he was no sooner gone than the enemy possessed both town and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperor.

The next morning the nine gallies which were sent not fiue dayes before out of Andaluzia for the strengthening of the riuuer of Lisbon (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though we lay hard by them at S. Iulians, durst neuer make any attempt against vs) vpon our departure from thence returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the uttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Cauerly being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master and some of the Mariniers abandoned the ship, and betooke them to ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and Captaine were, was ouerrunne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were also two hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, or we to them, though all the great shippes towed with their boats to haue releiued them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easily judge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much loose: who setting also vpon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off although they had first beaten her with their artilllery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also another hulke a league off, a sterne off vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of Iune, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we should plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes, about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde preuailing carried vs to Bayon: part of our ships to the number of 25, in a great winde which was
two dayes before, hauing lost the Admirals and the fleet, according to
their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was
Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpose (if the Admirals had not
come in) with some 500 men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted
the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who
though he were two dayes before put vpon those Ilands, cast off againe to
sea for the Açores: but remembering how vnprouided he was for iourney and
seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and
came in there that night in the euening where he passed vp the riuer more
than a mile aboue Vigo.

[Sidenote: Vigo taken.] The next morning we landed as many as were able to
fight, which were not in the whole aboue 2000 men (for in the 17 dayes we
continued on boord we had cast many of our men ouerboord) with which number
the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he
approched, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to
enter one side of the same, who found vpon euery streets end a strong
barricade, but altogether abandoned; for hauing entered the towne, he found
but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On
the other side of the towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard
Wingfield, whose approch on that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places
they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine shippes
sent with the Vice-admirall to lie close before the towne to beat vpon the
same with their artillery.

In the afternoone were sent 300 vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and
Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon,
called Borsis, and as much of the country as the day would giue them leaue
to do; which was a very pleasant rich valley: but they burnt it all, houses
and corne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the
next day, so as the countrey was spoiled seuen or eight miles in length.
There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not any thing els:
for the other dayes warning of the shippes that came first in, gaue them a
respit to cary all away.

[Sidenote: Vigo burned.] The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell
generall (who in the absence of the Generalls that were on boord their
ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our companies to be drawn
out of the towne, and sent in two troupes to put fire in euery house of the
same: which done, we imarked againe.

This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put
themSELVES on shore, on the contrary side of the riuer from vs for pillage;
who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and punished by the Generals
for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to be
want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our
men: who should haue gone against so strong a plade, manned with very good
souldiers, as was shewed by Iuan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confessed
that there were sixe hundred olde Souldiers in garrison there of Flanders,
and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the iourney of
England,

Vnder the leading of

Capitan Puebla,
Christofero Vasques de Viralta a souldier of Flanders.
Don Pedro Camascho, del tercio de Napoles.
Don Francisco de Cespedes.
Cap. Iuan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
Don Diego de Cassaua.
Cap. Sauban.

Also he sayth there be 18 pieces of brassee, and foure of yron, lately layed vpon the walles of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our army was drawn into by sickness, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victualles accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their apointment, being vnder saile neuer strooke at the Ilands, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleet followed sauing three and thirty, which being in the riuer further then he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night folowing, Generall Norris being driuen from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great peril, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisherman (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarrying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by hauing the victuals that came last, caried away the day before to sea.

[Sidenote: Their returne to Plimmouth.] The next day he set saile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of Iuly came into Plimmouth, where he found sir Francis Drake and all the Queens ships, with many of the others but not all; for the Fleet was dispersed into other harbors, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulks sought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their priuate commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Presently vpon their arriual there, the Generals dissolved all the armie sauing 8 companies which are yet held together, guing euer youldier fiue shillings in money, and the armes hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due vnto them: for they were not in seruice three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man would value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her maiesties ships to her mariners, so as there remained but 10 shillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparel and furniture to his owne vse, so as euer common souldier discharged, received more in money, victuals, apparel and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place where those things haue passed, that either do not or will not conceive the souldiers estate, by comparing their pouertie and the shortness of the time together, but lay some injuries vpon the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but especially here in London, I find there haue bene some false prophets gone before vs, telling strange tales. For as our crountry doeth bring forth many gallant men, who desirous of honour doe put themselues into the actions thereof, so doeth it many more dull spirited, who though their thoughts reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens
acts doe passe, and either beleeuing what any man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted trueth. The one sort of these doe take their opinions from the high way side, or at the furthest go no further then Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voyaige; where if they meet with any, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for spoile, complaining on the hardnesse and misery thereof, they thinke they are bound to giue credeite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in very charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they had entred into, if they see any of those malecontents (as euery journey yeeldeth some) doe runne vnto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresaw before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeuing euery report: for you see there haue bene many more beholders of these things that haue passed, then actors in the same; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinary wants of the warre, haue thought, that to lie hard, not to haue their meat well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slain, was a miserable thing; and not hauing so giuen their mindes to the seruice, as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that judgement seene into it, which their places required) hath giuen them far more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

[Sidenote: A worthy question dilated.] These mens discontentments and mislikings before our comming home haue made mee labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of euery thing, because I would not willingly haue you miscaried in the indgements of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to dilate vpon a question, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintain an offensiue war against the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his neerer territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

There is no good subiect that will make question, whether it be behoofeful for vs to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, as well in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs or against vs; as of the commoditie of their harbors, especially that of Vlishing, by the fauour whereof our Nauie may continually keepe the Narrow seas, and which would harbour a greater Fleete agaynst vs, then the Spaniard shall need to annoy vs withall, who being now distressed by our common enemie, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may be, to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeeres lost vnto him. The one without doubt her maiestie may do without difficulthe, and in so honorable sort as he shal neuer be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more speedilie or conueniently by keeping an armie there, then by sending one against him into his owne countrey: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that armie must consist, and what intollerable expenses it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alua, when the prince of Orenge had his great armie agaynst him; and of Don Iuan, when the States had their mightie assembly against him; how this wise enemie, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his townes leaue vs a spoyled field: where though our
prouision may bee such of our owne as we starue ['staure' in source text--KTH] not, yet is our weaknesse in any strange country such, as with sicknes and miserie we shal be dissolved. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repossesse those countreys which have been lately lost, wil be a warre of longer continuance then we shall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what should hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in councell, that there is no way for him wholly to recouer those Low countries, but by bringing the warre vpon England it selfe, which hath alwayes assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained vpon our coastes, and the great dishonor this journey hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him respite to doe it, but he will mightily advance his purpose, for he is richly able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busy him with a well furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachement as many men as shall be needfull for such an invasion. And hauing an armie of 20000 royally furnished there, we shall not need to take much care for their payment: for shal not Lisbon be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched vs all? Which with what small losse it may be won, is not here to shew; but why it was not won by vs, I haue herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of Siuil sufficient to pay more then shall bee needful to bee sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbone) is onely force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discouered what kind of men they be, euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours agaynst them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot say that euer they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea and possessing his principall roades, are we not in possibilitie to meet with his Indian merchants, and very like to preuent him of his prouisions comming out of the East countreys; without the which, neither the subject of Lisbon is long able to liue, nor the king able to maintaine his Nauie? For though the countrey of Portugall doe some yeeres find themselues corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richest prince in Christendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe masts, nor make pouder out of his mettals, but is to be supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they bee not our enemies: and that our disagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our marchants, and so impouerish our countrey, of whose mind I can hardly be drawn to be: For if my enemie fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I thereby haue the aduantage against him; what shall I thinke
of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for vs in these times to loose our trades of Cloth, then by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard whether we shall haue a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburgh, Embden, nor Stode doe receiue our cloth, the necessary vse thereof in all places is such, as they will find means to take it from vs with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that we damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for vnlesse it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he shall neuer be able to withstand vs) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free our selues from the warre at our owne wals; the benefit whereof let them consider that best can iudge, and haue obserued the difference of inuading, and being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the souldier, in that it doeth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuader casteth vp his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust vnto. I will not say what I obserued in our countrey-men when the enemy offred to assaile vs here: but I wish that all England knew what terror we gaue to the same people that frighted vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knew no safer way to saue himselfe then by fighting? Whereas the Persians either trusting to continue stil masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Inuader, began to practise against their owne king: or hauing more inward hopes, did hide themselves eu en to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduise of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the first, proue very sound and honourable to his countrey? Who seeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neerenesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they daily sustained by them, gaue counsell rather by way of diuersion to cary an army into Afrike, and there to assaile, then by a defensie warre at home to remaine subiect to the common spoiles of an assailing enemie. Which being put in execution drew the enemie from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them, as ours haue bene in this smal time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof may encourage vs to take armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre vp all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Baie, so farre off: whereas, if we giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring foorth his preparations, it will be with danger to vs all.

He taketh not armes against vs by any pretense of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambicious desire to command our countrey, but with hatred towrrds our whole Nation and religion. Her maiesties Scepter is already giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all the men of what conditon soeuer are offered for spoyle vnto the common souldier. Let euery man therefore, in defence of the liberty and plentie he hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euery Justice of peace, who by his blew coat proteceth the properest and most seuisceable men at euery muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doe put him to
for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his
neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call fees) out of his
coffers. What would it hinder every officer of the Exchequer, and other of
her Maiesties courts, who without checks doe suddenly grow to great wealth,
honestly to bring forth the mysticall commoditie of one yeeres profits? Or
the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenth of euery mans increase,
simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in
thankfullnesse to her Maistie (who hath continued for all our safeties a
most chargeable warre both at land & sea) bestow the same for her honor &
their own assurance, uppon an army which may make this bloody enemy so to
know himselfe and her Maiesties power, as he shall bethinke him what it is
to mooue a stirring people? Who, though they haue receiued some small
checke by the sickenesse of this last journey, yet doubt I not, but if it
were known, that the like voyage were to bee supported by a generalitie,
(that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouision) but there
would of all sortes most willingly put themselves into the same: some
caried with an honourable desire to be in action, and some in loue of such
would affectionately folowe their fortunes; some in thirsting to reuenge the
death and hurts of their brethren, kinred, and friends: and some in hope of
the plenfull spoyles to be found in those countreys, hauing bene there
already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation
to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud
Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with
courage take armes to hazard their liues agaynst them, whom euery good
Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemie to England,
thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to
bring vs vnder the yoke of perpetuall slauerie.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that we shall no sooner set
foot in their land, but that euery step we tread will yeeld vs new occasion
of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard
then to folowe those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume
their time and patrimonie. And in two or three townes of Spaine is the
wealth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magasins of the
fruits and profits of the East and West Indies, whereunto I wish our yong
able men, who (against the libertie they are borne vnto) terme themselves
seruing men, rather to bend their desires and affections, then to attend
their double liuerie and 40 shillings by the yeere wages, and the reuerson
of the old Copy-hold, for carying a dish to their masters table. But let me
here reprehend my selfe and craue pardon for entring into a matter of such
state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a most graue
and honorable counsell, who will in their wisdoms foresee the dangers that
may be threatned agaynst vs. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie
of these happy gentlemen, and the trade of those honest seruing men, by
persuading them to the warres when I see the profession thereof so
slenderly esteemed? For though all our hope of peace be frustrate, and our
quarrels determinable by the sword: though our enemie hath by his owne
forces, and his pensionaries industry, confined the united Prouinces into a
narow roume, and almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to
harbor himselfe, in the principall hauens of France, from whence he may
front vs at pleasure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie
warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common sort
are from reuerencing or regarding any persons of condition, was too
apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the base and common
souldier hath bene tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the
souldier and Captaine against the Generals, and wherein meachannical and men
of base condicion doe dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts
they are not woorthy to talke.

The ancient graue degree of the Prelacie is vpheld, though Martin raile
neuer so much, and the Lawyer is after the old maner worshipped, whosoeuer inneigh against him. But the ancient English honour is taken from our men of war, and their profession in disgrace, though neuer so necessary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone stil to fight for vs as he did the last yeere, or we be enchanted with some diuellish opinions, that trauell nothing more then to diminish the reputation of them, vpon whose shoulders the burden of our defence against the enemie must lie when occasion shall be offred. For whensoever he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remove him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perils, who are now thought vnwoorthy of any estimation.

May the burning of one towne (which cost the king then being six times as much as this hath done her maestie, wherein were lost seuen times as many men as in any one service of this journey, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enimies Countrey) be by our elders so highly reputed and sounded out by the historie of the Realme: and can our voyage be so meanly esteemed, wherein we burned both townes and Countreys without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for overthrowing a number of poore Scots, who, after one battell lost, were neuer able to reenforce themselues against him; and shall they in this time who have overthrown our mightie enimie in battell, and taken his roiall Standerd in the field, besieged the marquesse of Saralba 15 dayes together, that should haue bene the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his artillerie (as I haue before declared) be vnwoorthily esteemed of?

It is possible that some in some times should receiue their reward for looking vpon an enimie, and ours in this time not receiue so much as thanks for hauing beaten an enimie at handie strokes?

But is it true that no man shall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shal haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to vs them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generaltie of old bene termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I chalenge some reputation, or diminish my loue to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished me? No, it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to vse them: not regarding how some men in private conuenticles do measure mens estimations by their owne humors; nor how euery popular person doeth giue sentence on euery mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue vnrewarded: and depending vpon the justice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their heedie looking into euery mans worth, do giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen more pleasing vnto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in some honorable journey against the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vnaduised censure of our malicious reproouers.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you, in the
discouering of those impediments, and answering the slanders which by the
vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney,
and reprochse vpon the Generals (hauing indeed proceeded from other heads:)
let the necessitie of conserving the reputation of the action in generall,
and the honors of our Generals in particular, bee my sufficient excuse: the
one hauing by the vertue of the other made our countrey more dreaded and
renowned, then any act that euer England vndertooke before. Or if you haue
thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the
affectionate desire of my countreys good be therein answerable for me. And
such as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your selfe, and
not to be deliuered to the publique view of the world, lest any man take
offence thereat: which some particular men may seeme justly to do, in that
hauing deserued very well, I should not herein giue them their due
considerations: whereas my purpose in this priuate discourse hath bene
onely to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that haue
passed, wherein I haue onely taken notes of those men who either commaunded
every seruice, or were of chiefeest marke: if therefore you shall impart the
same to one, and he to another, and so it passe through my hands, I know
not what constructions would be made thereof to my preiudice; for that the
Hares eares may happily be taken for hornes. Howbeit I hold it very
necessary (I must confesse) that there should be some true manifestation
made of these things: but be it far from me to be the author thereof, as
very vnfit to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, and most
vnwilling to haue my weaknesse discouered in priuate. And so I doe leave
you to the happy successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestly
wishing that there may be some better acceptance made of the fruits of your
studies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the
30 of August 1589.

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The escape of the Primrose a tall ship of London, from before the towne of
Bilbao in Biscay: which ship the Corrigidor of the same Prouince,
accompanied with 97 Spaniards, offered violently to arrest, and was
defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into England.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commission for a generall imbargment or arrest
of all English, Netherlandish, and Easterlings ships, written in
Barcelona the 19 of May 1585.

It is not vnknowen vnto the world what danger our English shippes haue
lately escaped, how sharplye they haue beene intreated, and howe hardly
they haue beene assaulted: so that the valiancie of those that mannaged
them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in respect of the couragious
attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the Primrose of London,
which hath obtaineing renowne, I haue taken in hande to publish the truth
thereof, to the intent that it may be generally known to the rest of the
English ships, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of
extremitie adventure to doe the like: to the honor of the Realme, and the
perpetuall remembrance of themselues: The maner whereof was at followeth.

Vppon Wednesday being the sixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the shippe
called the Primrose being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without
the bay of Bilbao, hauing beene there two dayes, there came a Spanish
pinnesse to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and sixe others with him:
these came aboord the Primrose, seeming to be Marchantes of Biscay, or such
like, bringing Cherries with them, and spake very friendly to the Maister
of the ship, whose name was Foster, and he in courteous wise, bad them
welcome, making them the best cheere that he could with beere, beebe, and
bisket, wherewith that ship was well furnished: and while they were thus in
banqueting with the Maister, foure of the seuen departed in the sayd Pinnesse, and went backe againe to Bilbao: the other three stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But Master Foster misdoubting some danger secretly gaued speech that he was doubtfull of these men what their intent was; neuerthelesse he sayd nothing, nor seemed in any outward wise to mistrust them at all. For which there came a ship-boate wherein were seuentie persons being Marchants and such like of Biscay: and besides this boate, there came also the Pinnesse which before had brought the other three, in which Pinnesse there came foure and twentie, as the Spaniards themselves since confessed. These made towards the Primrose, and being come thither, there came aboard the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Master Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboard, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: neuerthelesse they tooke small heede of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came forth of the boate, entring the shippe, every Spaniard taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph ouer them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely vpon them, some planting themselues vnder the decke, some entring the Cabbens, and the multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor hauing an officer with him which bore a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: whereat the Maister sayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would haue slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they sought was to bring him and his men safe aliue to shore. Whereat the Maister was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselues readie to be conueyed euuen to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselues there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolved themselues eyther to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea, rather then to suffer themselues to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some tooke them to their iauelings, lances, bore-speares, and shot, which they had set in readinesse before, and hauing fiue Calieuers readie charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were vnder the hatches or the grate did shoote vp at the Spaniards that were ouer their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the suddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the daunger, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselues of that courage with bore-speares and lances, that they dismayed at euer strike two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Maister to commaund his men to cease and holde their handes, but hee answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their owne liues, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ship in great quantitie, some of them being shot in betweene the legges, the bullets issuing forth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust into the bodie, and many of them very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast ouer boord on both sides with their weapons in their handes, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towards the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a small companie of them, neither is it known as yet how many of them were slaine or drowned, onely one English man was then slaine, whose name was Iohn Tristram, and sixe other hurt. It was great pitie to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to saue their liues. Foure of them taking hold of the shippe were for pitie sake taken vp againe by Maister Foster and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards bosomes were stuf
with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these four having some wounds were dressed by the surgeon of the ship. One of them was the Corrigidor himself, who is governor of a hundred towns and cities in Spain, his living by his office being better than six hundred pounds yearly. This skirmish happened in the evening about six of the clock, after they had laden twenty tun of goods and better out of the said ship: which goods were delivered by two of the same ship, whose names were John Burrell and John Brodbanke, who being on shore were apprehended and stayed.

[Sidenote: The Corrigidor of Bilbao taken and brought to London.] After this valiant enterprise of eight and twenty English men against 97 Spaniards, they saw it was in vain for them to stay, and therefore set up sails, and by God's providence averted all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arrived safely in England near London on Wednesday being the 8 day of June 1585. In which their return to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered five hundred crowns to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Master would not do, they were content to be ruled by him and his company, and craved mercy at their hands. And after Master Foster demanded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done only of themselves, but by the commandment of the king himself; and calling for his hose which were wet, did pluck forth the king's commission, by which he was authorized to do all that he did: the copy whereof followeth, being translated out of Spanish.

The Spanish kings commission for the general embargo or arrest of the English, &c.

Licentiat de Escober, my Corrigidor of my Signorie of Biskay, I have caused a great fleet to be put in readiness in the haven of Lisbon, and the river of Sivill. There is required for the soldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to be employed in the same great store of shipping of all series against the time of service, and to the end there may be choice made of the best, upon knowledge of their burden and goodness; I do therefore require of you, that presently upon the arrival of this carrier, and with as much dissimulation as may be (that the matter may not be known until it be put into execution) you take order for the staying and arresting (with great foresight) of all the shipping that may be found upon the coast, and in the ports of the said Signorie, excepting none of Holland, Zeeland, Easterland, Germanie, England, and other provinces that are in rebellion against me, saving those of France which being little, and of small burden and weak, are thought unfit to serve the turn. And the stay being thus made, you shall have a special care that such merchandise as the said ships or hulks have brought, whether they be all or part vnladen, may bee taken out, and that the armour, munition, tacksels, sayles, and victuals may be safely bestowed, as also that it may be well foreseen, that none of the ships or men escape away. Which things being thus executed, you shall advertise me by an express messenger, of your proceeding therein: And send me a plain and distinct declaration of the number of ships that you shall have so stayed in that coast and partes, whence every one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burden and goods there are, and what number of men is in everyone of them, and what quantite they have of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tackslings and other necessaries, to the end that vpon sight hereof, havinge made choice of such as shall be fit for the service, we may further direct you what ye shall do. In the mean time you shall presently see this my commandment put in execution, and if there come thither any more ships, you shall also cause them to be stayed and arrested after the same order, using therein
such care and diligence, as may answere the trust that I repose in you, wherein you shall doe me great seruice. Dated at Barcelona the 29 of May, 1585.

And thus haue you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maister, and the louing hearts of the servants to saue their master from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the master had to saue so much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the same the greatest is his owne losse in that he may neuer trauell to those parts any more without the losse of his owne life, nor yet any of his servantes: for if hereafter they should, being known they are like to taste of the sharpe torments which are there accustomed in their Holy-house. And as for their terming English shippes to be in rebellion against them, it is sufficiently knowen by themselues, and their owne consciences can not deny it, but that with loue, vnite, and concord, our shippes haue euery beene fauoruable vnto them, and as willing to pleasure their King, as his subjectes any way willing to pleasure English passengers.

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The voyiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master Edward Wright.

The right honorable the Erle of Cumberland hauing at his owne charges prepared his small Fleet of foure Sails onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Queenes ships royall; the Meg and Margaret small ships, (one of which also he was forced soone after to send home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a small Carauell, and hauing assembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, souldiers, and saylers, embarked himself and them, and set saile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Deuonshire, the 18 day of Iune 1589, being accompanied with these captaines and gentlemen which hereafter folow.

Captaine Christopher Lister a man of great resolution, captaine Edward Carelesse, _alias_ Wright, who in sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagena, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boswell, M. Meruin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounson captaine of the Meg, and his viceadmirall, now sir William Mounson, M. Pigeon captaine of the Carauell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ships, whereof one was of Newhauen, another of S. Malos, and so finding them to be Leaguers and lawful Prises, we tooke them and sent two of them for England with all their loding, which was fish for the most part from New-found-land, sauing that there was part thereof distributed amongst our small Fleet, as we could find Stowage for the same: and in the third, all their men were sent home into France. The same day and the day folowing we met with some other ships, whom (when after some conference had with them, we perceiued plainly to bee of Roterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we dismissed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met diuers of our English ships, returning from the Portugall voyiage which my lord relieued with victuals. The 13 day of Iuly being Sonday in the morning, we espied 11 ships without sight of the coast of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom wee presently prepared for, and prouided to meet them, hauing first set forth Captaine Mounson in the Meg, before vs, to descry whence they were. The Meg approching neere, there passed some shot betwixt them, whereby, as also by their Admiral and
Vice-admirall putting foorth their flags, we perceiued that some fight was likely to follow. Having therefore fitted our selues for them, we made what hast we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 or 11 of the clocke, we came vp to them with the Victory. But after some few shot and some little fight passed betwixt vs, they yelded themselves, and the masters of them all came aboord vs, shewing their seueral Pasports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper and Synamon, which they confessed to be the goods of the Jew in Lisbon, which should haue bene carried by them into their countrey to his Factor there, and so finding it by their owne confession to be lawful Prise, the same was soon after taken and diuided amongst our whole company, the value wherof was esteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two shillings the pound.

The 17 day the foresaid ships were dismissed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with vs for sailers, we tooke to help vs, and so held on our course for the Azores.

The 1 of August being Friday in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of S. Michael, being one of the Eastermost of the Azores toward which we sailed all that day, and at night hauing put foorth a Spanish flag in our main-top, that so they might the lesse suspect vs, we approched neere to the chiefe towne and road of that Iland, where we espied 3 ships riding at anker and some other vessels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 or 11 of the clocke, sending our boats well manned to cut their cables and hausers, and let them driue into the sea. Our men comming to them, found the one of those greatest ships was the Falcon of London being there vnder a Scottish Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. [Sidenote: 3 ships forcibly towed our of harbour.] But 3 other smal ships that lay neere vnder the castle there, our men let loose and towed them away vnto vs, most of the Spaniards that were in them leaping ouer-boord and swimming to shore with lowd and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an vprore, and answered with the like crying. The castle discharged some great shot at our boats, but shooting without marke by reason of the darknesse they did vs no hurt. The Scots likewise discharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and shortly after the Scottish master, and some other with him, came aboord to my lord doing their dutie, and offering their seruice, &c. These 3 ships were fraught with wine and Sallet-oile from Siuil.

The same day our Carauel chased a Spanish Carauel to shore at S. Michael, which carried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of August we had sight of a little ship which wee chased towards Tercera with our pinasse (the weather being calme) and towards euening we ouertook her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, silke, taffata, &c. The 14 of August we came to the Iland of Flores, where we determined to take in some fresh water and fresh victuals, such as the Iland did affoord. So we manned our boats with some 120 men and rowed towards the shore; whereto when we approched the inhabitants that were assembled at the landing place, put foorth a flag of truce, whereupon we also did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gaue them to vnderstand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to iniury them, but that he meant onely to haue some fresh water
and fresh victuals of them, by way of exchange for some provision that he had, as oil, wine, or pepper, to which they presently agreed willingly, and sent some of their company for beeces and sheepe, and we in the mean season marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitants yong and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cause hereof, they answered, Feare; as their vsuall maner was when any ships came neere their coast.

We found that part of the Iland to be full of great rockie barren hils and mountains, little inhabited by reason that it is molested with ships of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine English ships of war, as the inhabitants there reported.

At euening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fish pursued vs for the space of well nigh of two miles together, distant for the most part from the boats sterne not a speares length, and sometimes so neere that the boat stroke vpon him, the tips of whose finnes about the ghils (appearing oft times aboue the water) were by estimation 4 or 5 yards asunder, and his iawes gaping a yard and a halfe wide, which put vs in feare of ouerturning the pinnasse, but God be thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we escaped.

When we were about Flores a little ship called the Drake, brought vs word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, and sped vs thitherward with all the speed we could: and by the way we came to Fayal road the seuen and twentieth day of August after sunne set, where we espied certaine shippes ryding at anker, to whom we sent in our Skiffe with Captaine Lister and Captaine Monson in her to discouer the roaders: and least any daunger should happen to our boate, we sent in likewise the Sawsie Iack and the small Carauell; but the wind being off the shoare, the shippes were not able to fet it so nigh as the Spaniards ride, which neuerthelesse the boate did, and clapped a shippe aboord of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which caried in her fourteen cast peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the space of one houre vntill the comming vp of other boates to the reskue of her, which were sent from the shippes, and then a fresh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the hause, we entred her on the one side, and all the Spaniards lept ouerboord on the other, saue Iuan de Palma the Captaine of her and two or three more, and thus we became possessors of her. This shipp was mored to the Castle which shot at vs all this while: the onely hurt which we receiued of all this shot was this, that the master of our Carauell had the calfe of his legge shot away. This shippe was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Iuan de Puerto Rico; after we had towed her cleare off the castle, we rowed in againe with our boats, and fetched out fiue small ships more, one laden with hides, another with Elephants teeth, graines, coco-nuts, and goates skins come from Guinie, another with woad, and two with dogge-fish, which two last we let driue into the sea making none account of them. The other foure we sent for England the 30 of August.

At the taking of these Prizes were consorted with vs some other small men of warre, as Maister John Dauis with his shippe, Pinnesse, and Boate, Captaine Markesburie with his ship, whose owner was Sir Walter Ralegh, the Barke of Lime, which was also consorted with vs before.

[Sidenote: An eescape of 8 Englishmen from Tercera.] The last of August in the morning we came in sight of Tercera, being about some nine or ten leagues from shoare, where we espied comming toward vs, a small boat vnder saile, which seemed somewhat strange vnto vs, being so farre from lande,
and no shippe in sight, to which they might belong; but comming neere, they put vs out of doubt, shewing they were English men (eight in number) that had lately bene prisoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to escape at that time, with that small boat committed themselves to the sea, vnder Gods prouidence, hauing no other yard for their maine saile, but two pipe staues tyed together by the endes, and no more prouision of victuals, then they could bring in their pockets and bosomes. Hauing taken them all into the Victorie, they gaue vs certayne intelligence, that the Carackes were departed fromence about a weeke before.

Thus beeing without any further hope of those Caraks, we resolued to returne for Fayall, with intent to surprize the towne, but vntill the ninth of September, we had either the winde so contrary, or the weather so calme, that in all that time, we made scarce nine or ten leagues way, lingring vp and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September being Wednesday in the afternoone, wee came again to Fayal roade. Whereupon immediatly my Lord sent Captaine Lister, with one of Graciosa (whom Captaine Munson had before taken) and some others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the Inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Captaine Lister to my Lord, to whom hee gaue this choice: either to suffer him quietly to enter into the platforme there without resistance, where he and his companie would remaine a space without offering any iniurie to them, that they (the Inhabitants) might come vnto him and compound for the ransome of the Towne; or else to stand to the hazard of the warre. With these words they returned to the towne: but the keepers of the platforme answered, that it was against their oath and allegeance to king Philip to giue ouer without fight. Whereupon my Lord commanded the boates of euery ship, to be presently manned, and soone after landed his men on the sandie shoare, vnder the side of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from the platforme: vpon the toppe of which hill certaine horsemen and footmen shewed themselues, and other two companies also appeared, with ensignes displayed, the one before the towne vpon the shore by the sea side, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encounter vs; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platforme, as if they would haue come to helpe the Townesmen: during which time they in the platforme also played vpon vs with great Ordinance. Notwithstanding my L. (hauing set his men in order) marched along the sea shore, betwixt the sea and the towne towards the platforme for the space of a mile or more, and then the shore growing rockie, and permitting no further progresse without much difficultie, he entred into the towne and passed through the street without resistance, vnto the platforme; for those companies before mentioned at my Lo. approaching, were soone dispersed, and suddenly vanished.

Likewise they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance.

In the meane time our shippes ceased not to batter the foresaid Towne and Platforme with great shotte, till such time as we saw the Red-Crosse of England flourishing vpon the Forefront thereof.

Likewise they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance.

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[Sidenote: The taking of the towne and platforme of Fayal.] Notwithstanding my L. (hauing set his men in order) marched along the sea shore, vpon the sands, betwixt the sea and the towne towards the platforme for the space of a mile or more, and then the shore growing rockie, and permitting no further progresse without much difficultie, he entred into the towne and passed through the street without resistance, vnto the platforme; for those companies before mentioned at my Lo. approaching, were soone dispersed, and suddenly vanished.

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Likewise they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance.

[Sidenote: A description of the towne of Faial.] This Fayal is the principal towne in all that is land, and is situate directly ouer against the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the West Northwest from that mountaine, being deuided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by estimation about some two or three leagues in brethed beeweene
the Isles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned some three hundred households, their houses were faire and strongly builded of lime and stone, and double couered with hollow tyles much like our roofe tyles, but that they are lesse at the one end then at the other.

Euer house almost had a cisteme or well in a garden on the backe side: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe clusters of grapes) making pleasant shadowes, and Tabacco noe commonly knowen and vsed in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddish, to make them seeme fresh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall: Oranges, Limons, Quinces, Potato-roots, &c. Sweete wood (Cedar I thinke) is there very common, even for building and firing.

My Lord hauing possessed himselfe of the towne and platforme, and being carefulfull of the preseruation of the towne, gaue commandement, that no mariner or souldier should enter into any house, to make any spoyle thereof. But especially he was carefulfull that the Churches and houses of religion there should be kept inviolate, which was accordingly performed, through his appointment of guarders and keepers for those places: but the rest of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for desire of spoyle and prey, was rifled, and ransacked by the souldiers and mariners, who scarcely left any house vnsearched, out of which they tooke such things as liked them, as chestes of sweete wood, chaires, cloth, couerlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where some of them also were hurt by the inhabittants. The Friery there conteyning and maintayning thirty Franciscan Friars (among whom we could not finde any one able to speake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Tercera of the same order, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and sixe. The tables in the hall had seates for the one side onely, and were always couered, as readie at all times for dinner or supper.

From Wednesday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, til Saturday night, we continued there, vntill the Inhabitants had agreed and payed for the ransome of the towne, two thousand duckats, most part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platfonne eight and fiftie yron peeces of Ordinance, whereof three and twentie (as I remember) or more were readie mounted vpon their carriages, betwene Barricadoes, vpon a platforme towards the sea-side, all which Ordinance we tooke, and set the platforme on fire, and so departed: My Lord hauing invited to dinner in the Victorie, on the Sunday following, so many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (saue onely Diego Gomes the Gouernour, who came but once onely to parle about the ransome) onely foure came and were well entertained, and solemnly dismissed with sound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordinance: to whom my Lord deliuered his letter subscribed with his owne hand, importing a request [repuest in source text--KTH] to all other Englishmen to abstaine from any further molesting them, saue onely for fresh water, and victuals necessary for their intended voyage. During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two men came out of Pico which had bee prisoners there: Also at Fayal we set at libertie a prisoner translated from S. Iago who was cousin to a seruant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: These prisoners we deteyned with vs.

On Munday we sent our boates ashore for fresh water, which (by reason of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the
hilles, and would otherwise have been hard to be gotten there. On Tuesday likewise having not yet sufficiently served our turns, we sent again for fresh water, which was then not so easy to be gotten as the day before, by reason of a great wind: which in the afternoon increased also in such sort, that we thought it not safe to ride so near the land; whereupon we weighed anchor and so departed Northwest and by west, along the coast of Fayal Island. Some of the Inhabitants coming aboard to us this day, told us that always about that time of the year such winds West Southwest blew on that coast.

This day, as we sailed near Saint Georges Island, a huge fish lying still a little under water, or rather even therewith, appeared hard by a head of vs, the sea breaking upon his back, which was black coloured, in such sort as deeming at the first it had been a rock, and the ship stemming directly with him, we were put in a sudden fear for the time: till soon after we saw him move out of the way.

The 16 of September in the night it lightened much, whereupon there followed great winds and rain which continued the 17 18 19-20 and 21 of the same. The 23 of September we came again into Faial road to weigh an anchor which (for haste and fear of foul weather) we had left there before, where we went on shore to see the town, the people (as we thought) having now settled themselves there again, but notwithstanding many of them through too much distrustfulness, departed and prepared to depart with their packets at the first sight of vs: until such time as they were assured by my Lord, that our coming was not any way to injury them, but especially to have fresh water, and some other things needful for vs, contenting them for the same.

So then we viewed the Town quietly, and bought such things as we desired for our money as if we had been in England. And they helped to fill vs in fresh water, receiving for their pains such satisfaction as contented them.

The 25th day we were forced again to depart from thence, before we had sufficiently watered, by reason of a great tempest that suddenly arose in the night, in so much, that my Lord himself soone after midnight raised our men out of their Cabines to weigh anchor, himself also together with them haling at the Capsten, and after cheering them vp with wine.

The next day we sent our Caravel and the Sawsie-lack to the road of Saint Michael, to see what they could espie: we following after them upon the 27th day, plying to and fro, came within sight of S. Michael, but by contrary winds the 28th and 29th days we were driven to leeward, and could not get near the Island.

The first of October we sailed along Tercera, and even against Brasill (a promontory near Anga the strongest Towne in that Island) we espied some boats coming to the Towne, and made out towards them: but being near to the land they ran to shoare and escaped vs.

In the afternoon we came near Graciosa, whereupon my Lord forthwith sent Captain Lister to the Ilanders, to let them understand that his desire was only to have water and wine of them, and some fresh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They answered they could give no resolute answer to this demand, until the Governors of the Island had consulted thereupon, and therefore desired him to send againe to them the next day.

Upon the second day of October early in the morning, we sent forth our long boat and Pinnesse, with emptie Caskes, and about some fifty or sixty men
together with the Margaret, and Captaine Dauis his shippe: for we now wanted all the rest of our consortes. But when our men would haue landed, the Ilanders shot at them, and would not suffer them. And troupes of men appeared vpon land, with ensignes displayed to resist vs: So our boates rowed amongst the shoare, to finde some place where they might land, not with too much disadvantage: our shippes and they still shooting at the Ilanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great peril of losinge many of their liues, and so were constrayned to retire without receiuing any answere, as was promised the day before. We had three men hurt in this conflict, whilst our boates were together in consulting what was best to be done: two of them were stroken with a great shot (which the Ilanders drew from place to place with Oxen) wherewith the one lost his hand, and the other his life within two or three dayes after: the third was shot into his necke with a small shot, without any great hurt.

With these newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the daye was farre spent before we could come neere them with our ship: neither could we finde any good ground to anker in, where we might lye to batter the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to loose many men: which might turne not only to the ouerthrow of our voyaige, but also put the Queenes ship in great peril for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it best to write to them to this efiect: That he could not a little maruell at their inhumanitie and cruelitie which they had shewed towards his men, seeing they were sent by him vnto them in peaceable manner to receiue their answere which they had promised to give the day before: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawful king his sake, he could not put vp so great iniury at their hands, without iust reuengement vpon them: notwithstanding for Don Antonio his sake, whose friend he was, he was yet content to send to them once againe for their answere: At night Captaine Lister returned with this answere from them. That their Gunner shot off one of their pieces, which was charged with poudre onely, and was stopped; which our men thinking it had bin shot at them, shot againe, and so beganne the fight: and that the next morning they would send my Lord a resolute answere to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Gouernours minde herein. The next morning there came vnto vs a boate from the shoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Island, who agreed with my Lorde that hee should haue of them sixtie buttes of wine, and fresh victuals to refresh himselfe and his companie withall: but as for fresh water, they could not satisfie our neede therein, hauing themselues little or none, sauing such as they saued in vessels or cisternes when it rayned, and that they had rather giue vs two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requested that our soldiers might not come on shoare, for they themselues would bring all they had promised to the water-side, which request was granted, we keeping one of them aboard with vs, untill their promise was performed, and the other we sent to shoare with our emptie Caske, and some of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with such other prouision as was promised: so the Margaret, Captaine Dauis his shippe, and another of Weymouth stayed ryding at anker before the Towne, to take in our prouision. This shippe of Weymouth came to vs the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth sixteene thousand pound, which brought vs newes that the West-Indian Fleete was not yet come, but would come very shortly. But we with the Victorie put off to sea, and vpon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French shippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the vnholy league) loden with fish from Newfoundland: which had beene in so great a tempest, that she was constrayned to cut her mayne mast ouerboord for her safetie, and was now comming to Graciosa, to repaire her selfe. But so hardly it befell her, that she did not onely not repaire her former losses, but lost all that remayned vnto vs. The chiefe of our men we tooke into our ship, and
sent some of our men, mariners, and souldiers into her to bring her into England.

Vpon the Sunday following at night, all our promised prouision was brought vnto vs from Gratiosa: and we friendly dismissed the Ilanders with a peale of Ordinance.

Vpon Munday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we plyed to and fro about those Islandes, being very rough weather. And vpon Thursday at night, being druen some three or foure leagues from Tercera, we saw fifeeene saile of the West-Indian Fleete comming into the Hauen at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was such, that for the space of foure dayes after, though wee lay as close by the winde as was possible, yet we could not come neere them. In this time we lost our late French Prize, not being able to lie so neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where shee safely arrriued. Vpon Munday we came very neere the Hauens mouth, being minded to haue runne in amongst them, and to haue fetched out some of them if it had beene possible: But in the end this enterprise was deemed too daungerous, considering the strength of the place where they rode, being haled and towed in neerer the towne, at the first sight of our approching, and lying vnder the protection of the Castle of Brasil, on the one side (hauing in it fiue and twentie peeces of Ordinance) and a fort on the other side wherein were 13 or 14 great brasse pieces. Besides, when we came neere land the winde prooued too scant for vs to attempt any such enterprise.

Vpon Tuesday the fourteenth of October we sent our boate to the roade to sound the depth, to see if there were any ankoring place for vs, where we might lie without shot of the Castle and Fort, and within shot of some of those shippes, that we might either make them come out to vs, or sinke them where they lay. Our boate returned hauing found out such a place as we desired, but the winde would not suffer vs to come neere it, and againe if we could haue ankered there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themselves a ground to saue their liues and liberties, and some of their goods, then come forth to loose their liberties and goods to vs their enemies. So we shot at them to see if we could reach them, but it fell farre short. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come forth so long as we watched for them before the hauens mouth, or within sight of them. For the space of fiue dayes after we put off to sea, and lay without sight of them, and sent a pinnesse to lie out of sight close by the shore, to bring vs word if they should come forth. After a while the Pinnesse returned and told vs that those shippes in the Hauen had taken downe their sayles, and let downe their toppe mastes: so that wee supposed they would neuer come forth, till they perceiued vs to bee quite gone.

Wherefore vpon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottish ships at Saint Michael, we sayled thither, and found there one Scottish roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next road a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eastwards: of whom we had for our reliefe some small quantitie of wine (viz. some fiue or sixe buttes of them all) and some fresh water, but nothing sufficient to serue our turne.

Vpon Tuesday the one and twentieth of October, we sent our long boate to shore for fresh water at a brooke a little to the Westwards from Villa Franca.

But the Inhabitants espying vs came downe with two Ensignes displayed, and about some hundred and fiftie men armed, to withstand our landing. So our men hailing spent all their pouder vpon them in attempting to land, and not being able to preuaile at so great oddes, returned frustrate.
From thence we departed towards Saint Maries Iland, minding to water there, and then to goe for the coast of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore vpon Friday following, my Lord sent Captaine Lister, and Captaine Amias Preston now Sir Amias Preston (who not long before came to vs out of his owne shippe, and she loosing vs in the night, hee was forced to tarry still with vs) with our long boate and Pinnesse, and some sixtie or seuentie shotte in them, with a friendly letter to the Ilanders, that they would grant vs leaue to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Iland, about nine of the clocke in the afternoone, and rowed freslyntill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being something weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the shore, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they espied (to their refreshing), two shippes ryding at anker hard vnder the the towns, whereupon hauing shifted some 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Dauis his boate, being too much pestered in our owne, and retayning with vs some 20 shot in the pinnesse, we made way towards them with all the speede we could.

By the way as we rowed we saw boates passing betwixt the roaders and the shore, and men in their shirtes swimming and wading to shoare, who as we perceiveed afterwaerdes, were labouring to set those shippes fast on ground, and the Inhabitants as busily preparing themselfes for the defence of those roaders, their Iland, and themeselues. When we came neere them, Captaine Lister commandened the Trumpets to be sounded, but prohibited any shot to be discharged at them, vntill they had direction from him: But some of the companie, either not well perceiuing or regarding what he sayd, immediately vpon the sound of the Trumpets discharged their pieces at the Islanders; which for the most part lay in trenches and fortefied places vnseene, to their owne best aduantage: who immediatly shot likewise at vs, both with small and great shot, without danger to themselues: Notwithstanding Captaine Lister earnestly hastened forward the Saylers that rowed, who beginne to shrinke at that shot, flying so fast about their eares, and himselfe first entring one of the shippes that lay a little further from shoare then the other, we spedily followed after him into her, still plying them with our shot And hauing cut in sunder her Cables and Hausers, towed her away with our Pinnesse. In the meane time Captaine Dauis his boate ouertooke vs and entred into the other shipp, which also (as the former) was forsaken by all her men: but they were constrained to leaue her and to come againe into their boate (whilst shot and stones from shoare flew fast amongst them) finding her to sticke so fast a grounde, that they could not stire her: which the Townesmen also perceiuing, and seeing that they were fewe in number, and vs (busied about the other ship) not comming to ayde them, were preparing to haue come and taken them. But they returned vnto vs, and so together we came away towards the Victory, towing after vs the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Brasil, loden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men slaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had little hurt, lying for the most part behind stone wallles, which were builded one aboue another hard by the sea side, vpon the end of the hill whereupon the Towne stooed betwixt two vallies. Vpon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordinance (such as they had) wherewith they shot leaden bullets, whereof one pierced through our Prizes side, and lay still in the shipp without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the same Iland, but not knowing before the inconuencie and disuauantage of the place where we attempted
To land, we returned frustrate.

The same night the 25 of October we departed for S. Georges Iland for fresh water, whither we came on Monday following October 27, and having espied where a spout of water came running downe: the pinnesse and long boate were presently manned and sent vnder the conduct of Captaine Preston, and Captaine Munson, by whom my Lord sent a letter to the Ilanders as before, to grant vs leave to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithstanding our men comming on shore found some of the poore Ilanders, which for feare of vs hid themselves amongst the rockes.

And on Wednesday following our boats returned with fresh water, whereof they brought only sixe tunnes for the Victorie, alleging they could get no more, thinking (as it was supposed) that my Lord hauing no more prouision of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coast of Spaine, but straight for the coast of England, as many of our men greatly desired: notwithstanding my Lord was vnwilling so to doe, and was minded the next day to have taken in more water: but through roughnesse of the seas and winde, and vnwillingnesse of his men it was not done. Yet his Hon. purposed not to returne with so much prouision vnspent, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in such sort as mought giue some reasonable contentment or satisfaction to himselfe and others.

Therefore because no more water could now conveniently be gotten, and being vnuncertaine when it could be gotten, and the time of our staying aboord also vnuncertaine, the matter being referred to the choyse of the whole companie, whither they would tarrie longer, till wee might be more sufficiently prouided of fresh water, or goe by the coast of Spaine for England, with halfe so much allowance of drinke as before, they willingly agreed that euery mease should bee allowed at one meale but halfe so much drinke as they were accustomed (except them that were sicke or wounded) and so to goe for England, taking the coast of Spaine in our way, to see if we could that way make vp our voyage.

Upon Saturday Octob. 31 we sent the Margaret (because she leaked much) directly for England, together with the Prize of Brasile which we tooke at S. Marie, and in them some of our hurt and wounded men or otherwise sicke were sent home as they desired for England: but Captaine Monson was taken out of the Megge into the Victorie.

So we held on our course for the coast of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which before we seldeome had. And upon Tuesday following being the 4 of Nouemb. we espied a saile right before vs, which we chased till about three a clocke in the afternoone, at which time we ouertaking her, she stroke saile, and being demanded who was her owner and from whence she was, they answered, a Portugall, and from Pernambucke in Brasile. She was a ship of some 110 tuns burden, fraughted with 410 chestes of Sugar, and 50 Kintals, of Brasill-wood, euery Kintall containing one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twentie degrees, about two hundred leagues from Lisbone westwards: Captaine Preston was presently sent vnto her, who brought the principall of her men aboord the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mariners and souldiers were sent aboord her. The Portugals of this Prize told us that they saw another ship before them that day about noone. Having therefore dispatched all things about the Prize aforesaid and left our long boat with Captaine Dauis, taking his lesser boat with vs, we made way after this other ship with all the sailes we could bear, holding on our course due East, and giuing order to Captaine Dauis his ship and the Prize that they should follow vs due East, and that if they had sight of vs the morning following they should follow vs still: if not they should goe for England.
The next morning we espied not the sayle which we chased, and Captaine Dauis his ship and the Prize were behinde vs out of sight: but the next Thursday the sixt of Newmber (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about sixtie leagues from Lisbone westwards) early in the morning Captaine Preston descried a sayle some two or three leagues a head of vs, after which we presently hastened our chase, and ouertooke her about eight or nine of the clocke before noone. She came lately from Saint Michaels roade, hauing beeene before at Brasill loded with Sugar and Brasile. Hauing sent our boot to them to bring some of the chiefe of their men aboord the Victorie, in the meantime whilst they were in comming to vs one out of the maine toppe espied another saile a head some three or foure leagues from vs. So immediately vpon the returne of our boate, hauing sent her backe againe with some of our men aboord the prize, we pursued speedily this new chase, with all the sayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone ouertooke her: she had made prouision to fight with vs, hauing hanged the sides of the shippe so thicke with hides (wherewith especially she was loded) that musket shot could not haue pearced them: but yer we had discharged two great piecees of our Ordinance at her, she stroke sayle, and approching neerer, we asking of whence they were, they answered from the West-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint Iohn de Lowe (truely called Vilhua.) This ship was of some three or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her seuen hundred hides worth tenne shillings a peece: sixe chests of Cochinell, euery chest houlding one hundred pound weight, and euery pound worth sixe and twenty shilllings and eight pence, and certaine chests of Sugar and China dishes, with some plate and siluer.

The Captaine of her was an Italian, and by his behauiour seemed to be a graue, wise, and ciuill man: he had put an aduenture in this shippe fiue and twentie thousand Duckats, Wee tooke him with certaine other of her chiefest men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine Lister with so manie other of the chiefest of our Mariners, souldiers, and saylers as were thought sufficient, to the number of 20. or thereabouts, were sent into her. In the meane time (we staying) our other prizes which followed after, came vp to vs. And noe wee had our hands full and with ioy shaped our course for England, for so it was thought meetest, hauing now so many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongst vs, that if we should haue taken any more prizes afterwards, wee had not bene well able to haue manned them without endangering our selues. So about six of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had ouertaken vs) wee set saile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare vs company without sparing them many of our sailes, which caused our ship to route and wallow, in such sort that it was not onely very troublesome to vs, but, as it was thought, would also haue put the maine Maste in danger of falling ouerboord: hauing acquainted them with these inconueniences, we gaue them direction to keepe their courses together, folowing vs, and so to come to Portsmouth. We tooke this last prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Westwards from the Rocke.

She was one of those 16. ships which we saw going into the hauen at Angra in Tercera, October 8. Some of the men that we tooke out of her tolke vs, that whilst wee were plying vp and downe before that hauen, as before was shewed, expecting the comming fourth of those shippes, three of the greatest and best of them, at the appointment of the Gouernour of Tercera were vnladen of their treasure and marchandize. And in euery of them were put three hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to haue come to lay the
Victory aboord in the night, and take her: but when this should haue bene
done the Victory was gone out of their sight.

Now we went meerily before the winde with all the sailes we could beare,
insomuch that in the space of 24. houres, we sailed neere 47. leagues, that
is seuenscore English miles, betwixt Friday at noone and Saturday at noone
(notwithstanding the shippe was very foule, and much growne with long being
at Sea) which caused some of our company to make accomplt they would see
what running at Tilt there should bee at Whitehall vpon the Queens day.

Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keepe in England with
their shares of the prizes we had taken. But so it befell, that we kept a
colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clearks (rockes that lye to the
Westwards from Sylly, and the Westerne parts of England:) For soone after
the wind scanting came about to the Eastwards (the worst part of the
heauens for vs, from which the winde could blow) in such sort, that we
could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon also our allowance of
drinke, which was scant ynough before, was yet more scanted, because of the
scarcitie thereof in the shippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a
pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, and scarce sweete.

Notwithstanding this was an happie estate in comparison of that which
followed: For from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that lasted not
long either, so that by reason of this great scarsitie of drinke, and
contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieue our
wants. But when wee came neere thither, lying at hull all night (tarrying
for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the saferly bring
our ship into some conuenient harbour there) we were driuen so farre to
lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, so as with heauie hearts
and sad cheare, wee were constreined to returne backe againe, and expect
till it should please God to send vs a faire winde either for England or
Ireland. In the meane time we were allowed euery man three or foure spoones
full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, sauing
only at two or three meales, when we had in stead hereof as much wine,
which was wringed out of Winelees that remained. With this hard fare (for
by reason of our great want of drinke, wee durst eate but very litle) wee
continued for the space of a fortnight or thereabouts: Sauing that now and
then wee feasted for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any
haile or raine: the haile-stones wee gathered vp and did eate them more
pleasantly then if they had bene the sweetest Comfits in the world; The
raine drops were so carefully saued, that so neere as wee coulde, not one
was lost in all our shippe. Some hanged vp sheetes tied with cordes by the
foure corners, and a weight in the midst that the water might runne downe
thither, and so be receiued into some vessel set or hanged vnderneath. Some
that wanted sheetes, hanged vp napkins, and cloutes, and watched them till
they were thorow wet, then wringing and sucking out the water. And that
water which fell downe and washed away the filth and soiling of the shippe,
trod vnder foote, as bad as running downe the kennell many times when it
raineth, was not lost. I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully
(yea sometimes with strife and contention) at euery scupper hole, and other
place where it ranne downe, with dishes, pots, canses, and Iarres, whereof
some dranke hearty draughts, even as it was, mud and all, without tarrying
to clense or settle it: Others. cleansed it first but not often, for it was
so thicke and went so slowly thorow, that they might ill endure to tary so
long, and were loth to loose too much of such precious stuffe: some licked
with their tongues (like dogges) the boards vnder feete, the sides, railes,
and Masts of the shippe: others that were more ingenious, fastened girdles
or ropes about the Mastes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the Maste (that
the raine might not runne downe betweene) in such sort, that those ropes or
girdles hanging lower on the one side then of the other, a spout of leather
was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the raine drops that came
running downe the Maste, might meeete together at that place, and there be
receiued.

Hee that got a canne of water by these meanes was spoken of, sued to, and enuied as a rich man. Quàm pulchrum digito monstrari et dicier hic est? Some of the poore Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithstanding had the same allowance that our owne men had) would come and craue of vs, for the loue of God, but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremitie, to teach them some humanitie instead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to vs and other nations heretofore. They put also bullets of lead into their mouthes to slake their thirst.

Now in euery corner of the shippe were heard the lamentable cries of sicke and wounded men sounding wofully in our eares crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremite we lost many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before: hauing before this time bene so well and sufficiently prouided for, that we liued in maner as well and healthfully, and died as few as if we had bene in England, whereas now lightly euery day some were cast ouerboord.

But the second day of December 1589. was a festiuall day with vs, for then it rained a good pace, and wee saued some pretie store of raine water (though we were well wet for it, and that at midnight) and filled our skins full besides: notwithstanding it were muddie and bitter with washing the shippe, but (with some sugar which we had to sweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wished for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, spring, and streame of cleare sweete running water in England: And how miserable wee had accompted some poore soules whom we had seene driuen for thirst to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now haue thought our selues if we might haue had our fills of the same: yet should wee haue fared the better with this our poore feasting, if we might haue had our meat and drinke (such and so much as it was) stand quietly before vs: but beside all the former extremities, wee were so tossed and turmoiled with such horrible stormie and tempestuous weather, that euery man had best holde fast his Canne, cup, and dish in his hands, yea and himselfe too, many times, by the ropes, railes, or sides of the ship or else he should soone finde all vnder feet.

Herewith our maine saile was torne from the yarde and blewne ouerboord quite away into the sea without recouery, and our other sailes so rent and torne (from side to side some of them) that hardly any of them escaped hole. The raging waues and foming surges of the sea came rowling like mountaines one after another, and ouerraked the waste of the shippe like a mightie riuer running ouer it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote aboue the water, that nowe wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Psalme 107. vers. 26. They mount vp to heauen, and descend to the deepe, so that their soule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of foule weather the ship was so tossed and shaken, that by the craking noise it made, and by the leaking which was now much more than ordinary, wee were in great feare it would haue shaken in sunder, so that now also we had iust cause to pray a little otherwise than the Poet, though marring the verse, yet mending the meaning.

Deus maris et Coeli, quid enim nisi vota supersunt,
   Soluere quassatae parco membra ratis.

Notwithstanding it pleased God of his great goodnesse to deliuer vs out of this great danger. Then forthwith a newe maine saile was made and fastened
to the yard, and the rest repaired as time and place would suffer: which we
had no sooner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great an
extremitie as before so that againe we were like to haue lost our new maine
saile, had not Master William Antony the Master of the ship himselfe (when
none else would or durst) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping
along vpon the maine yarde (which was let downe close to the railes) to
gather it up out of the sea, and to fasten it thereto, being in the meane
while oft-times ducked ouer head and eares into the sea.

These stormes were so terrible, that there were some in our company which
confessed they had gone to seas for the space of 20. yeeres, and had neuer
scene the like, and vowed that if euer they returned safe home, they would
neuer come to sea againe.

The last of Nouember at night we met with an English ship, out of which
(because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should haue had
the next morning two or three Tunnes of wine, which, as they said, was al
the prouision of drink they had, saue only a But or two, which they must
needs reserue for their owne vse: but after that, we heard of them no more,
till they were set on ground vpon the coast of Ireland, where it appeared
that they might haue spared vs much more then they pretended they could, so
as they might wel haue relieued our great necessities, and haue had
sufficient for themselues besides, to bring them into England.

The first of December at night we spake with another English ship, and had
some beere out of her, but not sufficient to cary vs into England, so that
wee were constrained to put into Ireland, the winde so seruing.

The next day we came to an anker, not far from the S. Kelmes vnder the land
and winde, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe
harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anker, but
hauing some of our men hurt at the Capsten, wee were faine to giue ouer and
leaue it behinde, holding on our course to Ventrie hauen, where wee safely
arrived the same day, that place being a very safe and conuenient harbor
for vs, that now wee might sing as we had iust cause, They that go downe to
the sea, &c.

So soone as we had ankered here my Lord went foorthwith to shoare, and
brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as Muttons, pigges,
hennes, &c. to refresh his company withall. Notwithstanding himselfe had
lately bene very weake, and tasted of the same extremitie that his Company
did: For in the time of our former want, hauing a little fresh water left
him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke
and dried vp. Soone after the sicke and wounded men were carried to the
next principall Towne, called Dingenacush, being about three miles distant
from the foresaide hauen, where our shippe roade, to the Eastwards, that
there they might be the better refreshe, and had the Chirurgians dayly to
attend vpon them. Here we wel refreshed our selues whilst the Irish harpe
sounded sweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities
were in maner halfe dead, had our liues (as it were) restored vnto vs
againe.

This Dingenacush is the chiefe Towne in al that part of Ireland, it
consisteth but of one maine streete, from whence some smaller doe proccede
on either side. It hath had gates (as it seemeth) in times past at either
ende to open and shut as a Towne of warre, and a Castle also. The houses
are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like
vnto Castles: for as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the
wilde Irish or otherwise, they vsed their houses for their defence as
Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, saue foure, were won,
burnt, and ruined by the Erle of Desmond.

These foure houses fortified themselves against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke stone wall that passeth ouerthwart the midst of the streete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithstanding whilst they thus defended themselves, as some of them yet alive confessed, they were druen to as great extremities as the Iewes, besieged by Titus the Romane Emperour, insomuch that they were constrained to eat dead mens carcases for hunger. The towne is nowe againe somewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they haue no chimnies in their houses, excepting them of the better sort, so that the smoake was very troublsom to vs, while we continued there; Their fewell is turves, which they haue very good, and whinnes or furres. There growth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as also want of lime (as they reported) which they are faire to fetch from farre, when they haue neede thereof. But of stones there is store ynough, so that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other: and the ground seemeth to be nothing else within but rockes and stones; Yet it is very fruitfull and plentiful of grasse and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattell there: insomuch that we had good muttons (though somewhat lesse then ours in England) for two shillings or fiue groates a piece, good pigges and hennes for 3 pence a piece.

The greatest want is industrious, paineful, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common sort, if they can prouide sufficient to serue from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it seemeth) there is very store amongst them, which perhaps was the cause that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our comming thither.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent.

[Sidenote: Mines in Ireland.] There are Mines of Alome, Tinne, brasse, and yron. Stones wee sawe there as cleare as Christall, naturally squared like Diamonds.

That part of the Countrey is al full of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleasant streames of sweete fresh running water. The natural hardnesse of the Nation appeareth in this, that their small children runne usually in the middest of Winter vp and downe the streetes bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) saue onely a mantle to couer their nakednesse.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soueraigne, who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors haue with vs in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend vpon him, and beare the Mace before him as our Maiors.

We were first intertained at the Soueraignes house, which was one of those 4. that withstood the Erle of Desmond in his rebellion. They haue the same forme of Common prayer word word in Latin, that we haue here in England. Vpon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church with his Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe every man by himselfe priately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beginneth prayers.
Their maner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of the service belonging therto is repeated in Latin, and part in Irish. The minister taketh the child in his hands, and first dipeth it backwards, and then forwards, ouer heads and eares into the cold water in the midst of Winter, whereby also may appeare their naturall hardnesse, (as before was specified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Parishioners together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that haue any devotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakers bake for all the towne.

We had of them some 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proued like a present purgation to them that tooke it, so that we chose rather to drinke water then it.

The 20 of December we loosed from hence, hauing well prouided ourselues of fresh, water, and other things necessary, being accompanied with sir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong sonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going ashoare to despatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very faire for vs, brought vs newes that their were 60. Spanish prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a faire winde, but afterwards it scanted so, that (as I said before) we were faine to keepe a cold Christmas with The Bishop and his clearkes.

[Sidenote: Captaine Lister drowned.] After this we met with an English ship, that brought vs joyful newes of 91. Spanish prizes that were come to England: and sorrowfull newes withall, that the last and best prize we tooke, had suffered shipwracke at a place vpon the coast of Cornwal which the Cornish men cals Als Efferne, that is, Helcliffe, and that Captaine Lister and all the men in the ship were drowned, saue 5. or 6. the one halfe English, the other Spanish that saued themselfes with swimming; but notwithstanding much of the goods were saued, and reserued for vs, by sir Francis Godolphin and the worshipful gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very sorry for Captaine Listers death, wishing that he had lost his voyage to haue saued his life.

The 29. of December we met with another shippe, that tolde vs the same newes, and that sir Martin Frobisher, and Captaine Reymond had taken the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we espied going to Tercera hauen. But the Admirall was sunke with much leaking, neere to the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth ouer against Plimouth sound, and the men were saued.

This ship also certified vs that Captaine Prestons ship had taken a prize loden with siluer. My Lord entred presently into this ship, and went to Falmouth, and we held on our course for Plimouth. At night we came neere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Westwards from Plimouth sound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, misdoubting the scantnesse of the winde. So we stood of to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde more large, and made too little spare thereof, that partly for this cause, and partly through mistaking of the land, wee were driuen so much to lee-wards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth hauen, where wee strucke on ground in 17. foote water: but it was a low ebbe, and ready againe to floewe, and the ground soft, so as no hurt was done. Here with gladnesse wee set foote againe vpon the English ground (long desired) and refreshed ourselues with
keeping part of Christmas upon our native soile.

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It is not long since sundry valiant ships appertaining to the Marchants of London, were fraighted and rigged forth, some for Venice, some for Constantinople, and some to sundry other places of trafique, among whom these ensuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their course homewards, having before escaped all other danger. [Sidenote: February 1590] The first whereof was the Salomon appertaining to M. Alderman Barnam of London, and M. Bond, and M. Twyd of Harwich: which went forth the first day of February last. The second was the Margaret and Iohn belonging to M. Wats of London: The thirde was the Minion: The fourth was the Ascension. The fifth was the Centurion of Master Cordal: the sixt the Violet: the seventh the Samuel: the eight the Crescent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to M. Duffield. All these ships being of notable and approved service coming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coast of Barbary, descried twelve tall Gallies brauely furnisshed and strongly prouided with men and munition, ready to seize upon these English ships: which being perceived by the Captaines and Masters thereof, wee made speedy preparation for the defence of our selues, still waiting all the night long for the approaching of the enemie. In the morning early being the Tuesday in Easter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590 according to our vsual customes, we said Seruice and made our prayers vnto Almighty God, beseeching him to saue vs from the hands of such tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we iustly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our most mortall enemies vpon the Sea. And hauing finished our prayers, and set ourselves in a readiness, we perceived them to come towards vs, and that they were indeede the Spanish Gallies that lay under the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemie to all Englishmen. So when they came somewhat neerer vnto vs, they waue vs a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee waue them a maine for the Queene of England, at which time it pleased Almighty God greatly to encourage vs all in such sort, as that the neerer they came the lesse we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in those Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in eche Gallie. And it was thus concluded among vs, that the foure first and tallest ships should be placed hindmost, and the weaker and smallest ships formost, and so it was performed, every man being ready to take part of such successse as it should please God to send.

And the first encounter the Gallies came vpon vs very fiercely, yet God so strengthened vs, that if they had bene ten times more, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot shippe, and hauing sundry cast pieces in her, gaue the first shotte in such a soure sort, as that it shared away so many men as sate on the one side of a Gallie, and pierced her through in such maner, as that she was readie to sinke, which made them to assault vs the more fiercely. [Sidenote: A fight of sixe hours long.] Whereupon the rest of our shippes, especially the foure chiepest, namely, the Margaret and Iohn, the Minion, and the Ascension followed, and gaue a hot charge vpon them, and they at vs, where began a hot and fierce bataille with great valiancie the one against the other, and so continued for the space of sixe hours. [Sidenote: A faint hearted Fleming.] About the beginning of this our fight there came two Flemings to our Fleet, who seeing the force of the Gallies to be so great, the one of them presently yeelded, strooke his sailes, and was taken by the Gallies, whereas if they would haue offered themselves to haue fought in our behalfe and their owne.
defence, they needed not to haue bene taken so cowardly as they were to their cost. The other Fleming being also ready to performe the like piece of seruice began to vaile his sailes, and intended to haue yeelded immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that shippe plucked foorth his faulchion and stepped to the Pilote at the helme, and vowed that if he did not speedily put off to the English Fleete, and so take part with them, he would presently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and so by that meanes they were defended from present death, and from the tyrannie of those Spaniards, which doubtlesse they should haue found at their handes. 

Thus we continued in fight sixe houres and somewhat more, wherein God gaue vs the vpper hand, and we escaped the hands of so many enemies, who were constrained to flie into harbour and shroude themselues from vs, and with speed to seeke for their owne safetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended vs all from danger in such sort, as that there was not one man of vs slaine. And in all this fierce assault made vpon vs by the Spanish power, wee sustained no hurt or damage at all more then this, that the shrouds and backe-stay of the Salomon, who gaue the first and last shot, and galled the enemie shrewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane stricken off.

The battel being ceased, we were constrained for want of wind to stay and waft vp and downe, and then went backe againe to Tition in Barbary, which is sixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderous fauourable to vs, who being but Moores and heathen people shewed vs where to haue fresh water and al other necessaries for vs. And there we had such good intertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The gouernour was one that fauoured vs greatly, whom wee in respect of his great friendship presented with giftes and such commodities as we had in our custodie, which he wonderfully wel accepted of: and here we stayed foure dayes.

After the battell was ceased, which was on Easter Tuesday, we stayed for want of winde before Gibraltar, vntill the next morning, where we were becalmed, and therefore looked euery houre when they would haue sent foorth some fresh supply against vs, but they were farre vnable to doe it, for all their Gallies were so sore battered, that they durst not come foorth of the harbour, by reason of our hot resistance which they so lately before had receiued. Yet were they greatly vrged thereunto by the Gouernour of the said Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Tition in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our comming from them wee could not well discerne any thing at all by reason of the smoake which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almost spoiled those twelue Gallies by shooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to sinke, and that wee had slaine of their men such great abundance, as that they were not able to furnish forth any more Gallies at all for that yeere.

Thus after we came from Tition, we assayed to depart the Straight three seuerall times, but could not passe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came safely away, and so sailed with a pleasant winde vntil wee came vpon the coast of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of Iuly 1590.

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The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the Centurion of London, against the fiue Spanish Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.

In the moneth of November 1590, there were sundry shippes appertaining to seuerall Marchants of London, which were riggled and fraught forth with marchandize, for sundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together hauing winde and weather, which oftime fell out very vnçertaine, arriued safely in short space, at such places as they desired. Among whom was the Centurion of London, a very tall shippe of burden, yet but weakely manned, as appeareth by this discourse following.

This aforesaid shippe called The Centurion safely arriued at Marseils, where after they had deliuered their goods, they stayed about the space of fiue weeke, and better, and then tooke in lading, intending to returne to England.

Now when the Centurion was ready to come away from Marseils, there were sundry other shippes of smaller burden which entreated the Master thereof, (whose name is Robert Bradshaw, dwelling at Lime-house) to stay a day or two for them, vntill they were in a readinesse to depart with them, thereby perswading them, that it would be farre better for them to stay and goe together in respect of their assistance, then to depart of themselves without company, and so happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish Gallies. Vpon which reasonable perswasion, notwithstanding that this shippe was of such sufficiencie as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they stayed for those little shippes; according to their request, who together did put to Sea from Marseils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they should happen to meete with any Spanish Gallies.

These small shippes, accompanied with the Centurion, sayling along the coast of Spaine, were ypon Easter day in the Straight of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed, where immediatly they saw sundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and couragious sort: the chiefe Leaders and souldiers in those Gallies brauely appareled in silke coates, with their siluer whistles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Caliuers shot at the Centurion so fast as they might: so that by 10. of the clocke and somewhat before, they had boorded the Centurion, who before their comming had prepared for them, and intended to giue them so soure a welcome as they might. And thereupon hauing prepared their close fights, and all things in a readinesse, they called vpon God, on whom onely they trusted: and hauing made their prayers, and cheered vp one another to fight so long as life endured, they beganne to discharge their great Ordinance vpon the Gallies, but the little shippes durst not come forward, but lay aloofe, while fiue Gallies had boorded them, yea and with their grapling irons made their Gallies fast to the said shippe called the Centurion.

The Gallies were grapled to the Centurion in this maner, two lay on one side and two on another, and the Admirall lay full in the stern, which galled and battered the Centurion so sore, that her maine Maste was greatly weakened, her sailes filled with many holes, and the Mizzen and sterne made almost vnseruiceable.

During which time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion sounded forth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their aduersaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Musicke in the Spanish Gallies, but onely their whistles of siluer, which they sounded forth to their owne
contentment: in which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they in multitudes came crawling and hung upon the side of the shippe, intending to have entered into the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gave them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble alive into the Sea, being remediless for ever to get up alive. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boys, four and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemy, that many a brave and lusty Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired several times, with wild fire and other provision, which the Spaniards, threw in for that purpose: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the Master it did no harm at all.

In every of the Gallies there were about 200 soldiers: who together with the shot, spoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very sore, shot through her maine Maste, and slew 4 of the men in the said shippe, the one of them being the Masters mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by means of splinters which the Spaniards shotte: yea, in the end when their provison was almost spent, they were constrained to shoote at them hammers, and the chains from their slaves, and yet God be thanked, they received no more damage: but by spoiling and ouer-wearying of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constrained them to ungrapple themselves, and get them going: and sure if there had bene any other fresh shippe or succour to have relieved and assisted the Centurion, they had slain, sunk, or taken all those Gallies and their Soldiers.

The Dolphin lay a loofe off and durst not come neere, while the other two small shippes fled away, so that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and set upon the Dolphin, which shippe immediatly was set on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and shippe perished: but whether it was with their good wills or no, that was not knowne vnto the Centurion, but sure, if it had come forward, and bene an aide vnto the Centurion, it is to bee supposed that it had not perished.

Five hours and a half this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themselves, but when the Spaniards were gone, they nouer durst returne to fight, yet the next day sice other Gallies came and looked at them, but durst not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God delivered them from the handes of their enemies, and gave them the victorie: For which they heartily praised him, and not long after safely arrived in London.

[Symbol: fist] There were present at this fight Master Iohn Hawes Marchaht, and sundry other of good accompt.

* * * * *

A report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Açores, the last of August 1591, betwixt the Revenge one of her Maiesties shippes, and an Armada of the king of Spaine; penned by the honourable Sir Walter Ralegh knight.

Because the rumours are diversely spread, as well in England as in the Lowe countries and elsewhere, of this late encounter betweene her Maiesties ships and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniards according to their usuall maner fill the world with their vaine-glorious vaunts, making great
apparance of victories, when on the contrary, themselves are most commonly
and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possess the
ignorant multitude by anticipating and forerunning false reports: It is
agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to over come
falshood and untruth; that the beginning, continuance and success of this
late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenuil, and other her Maiesties
Captaines, with the Armada of Spaine; should be truly set downe and
published without partialitie or false imaginations. And it is no maruiele
that the Spaniard should seeke by false and slanderous pamphlets, advi soes
and Letters, to couer their owne losse, and to derogate from others their
due honors, especially in this fight being performed far off: seeing they
were not ashamed in the yeere 1588. when they purposed the invasion of this
land, to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in wordes,
which they pleaded to have obtained against this Realme; and spred the same
in a most false sort ouer all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere. When
shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to al Nations, how
their Naue which they termed inuincible, consisting of 140. saile of
shippes, not onely of their owne kingdome, but strengthened with the
greatest Argosies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other
Cou ntreis, were by 30. of her Maiesties owne ships of war, and a few of our
owne Marchants, by the wise, valiant, and aduantageous conduct of the L.
Charles Howard high Admirall of England, beaten and shuffled together; even
from the Lizard in Cornwall first to Portland, where they shamefully left
Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ship; from Portland to Cales, where
they lost Hugo de Moncado, with the Gallies of which he was Captaine, and
from Cales, drieve with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the
sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the sympathie
of their barbarous religion, hoping to finde succour and assistance, a
great part of them were cruish against the rocks, and those other that
landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slaine, and
taken, and so sent from village to village coupled in halters, to be
shipped into England. Where her Maiestie of her Princely and inuincible
disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to
retaine or entertaine them: they were all sent backe againe to their
countrys, to witness and recount the worthy achieveuements of their
inuincible and dreadfull Naue: Of which the number of Souldiers, the
fearefull burthen of their shippes, the commanders names of euery squadron,
with all other their magazines of prouisions, were put in print, as an Army
and Naue vnresistable, and disdaining preuention. With all which so great
and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about
England, so much as sinke or take one shippe, Barke, Pinnesse, or Cockbote
of ours: or euer burnt so much as one sheepecote of this land. When as on
the contrarie, Sir Francis Drake, with onely 800. souldiers not long
before, landed in their Indies, and forced Sant-Iago, Santo Domingo,
Cartagena, and the forts of Florida.

And after that, Sir John Norris marched from Peniche in Portugall, with a
handfull of souldiers, to the gates of Lisbone, being aboue 40 English
miles. Where the Earle of Essex himselfe and other valiant Gentlemen braued
the Citie of Lisbone, encamped at the very gates; from whence, after many
dayes abode, finding neither promised partie, nor provision to batter; they
made retrait by land, in despight of all their Garrisons, both of horse and
foote. In this sort I haue a little digressed from my first purpose, onely
by the necessarie comparison of theirs and our actions: the one couetous of
honour without vaunt of ostentation; the other so greedy to purchase the
opinion of their owne affaires, and by false rumors to resist the blasts of
their owne dishonours, as they, will not onely not blush to spread all
manner of vntruthes: but euen for the least aduantage, be it but for the
taking of one poore aduenturer of the English, will celebrate the victory
with bonefires in euery towne, always spending more in faggots, then the
purchass was worth they obtained. When as we neuer thought it worth the consumption of two billets, when we haue taken eight or ten of their Indian shippes at one time, and twentie of the Brasill fleete. Such is the difference betweene true valure, and ostentation: and betweene honorable actions, and friuolous vaineglorious vaunts. But now to returne to my purpose.

The L. Thomas Howard with sixe of her Maiesties shippes, sixe victuallers of London, the Barke Ralegh, and two or three other Pinnases riding at anker neere unto Flores, one of the Westerly Ilands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Captaine Middleton of the approch of the Spanish Armada. Which Middeteton being in a very good sailer had kept them company three dayes before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more, as also to giue aduise to my L. Thomas of their approch. Hee had no sooner deliuered the newes but the fleete was in sight: many of our shippes companies were on shore in the Ilande; some providing ballast for their ships; others filling of water and refreshing themselues from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recouer. By reason whereof our ships being all pestered and romaging euery thing out of order, very light for want of balast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one halfe part of the men of euery shippe sicke, and vtterly vnseruiceable: for in the Reuenge there were ninety diseased: in the Bonauenture not so many in health as could handle her maine saile. For had not twenty men beene taken out of a Barque of sir George Careys, his being commaunded to be sunke, and those appointed to her, she had hardly euer recouered England. The rest, for the most parte, were in little better state. The names of her Maiesties shippes were these as followeth, the Defiance, which was Admiral, the Reuenge Vice-admirall, the Bonauenture commaunded by Captaine Crosse, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foresight by M. Thomas Vauasour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foresight and the Crane being but smal ships; only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the Barke Ralegh, commanded by Captaine Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none. The Spanish Fleet hauing shrouded their approch by reason of the Island; were now so soone at hand, as our shippes had scarce time to way their anchors, but some of them were driuen to let slippe their Cables and set saile. Sir Richard Grinuile was the last that wayed, to recouer the men that were vpon the Island, which otherwise had bene lost. The L. Thomas with the rest very hardly recouered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinuile not being able to doe, was perswaded by the Master and others to cut his maine sayle, and cast about, and to trust to the sayling of the ship; for the squadron of Siuil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard vtterly refused to turne from the enemie, alleging that hee would rather choose to die, then to dishonour himselfe, his countrey, and her Maiesties shippe, perswading his companie that hee would passe through the two squadrons, in despight of them, and enforce those of Siuil to giue him way. Which hee performed vpon divers of the formost, who, as the Mariners terme it, sprang their luffe, and fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge. But the other course had beene the better, and might right well haue bene answered in so great an impossibility of preuailing. Notwithstanding out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not be perswaded. In the meane while as hee attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and comming towards him, becalmed his sailes in such sort, as the shippe could neither make way, nor feelle the helme: so huge and high carged [Footnote: From the French, _carguer_ to furl.] was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and fiue hundred tuns. Who after layd the Reuenge aboord. When he was thus bereft of his sailes, the ships that were vnder his lee luffing vp, also layd him aboord: of which the next was the Admiral of the Biscaines, a very mighty and puissant shipp commanded by Brittandonia. The sayd Philip carried three tire of ordinance on a side, and eleuen pieces in euery tire.
She shot eight forth right out of her chase, besides those of her sterne ports.

After the Reuenge was entangled with this Philip, foure other boorded her: two on her larbood, and two on her starboord. The fight thus beginning at three of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that euening. But the great San Philip hauing receiued the lower tire of the Reuenge, discharged with crosse bar-shot, shifted her selfe with all diligence from her sides, vtterly misliking her first entertainement. Some say that the shippe fountred, but we cannot report it for truth, vnlesse we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of souldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some fiue, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all besides the mariners; but the servants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many interchanged volies of great ordinance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Reuenge, and made diuers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of her armed souldiers and Musketers, but were still repulsed againe and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of London hauing receiued some shot thorow her by the Armadas, fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers, and of small force: Sir Richard bid him saue himselfe, and leaue him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some houres of the night, many of our men slaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Hulkes both sunke, and in many other of the Spanish shippes great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechlesse for a time ere hee recovered. But two of the Reuenges owne company, brought home in a ship of Lime from the Ilandes, examined by some of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was neuer so wounded as that hee forsooke the vpper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being shot into the bodie with a Musket as hee was a dressing, was againe shot into the head, and withall his Chirurgion wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by sir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the same shippe being returned, which examination, the said sir Francis sent vnto master William Killegrue, of her Maiesties priuy Chamber.

But to returne to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to bord the Reuenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so alwayes others came in their places, she hauing neuer lesse then two mighty Gallions by her sides, and aboard her: So that ere the morning, from three of the clocke the day before, there had fifteene seuerall Armadas assayled her; and all so ill approued their entertainment, as they were by the breake of day, far more willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grewe our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, sauing one small ship called the Pilgrim, commaunded by Iacob Whiddon, who houered all night to see the suscesse: but in the morning bearing with the Reuenge, was hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous houndes, but escaped.

All the powder of the Reuenge to the last barrell was now spent, all her pikes broken, fortie of her best men slaine, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight shee had but one hundreth free from sicknes, and fourscore and ten sicke, laid in hold vpon the Ballast. A small troup to man such a ship, and a weake garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred al was susteined, the voleis, boordings, and entrings of fifteen ships of warre, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were always supplied with souldiers brought
from every squadron: all manner of Armes and powder at will. Unto ours there
remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or
weapons; the Mastes all beaten over board, all her tackle cut asunder, her
upper worke altogether rased, and in effect euened she was with the water,
but the very foundation or bottome of a ship, nothing being left over head
either for flight or defence. [Sidenote: The Spanish 53 saile.] Sir Richard
finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make
resistance, having endured in this fifteene hours fight, the assault of
fifteene seuerall Armadas, all by turns aboord him, and by estimation
eight hundred shotte of great Artillerie, besides many assaults and
entries; and that himselfe and the shippe must needs be possessed by the
enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (The Reuenge not
able to moue one way or the other, but as she was moued with the waues and
billow of the sea) commanded the Master gunner, whom hee knew to be a most
resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe; that thereby nothing might
remaine of glory or victory to the Spaniards: seeing in so many hours
fight, and with so great a Nauie they were not able to take her, hauing had
fifteene hours time, aboue ten thousand men, and fiftie and three saile of
men of warre to performe it withall: and perswaded the company, or as many
as hee could induce, to yeelde themselues vnto God, and to the mercie of
none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many
enemies, they should not nowe shorten the honour of their Nation, by
prolonging their owne liues for a fewe hours, or a fewe dayes. The Master
gunner readily condescended and diuers others; but the Captaine and the
Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to haue care of
them: allying that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a
composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being
diuers sufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whose wounds were not
mortal, they might do their Countrie and prince acceptable seruice
hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alledged that the Spaniards should
neuer glory to haue taken one shipp of her Maiestie, seeing they had so
long and so notably defended themselues; they answered, that the shipp had
sixe foote water in holde, three shot vnder water, which were so weakely
stopped, as with the working of the sea, she must needs sinke, and was
besides so crusht and brused, as shee could neuer be remoued out of the
place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken
to any of those reasons: the Master of the Reuenge (while the Captaine
wanne vnto him the greater party) was conuoyd aboord the Generall Don
Alfonso Baçan: Who (finding none ouer hastie to enter the Reuenge againe,
doubting least Sir Richard would haue blowne them vp and himselfe, and
perceiuing by report of the Master of the Reuenge his dangerous
disposition) yeelded that all their liues should be saued, the company sent
for England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransome as their
estate would beare, and in the meane season to be free from Gally or
imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as well, as I haue
said, for feare of further losse and mischiefe to themselues, as also for
the desire he had to recover Sir Richard Greenuil; whom for his notable
valure he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answere was returned, and that safetie of life was promised, the
common sort being now at the ende of their perill, the most drew backe from
Sir Richard and the Master gunner, being no hard matter to disswade men
from death to life. The Master gunner finding himselfe and Sir Richard thus
preuented and mastered by the greater number, would haue slaine himselfe
with a sword, had he not bene by force with-held and locked into his
Cabben. Then the Generall sent many boates aboord the Reuenge, and diuers
of our men fearing Sir Richards disposition, stole away aboord the Generall
and other shippes. Sir Richard thus ouermatched, was sent vnto by Alfonso
Baçan to remoue out of the Reuenge, the shippe being marueilous vnauorie, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that hee might doe with his body what he list, for hee esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the shippe hee swounded, and reuiving againe desired the company to pray for him. The Generall vsed Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing vnattempted that tended to his recouery, highly commending his valour and worthinesse, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being vnlo to them a rare spectacle, and a resolution seldome approoued, to see one shippe turne toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and boording of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repell the assaults and entries of so many souldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish Captaine of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being seuered from the rest in a storme, was by the Lion of London a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.

The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonso Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admiral of the Biscaine squadron, was Britandona. Of the squadron of Siuil, the Marques of Arumburch. The Hulkes and Flybotes were commanded by Luis Coutinho. There were slaine and drowned in this fight, well neere one thousand of the enemies, and two speciall commanders Don Luis de sant Iohn, and Don George de Prunaria de Mallaga, as the Spanish captaine confesseth, besides diuers others of speciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Ascension of Siuil were both sunke by the side of the Reuenge; one other recouered the rode of Saint Michael, and sunke also there; a fourth ranne her self with the shore to saue her men. Sir Richard died as it is sayd, the second or third day aboord the Generall, and was by them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remayneth to his friends is, that hee hath ended his life honourably in respect of the reputation wonne to his nation and countrey, and of the same to his posteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outliued his owne honour.

For the rest of her Maiesties ships that entred not so farre into the fight as the Reuenge, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but sixe in all, whereof two but small ships; the Reuenge ingaged past recouery: The Iland of Flores was on the one side, 53 saile of the Spanish, diuided into squadrons on the other, all as full filled with souldiers as they could containe: Almost the one halfe of our men sicke and not able to serue: the ships growne foule, vnroomaged, and scarcely able to beare any saile for want of ballast, hauing bene sixe moneths at the sea before. If all the rest had entred, all had bene lost: for the very hugenes of the Spanish fleete, if no other violence had beene offered, would haue crusht them betweene them into shiuers. Of which the dishonour and losse to the Queene had bene farre greater then the spoyle or harme that the enemie could any way haue receiued. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would haue entred betweene the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his owne ship offred to leape into the sea, rather then to conduct that her Maiesties ship and the rest to bee a pray to the enemie, where there was no hope nor possiblitie either of defence or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a Generall, to commit himselfe and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope or any likelyhood of preuailing: thereby to diminish the strength of her Maiesties Nauy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemie. The Foresight of the Queenes commaundde by M. Thomas Vauisor performed a very great fight, and stayed two houres as neere the Reuenge as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight, till he
was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, and with great difficultie cleared himselfe. The rest gave diuers voleis of shot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne necessities, to kepe the weather gage of the enemie, vntill they were parted by night. A fewe dayes after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and Indie ships, there arose so great a storme from the West and Northwest; that all the fleete was dispersed, as well the Indian fleete which were then come vnto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arrival, of which 14. saile together with the Reuenge, and in her 200. Spaniards, were cast away vpon the Isle of S. Michael. So it pleased them to honor the buriall of that renowned ship the Reuenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieued in her life time. On the rest of the Ilandes there were cast away in this storme, 15 or 16 more of the ships of warre: and of an hundred and odd saile of the Indie fleete, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempest, and what before in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odd consumed and lost, with those taken by our shippes of London, besides one very rich Indian ship, which set herselfe on fire, beeing boarded by the Pilgrim, and five other taken by master Wats his ships of London, between the Hauana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of Nouember we receiued letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Iland, saued out of the perished ships: and that by the Spaniards owne confession, there are 10000 cast away in this storme, besides those that are perished betweene the Ilandes and the maine. Thus it hath pleased God to fight for vs and to defend the iustice of our cause, against the ambicious and bloody pretenses of the Spaniard, who seeking to deuoure all nations, are themselues deuoured. A manifest testimony how iniust and displeasing, their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witnes by the successe of their affaires, his mislike of their bloody and injurious designes, purposed and practised against all Christian princes, ouer whom they seeke vnlawfull and vngodly rule and Empery.

One day or two before this wracke happened to the Spanish fleete, when as some of our prisoners desired to be set on shore vpon the Ilandes, hoping to be from thence transported into England, which libertie was formerly by the Generall promised: One Morice Fitz Iohn, sonne of olde Iohn of Desmond, a notable traytour, cousin german to the late Earle of Desmond, was sent to the English from shippe to shippe, to perswade them to serue the King of Spaine. The arguments hee vsed to induce them were these. The increase of pay which he promised to be trebled: aduancement to the better sort: and the exercise of the true Catholique Religion, and safetie of their soules to all. For the first, euen the beggerly and vnnaturall behauiour of those English and Irish rebels, that serued the King in that present action, was sufficient to answere that first argument of rich pay. For so poore and beggerly they were, as for want of apparell they stripped their poore Countrie men prisoners out of their ragged garments,orne to nothing by sixe months seruice, and spared not to despoyle them euen of their bloody shirtes, from their wounded bodies, and the very shooes from their feete; A notable testimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages. The second reason was hope of aduancement if they serued well, and would continue faithfull to the King. But what man can be so blockishly ignorant euer to expect place or honour from a forraine King, hauing no other argument or perswasion then his owne disloyaltie; to be vnnatural to his owne Countrey that bred him; to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whose obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by Religion? No, they are onely assured to be employed in all desperate enterprises, to bee helde in scorne and disdaine euer among those whom they serue. And that euer traytour was either trusted or aduanced I could neuer yet reade, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man coulde haue lesse becomm'd the place of an Orator for such a purpose, then this Morice
of Desmond. For the Erle his cosen being one of the greatest subiects in that kingdom of Ireland, hauing almost whole Countreis in his possession; so many goodly Manners, castles, and lordships; the Count Palatine of Kerry, fiue hundred gentlemen of his owne name and family to follow him, besides others (all which he possessed in peace for three or foure hundred yeeres) was in lesse then three yeeres after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holdes, not so many as ten gentlemen of his name left liuing, himselfe taken and beheaded by a souldier of his owne nation, and his land giuen by a Parliament to her Maiestie, and possessed by the English: His other cosen Sir Iohn of Desmond taken by Master John Zouch, and his body hanged ouer the gates of his natiue Citie to be devoured by rauens: the thirde brother Sir Iames hanged, drawne, and quartered in the same place. If hee had withall vaunted of his success of his owne house, no doubt the argument would haue mooued much, and wrought great effect: which because, hee for that present forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalfe. For matter of Religion it would require a particular volume, if I should set downe how irreligiously they couer their greedy and ambicious pretenses, with that veile of pietie. But sure I am, that there is no kingdome or commonwealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then inuade it for religion sake: if it bee, as they terme Catholique, they pretend title; as if the Kings of Castile were the naturall heires of all the world: and so betweene both, no kingdome is vsought. Where they dare not with their owne forces to inuade, they basely entertaine the traitours and vagabonds of all Nations: seeking by those and by their runnagate Iesuits to winne parts, and haue by that meane ruined many Noble houses and others in this lande, and haue extinguished both their liues and families. What good, honour, or fortune euer man yet by them atchieued, is yet vnheard of, or vnwritten. And if our English Papists doe but looke into Portugall, against which they haue no pretense of Religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a praye, and all sorts of people captiued; they shall finde that the obedience euen of the Turke is easie and a libertie, in respect of the slauerie and tyrannie of Spaine. What haue they done in Sicill, in Naples, Millaine, and in the Low countreis; who hath there bene spared for Religion at all: And it commeth to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Antwerpe, whose house being entred by a company of Spanish souldiers, when they first sacked the Citie, hee besought them to spare him and his goods, being a good Catholique, and one of their owne partie and faction. The Spaniards answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for himselfe, but his money, plate, iewels, and goods were all hereticall, and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had bene a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither haue they at any time as they protest inuaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and elsewhere, but onely led thereunto, rather to reduce the people to Christianitie, then for either gold or Emperie. When as in one onely Island called Hispaniola, they haue wasted thirtie hundred thousand of the naturall people, besides many millions else in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmelesse people created of God, and might haue bene wonne to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as euer were perswaded thereunto. The storie whereof is at large written by a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholomew de las Casas, and translated into English and many other languages, intituled The Spanish cruelties. Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of ravenous strangers, and especially in those Spaniards which more greedily thirst after English blood, then after the liues of any other people of Europe, for the many ouerthrows and dishonours they haue receiued at our hands, whose weakness wee haue discouered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, wee haue euen with handfulls of men and shippes, ouerthrown and dishonoured. Let not therefore any English man, of what
religion soeuer, haue other opinion of the Spaniards, but that those whom
hee seeketh to winne of our Nation, he esteemeth base and trayterous,
vnworthy persons, or vnconstant fooles: and that he vseth his pretense of
religion, for no other purpose but to bewitch vs from the obedience of our
naturall Prince, thereby hoping in time to bring vs to slauery and
subiection, and then none shall be vnto them so odious, and disdayned as
the traitours themselues, who haue solde their Countrey to a stranger, and
forsaken their faith and obedience contrarie to nature and religion; and
contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Christians, but
of heathen and irrelegious nations, who haue alwayes sustayned what labour
soeuer, and embraced euon death it selfe, for their countrey, Prince, or
common wealth. To conclude, it hath euuer to this day pleased God to prosper
and defend her Maiestie, to breake the purposes of malicious enemies, of
forsworne traytors, and of iniuist practises and invasions. She hath euuer
beene honoured of the worthiest kings, serued by faithfull subiects, and
shall by the fauour of God, resist, repell, and confound all whatsoever
attempts against her sacred person or kingdome. In the meane time let the
Spaniard and traytour vaunt of their successe, and wee her true and
obedient vassals guided by the shining light of her virtues, shall alwayes
loue her, serue her, and obey her to the end of our liues. [Footnote: The
most complete collection of contemporary documents relating to this
interesting episode, is to be found in "_The Last Fight of the Revenge_ ".
privately printed, Edinburgh, 1886 (GOLDSMID'S BIBLIOTHECA CURIOSA.])

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A particular note of the Indian fleet, expected to haue come into Spaine
this present yeere of 1591. with the number of shippes that are perished
of the same: according to the examination of certaine Spaniards lately
taken and brought into England by the ships of London.

The fleete of Noua Hispania, at their first gathering together and setting
foorth, were two and fiftie sailes. The Admirall was of sixe hundred
tunnes, and the Vice Admirall of the same burthen. Foure or fiue of the
shippes were of nine hundred and 1000 tunnes a piece, some fiue hundred,
and some foure hundred and the least of two hundred tuns. Of this fleet 19
were cast away, and in them 2600 men by estimation, which was done along
the coast of Noua Hispania, so that of the same fleet there came to the
Hauana but 33 sailes.

The fleete of Terra Firma were, at their first departure from Spaine,
fiftie sailes, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did
discharge their lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their healths
sake, vntill the time the treasure was readie they should take in, at the
said Nombre de Dios. But before this fleete departed, some were gone by one
or two at a time, so that onely 23 sayles of this fieete arriued in the
Hauana.

The whole 77 shippes, ioyned and set sailes all together at the Hauana, the
17 of Iuly, according to our account, and kept together vntill they came
into the height of thirtie fiue degrees, which was about the tenth of
August, where they found the winde at Southwest chaunged suddenly to the
North, so that the sea comming out of the Southwest, and the wind very
violent at North, they were put all into great extremity, and then first lost the Generall of their fleete, with 500 men in her; and within three or foure dayes after, an other storme rising, there were fiue or sixe other of the biggest shippes cast away with all their men, together with their Vice-Admirall.

And in the height of 38. degrees, about the end of August, grew another great storme, in which all the fleet sauing 48. sailes were cast away: which 48. sailes kept together, vntill they came in sight of the Ilands of Coruo and Flores, about the fift or sixt of September, at which time a great storme separated them: of which number fiftene or sixteene were after seene by these Spanyards to ride at anchor vnder the Tercera; and twelue or foureteene more to beare with the Island of S. Michael; what became of them after that these Spaniards were taken cannot yet be certified; their opinion as, that very few of thee fleet are escaped, but are either drowned or taken. And it is other waies of late certified, that of this whole fleete that should haue come into Spaine this yeere, being one hundred twentie and three sayle, there are arriued as yet but fiue and twentie. This note was taken out of the examination of certaine Spaniards, that were brought into England by sixe of the ships of London, which tooke seuen of the aboue named Indian Fleete, neere the Islands of the Açores.

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A report of Master Robert Flicke directed to Master Thomas Bromley, Master Richard Staper, and Master Cordall concerning the successe of a part of the London supplies sent to my Lord Thomas Howard to the Isles of the Azores, 1591.

Worshipfull, my heartie commendations vnto you premised: By my last of the twelfth of August from this place I aduertised you particularly of the accidents of our Fleete vntill then. It remayneth now to relate our endeuours in accomplishing the order receiued for the ioyning with my Lorde Thomas Howard, together with the successe wee haue had. Our departure from hence was the seuenteenth of August, the winde not seruing before. The next day following I caused a Flagge of Counsell to be put foorth, whereupon the Captaines and Masters of euery shippe came aboord, and I acquainted them with my Commission, firmed by the Right honourable the Lordes of her Maiesties Counsell, and with all the aduertisements of Sir Edward Denny, of my Lordes determination to remaine threescore leagues to the West of Fayal, spreading North and South betwixt thirtie seuen and a halfe or thirty eight and a halfe degrees. And not finding him in this heighth to repaire to the Isles of Flores and Coruo, where a Pinnesse of purpose should stay our comming vntill the last of August, with intent after that day to repaire to the coast of Spaine, about the heighth of The Rocke, some twentte or thirtie leagues off the shoare. The which being advisedly considered of hauing regard vnto the shortnesse of time, by reason of our long abode in this place, and the vncertainety of the weather to fauour vs, it was generally holden for the best and securest way to meeze with my Lorde, to beare with the heighth of The Rocke, without making any stay vpon the coast, and so directly for the Islands which was accordingly fully agreed and performed. The 28 day wee had sight of the Burlings, and the 29 being thwart of Peniche, the winde seruing vs, without any stay we directed our course West for the Islands. The 30 day we met with Captaine Royden in the Red-Rose, sometime called the Golden Dragon, separated from my Lorde of Cumberland in a storme: who certified vs of 50 sayles of the Spanish kings Armadas to be gone for the Ilands, but could not informe vs any newes of my Lord Thomas Howard, otherwise then vpon presumption to remainder about the Islandes, and so wee continued our course the winde standing with vs.
The 4 of September we recovered Tercera, and ranged along all the Islands, both on the South and North sides the space of foure dayes: during which time it was not our hap to meete with any shipping, whereby either to understand of my Lord, or of the Indian Fleete: hereupon we directed our course to the West from Fayal, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny. The 11 day in the plying to the Westwards we descried a sayle out of our maine toppe, and in the afternoone betweene two and three of the clocke hauing raiyed her hull, the weather became calme, so that the ship could not fetch her. I sent off my Skiffe throughly manned, furnished with shot and swords, The Cherubin, and the Margaret and Iohn doing the like. Vpon this the sayle stood off againe, and the night approaching, our boates lost her and so returned. In this our pursue after the sayle the Centurion being left a sterne, the next morning wee missed her, and spent that day in plying vp and down seeking her. And for as much as euery of the ships had receiued order, that, if by extremity of weather or any other mischance they should be seuered from our Fleete, they should meete and ioyne at Flores, we, according to the instructions of Sir Edward Denny, proceeded to the finding of my Lord Thomas Howard, being in the heigth appointed and not able to holde the same by reason of extreme tempestes which forced vs to the Isles of Flores and Coruo, which we made the 14 day in the morning, and there also ioyned againe with the Centurion, whose company before we had lost: who declared vnto vs that the 12 day, being the same day they lost vs, they met with fiue and forty sailes of the Indian Fleete. The same night, vpon these newes we came to an anker betweene Flores and Coruo, and the morow following at the breake of day, a flagge of Counsell being put out, the Captaines and Masters came abord me: where, for the desire to understand some tidings of my Lord, as also the supplying of our want of water, it was thought good to send our boats furnished on shore, vnder the conduct of Captaine Brothus, and then it was also ordered after our departure thence to range along the Southsides of the Islands to the end we might either understand of my Lord, or else light on the Indian fleete; and in the missing of our purpose to direct our course for Cape Sant Vincente. The boates, according to the foresayd determination, being sent on shoare, it chaunced that the Costely ryding vttmost in the roade, did weigh to bring her selfe more neere among vs for the succour of the boates sent off, and in opening the land discouered two sayles, which we in the roade could not perceiue: whereupon shee gaue vs a warning piece, which caused vs to waue off our boates backe, and before they could recouer our shippes, the discryed ships appeared vnto vs, towards the which we made with all haste, and in a very happie hour, as it pleased God. [Sidenote: A violent storm.] In that wee had not so soone cleared the lande, and spoken with one of them, which was a Barke of Bristoll, who had also sought my Lorde in the heights appointed and could not finde him, but a violent storme arose, in such manner, as if we had remained in the roade, we had beene in daunger of pershing: and the same extremely continued during the space of threecore houres. In which storme I was separated from our Fleete, except the Cherubin and the Costely, which kept company with mee. And so sayling among the Ilands, I viewed the roade of Fayal, and finding no Roaders there, went directly for the Isle Tercera.

The nineteenth day in the morning comming vnto the same with intent to edge into the Road, a tempest arose and scanted the winde, that we could not sease it: from the which being druen we fell among certaine of the Indian Fleete, which the sayde storme dispursed, and put them from the road: whereupon my selfe with the other two ships in companie gaue seuerall chases, and thereby lost the company each of other. [Sidenote: A Portugall Prize taken.] In following our chase aboue noone we made her to strike and yeeld, being a Portugall, laden with hides,
salsa-perilla and Anile. At this very instant we espied another, and taking our Prise with vs followed her, and somewhat before night obtayned her, named the Conception, Francisco Spinola being Captaine, which was laden with hides, Cochonillio, and certaine raw silke. And for that the seas were so growen, as neither with boate nor shippe they were to bee boorded, we kept them till fit opportunitie. [Sidenote: A rich West-Indian Prize taken.] The same night a little before day there happened another into our company, supposing vs by our two prizes to be of their Fleete, which we vntil the morning dissembled.

The 20 day in the morning, the sayle being shot somewhat a head of vs, haung a speciall care for the safe keeping of the two former, we purposed to cause our Prizes to put out more sayle thereby to keep them neere in giuing chase to the other: vnto the which the Master would not hearken nor be perswaded, but that they would follow vs: by the which his wilfulnesse by such time as we had caused the other to yeelde, and sent men aboord, the Conception, Francisco Spinola Captaine being brought a sterne, and haung gotten the winde of vs, stood off with all her sayles bearing, so as we were forced to make a new chase of her: and had not the winde enlarged vpon vs we had lost her. In the pursue before we recouered her and brought our selves againe in company of our other Prizes, the whole day was spent, and by this meanes we lost the oportunitie of that day, the weather fitly seruing to boord the Portugall Prize, which was in great distresse, and made request to take them being ready to sinke, and, as we well perceiued, they ceased not to pumpe day and night: the which ship to all our judgements the same night perished in the sea.

The one and twentie day the Conception, whereof Francisco Spinola was Captaine, being also in a leake, and the same still increasing notwithstanding the continuall pumping, in such sort as not to be kept along above water, I tooke and discharged out of her two and forty chestes of Cochonillio and silkes, and so left her with 11 foote water in holde and her furniture and 4700 hides, vnto the seas.

The other prize which we haue brought into the harbborough is named Nostra Sennora de los remedios, whereof Francisco Aluares is Captaine, laden with 16 chestes of Cochonillio, certaine fardels of raw silke, and about 4000 hides. Vpon the discharge of the goods your worships shall be particularly aduertised thereof.

In the boording of the prizes the disorder of the company was such, as that they letted not presently besides the rifling of the Spaniards to breake open the chests and to purloyne such money as was in them: notwithstanding that it was ordered at convenient leasure to haue gone on boord my selfe, and therein the presence of three or foure witnesses to haue taken a iust account thereof, and the same to haue put in safe keeping, according to the effects of articles receiued in this behalfe.

And whereas there were also certaine summes of money taken from the company which they had thus purloyned and embeseled, and the same with some other parcels brought aboord my ship, amounting vnto 2129 pezoes and a halfe, the company as pillage due vnto them demanded to haue the same shared, which I refused, and openly at the maine maste read the articles firmed by my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Admirall, whereby we ought to be directed, and that it was not in mee any way to dispose thereof, vntill the same were finally determined at home. Hereupon they mutinied and at last grew into such furie, as that they would haue it or els breake downe the cabbine, which they were also readie to put into practise, whereby I was forced to yeeld, least the Spaniards which we had abord being many perceiuing the same, might haue had fit opportunitie to rise against vs, which, after their
brawles were appeased, they sought to haue put into execution.

By the last aduise from Castile the Generall of the kings Armada which is lately come to sea hath receiued commaundement to ioyne his Fleete with those of the Indies, and for to stay altogether at Tercera vntill the 15 of October: for that 6 pataches with 7 or 8 millions of the kings treasure will come by that time, or els they stay their comming from Hauana vntill January next, or the kings further pleasure therein to be known. These pataches are saide to be of 300 tuns the piece, and to cary 30 pieces of brasse, and also of saile reported to haue the aduantage of any shipping.

There perished of the Indies Fleete sunke in the sea before there comming to Flores 11 sailes, whereof the General was one, and not one man saued. And it is by the Spaniards themselves presupposed that the stormes which we had at Flores and at Tercera haue deuoured many more of them, whereof in part we were eye witnesses. And so what by the seas and our men of warre I presume that of 75 sailes that came from Hauana, halfe of them will neuer arriue in Spaine.

The 11 day of October at night we came to anker in the sound of Plimouth, and the next morning with our Prize came into Cattewater: for which God be thanked: for that a vehement storme arose, and with such fury increased, as that the Prize was forced to cut ouer her maine maste: otherwise with the violence of the storme, her ground tackle being bad, she had driuen on shore: which was the most cause that moued me to put in here; intending now here to discharge the goods without further adventure, and haue certified thus much vnto my Lord Admirall, and therewith also desired to vnderstande the direction of the Lords of the Counsell together with yours, insomuch as my Lord Thomas Howard is not returned. How the rest of our consorts which were seperated from vs by weather haue sped, or what Prizes they haue taken, whereof there is much hope by reason of the scattering of the West Indian Fleete, as yet we are able to say nothing. And thus expecting your answere, and for all other matters referring me vnto the bearer Captaine Furtho, I end. Plymouth the 24 of October 1591.

Your worshipes louing friend

Robert Flicke.

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A large testimony of Iohn Huighen van Linschoten Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, By Sir Martine Froebisher, Sir Richard Greenuile, and diuers other English Captaines, about the Isles of the Açores, and vpon the coastes of Spaine and Portugall, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent discourse of voiages to the East and West Indies, cap. 96, 97. and 99.

The 22 of Iuly 1589 about Euening, being by the Ilands of Flores and Coruo, we perceiued 3 ships that made towards vs, which came from vnder the land, which put vs in great feare: for they came close by our Admirall, and shot diuers times at him, and at another ship of our companie, whereby we perceiued them to be Englishmen, for they bare an English flagge vpon their maine tops, but none of them shewed to be aboue 60 tunnes in greatnes. About Euening they followed after vs, and all night bore lanternes with candles burning in them at their sternes, although the Moone shined. The same night passing hard by the Island of Fayal, the next day being betweene the Island of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the small Island called Graciasa on our left hand, we espied the 3 English ships still
following vs that tooke counsell together, whereof one sailed backwards, thinking that some other ship had come after vs without company, and for a time was out of sight, but it was not long before it came again to the other two, therewith they tooke counsel and came all, 3 together against our ship, because we lay in the lee of all our ships, and had the Island of S. George on the one side in stead of a sconce, thinking to deale so with vs, that in the end we should be constrained to run upon the shore, whereof we wanted not much, and in that manner with their flagges openly displayed, came lustily towards vs, sounding their Trumpets, and sayled at the least three times about vs, beating vs with Musket and Caliuer, and some great pieces, and did vs no hurt in the body of our shippe, but spoyled all our sayles and ropes, and to conclude, wee were so plagued by them, that no man durst put forth his head, and when wee shot off a peece, wee had at the least an houres worke to lade it againe, whereby we had so great a noise and crie in the shippe, as if we had all bene cast away, whereat the English men themselues beganne to mocke vs, and with a thousand iesting words called vnto vs. In the meane time the other shippes hoised all their sayles, and did the best they could to saile to the Island of Tercera, not looking once behinde them to helpe vs, doubting they should come too late thither, not caring for vs, but thinking themselues to haue done sufficiently so they saued their owne stakes, whereby it may easily be seen what company they keepe one with the other, and what order is among them. In the ende the English men perceiving small aduantage against vs, (little knowing in what case and feare we were, as also because wee were not farre from Tercera) left vs, which made vs not a little to reioyce, as thinking our selues to bee risen from death to life, although wee were not well assured, neyther yet voyde of feare till we lay in the road before Tercera, and vnder the safetie of the Portingales fort, and that we might get thither in good time wee made all the sailes we could: on the other side we were in great doubt, because we knew not what they did in the Island, nor whether they were our friends or enemies, and we doubted so much the more, because we found no men of warre nor any Caruels of aduise from Portingal, as wee made our accounts to doe, that might conuoy vs from thence, or giue vs aduise, as in that country ordinaril they vse to do: and because the English men had bene so victorious in those parts, it made vs suspect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Island of Tercera were in no lesse fear then we, for seeing our fleete, they thought vs to bee Englishmen, and that we came to ouerrun the Island, because the 3. Englishmen had bound vp their flags, and came in company with vs: for the which cause the Iland sent out two Caruels that lay there with aduise from the king, for the Indians ships that should come thither. Those Caruels came to view vs, and perceiving what we were, made after vs, whereupon the English ships left vs, and made towards them, because the Caruels thought them to be friends, and shunned them not, as supposing them to bee of our company, but we shot foure or fiue times and made signes vnto them that they should make towards the Island, which they presently did. The Englishmen perceiving that, did put forwards into the sea, and so the Caruels borded vs telling vs that the men of the Island were all in armes, as hauing receiued aduise from Portugall, that Sir Frances Drake was in readiness, and would come vnto those Islands. They likewise brought vs newes of the ouerthrow of the Spanish fleet before England, and that the English men had bene before the gates of Lisbon; wereupon the king gaue vs commandement that we should put into the Island of Tercera, and there lie vnder the safetie of the Castle vntill we receiued further aduise what we should do, or whether we should saile: for that they thought it too dangerous for vs to go to Lisbon. Those newes put our fleet in great feare, and made vs looke vpon eche other not knowing what to say, as being dangerous for them to put into the road, because it lieth open to the sea: so that the Indian ships, although they had expresse commandement from the king, yet they durst not anker there, but onely vsed to come thither, and
to lie to and fro, sending their boates on land to fetch such necessaries as they wanted, without ankering: but being by necessitie compelled thereunto, as also by the kings commandement, and for that we understood the Erle of Cumberland not to bee farre from those Islands with certaine ships of warre, we made necessitie a vertue, and entring the road, ankered close vnder the Castle, staying for aduise and order from the king, to performe our voyage, it being then the 24. of July, and S. Iames day.

The day before the Erle of Cumberland with 6. or 7. ships of war, sailed by the Island of Tercera, and to their great good fortune passed out of sight, so that they dispatched themselues in all haste, and for the more securitie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards of those that lay in Garrison in the Island, and with them they sayled towards Lisbon, hauing a good wind: so that within 11 daies after they arrived in the riuer of Lisbon with great gladnes and triumph: for if they had stayed but one day longer before they had estred the riuer, they had all beene taken by Captaine Drake, who with 40 ships came before Cascais at the same time that the Indian ships cast anker in the riuer of Lisbon, being garded thither by diuers Gallies.

While I remained in Tercera, the Erle of Cumberland came to S. Marie, to take in fresh water, and some other victuals: but the inhabitants would not suffer him to haue it, but wounded both himselfe and diuers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without hauing any thing there.

The Erle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came vnto the Isle of Graciosa, where himselfe in person, with seuen or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine beasts, hens, and other victuals, with wine and fresh water, which they willingly gaue him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his courtesie, and keeping of his promise.

The same time that the Erle of Cumberland was in the Island of Graciosa, he came likewise to Fayall, where at the first time that he came, they beganne to resist him, but by reason of some controviersie among them, they let him land, where he razed the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordinance in the sea, taking with him certaine Carauels and ships that lay in the road, with prouision of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to sea. Whereupon the king caused the principall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of souldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the fortresse vp againe, the better to defend the Island, trusting no more in the Portugales.

The 99 Chapter.

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saued the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie-worth of the goods, and yet in the shipp there was at the least to the value of two hundred thousand Duckats in Golde, Siluer and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned which might be about fiftie persons, among which were some Fryers and women, which the Englishmen would not saue. Those that they had saued they set on land: and then they sayled away. The seuen and twentieth of the same moneth, the sayd foureteene ships hauing refreshed themselues in the Island departed from Tercera toward Siuill, and comming upon the coast of Spaine they were taken by the English ships that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, and the rest were wholly caried into England.

About the same time the Erle of Cumberland with one of the Queenes ships, and fiue or sixe more, kept about those Islands and came offtentimes so close vnder the Island, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboard, and knewe such as walked on the Hatches: they of the Island not once shooting at them, although they might easily have done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the town and fort. In these places he continued for the space of two moneths, and sayled round about the Islands, and landed in Graciaosa and Fayal, as in the description of those Islands I haue alreadie declared. Here he tooke divers ships and Carauels, which he sent into England: so that those of the Island durst not once put foorth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Erle of Cumberland had beene in the Island of Fayal, and was departed from thence, there arrived in the said Island of Fayal sixe Indian shippes, whose General was one Iuan Doriues: and there they discharged in the Island 4 millions of golde and siluer. And hauing with all speede refreshed their ships, fearing the comming of the Englishmen they set sayle, and arriued safely in S. Lucar, not meeting with the enemie, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Englishmen: for that within lesse then two dayes after the golde and siluer was laden againe into the Spanish ships, the Erle of Cumberland sayled againe by that Island: so that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the Spaniards themselues confessed.

In the moneth of Nouember there arrived in Tercera two great shippes, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleete laden with siluer, who with stormie weather were separated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and distresse, and readie to sinke: for they were forced to vse all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to haue met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly haue given their siluer and all that euer they brought with them onely to saue their liues. And although the Erle of Cumberland lay still about those Islands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speede they vnladen and discharged aboue fiue millions of siluer, all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great: so that the whole Kay lay couered with plates and chests of siluer, full of Ryales of eight, most wonderfull to behold, (each million being ten hundred thousand duckats,) besides pearles, gold and other stones, which were not registred. The Admirall and chiefe commander of those ships and Fleete called Aluaro Flores de Quiniones was sicke of the Neapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he died in Siuillia. He brought with him the Kings broad seale and full authoritie to be Generall and chiefe commander vpon the Seas, and of all Fleetes or ships, and of all places and Islands, or lands wheresoeuer he came: wherevpon the Gouvernor of Tercera did him great honour, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiuing the weaknesse of their ships, and the danger of the Englishmen, that they would send the shippes, emptie with soouldiers to conuey them, either to Siuill or Lisbon, where they could first arriue, with aduise vnto his Maiestie of all that
had passed, and that he would give order to fetch the silver with good and safe convey. Wherevpon the said Aluero Flores stayed there, vnder colour of keeping the silver, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were affraide of the Englishmen. This Aluaro Flores had alone for his owne part aboue 50000 Duckats in pearles which he shewed vnto vs, and sought to sell them or barter them with vs for spices or bils of exchange. The said two ships set saile with 3 or 4 hundred men, as well soldiers as others that came with them out of India, and being at sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sunke in the sea, and not one man saued. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her mast, and ranne the ship on ground hard by Setuuel, where it burst in pieces, some of the men sauing them selues by swimming, that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

In the same moneth there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within halfe a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English ship, which, after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About 7 or 8 moneths before, there had beene an English shippe in Tercera, that vnder the name of a Frenchman came to traffike in the Island, there to lade wood, and being discouered was both ship and goods confiscated to the kings vse, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they vp and downe the streeties to get their liuings, by labouring like slaues, being in deede as safe in that Island, as if they had bee in prison. But in the ende vpon a Sunday, all the Saylers went downe behinde the hils called Bresil: where they found a Fisher-boat, whereinto they got and rowed into the sea to the Erle of Cumberlands shippes, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Island, and ankered with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Islands, which lie about a bases shot from the Island and are full of Goats, Deere and Sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Island of Tercera. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their boates, and lying at anker that day, they fetched as many Goates and sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the towne and of the Island well saw and beheld, yet durst not once goe foorth: so there remained no more on land but the Master and the Marchant of the said English ship. This Master had a brother in lawe dwelling in England, who hauing newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England to set forth a ship, therewith to see if he could recover his losses of the Spaniards by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother that lay prisoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spanish ships before the Towne, the Master of the ship aforesaid standing on the shore by me, and looking vpon them, for he was my great acquaintance. The ships being taken that were worth 300 thousand duckats, he sent al the men on land sauing onely two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord thereby to ransome his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a letter to the Gouernor of Tercera; wherein he wrote that he should deliuer him his brother, and he would send the 2 Gentlemen on land: if not, he would sale with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Gouernour would not doe it, saying that the Gentlemen might make that suite to the king of Spaine himselfe. This Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with vs, and the Englishmen likewise, where he shewed vs all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and maner of the Englishmens fighting, as also their courteous usinge of him: but in the end the English Pilot likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any ransome as yet.

In the moneth of Ianuarie 1590 there arriued one ship alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, and brought newes that there was a Fleete of a hundred shippes which put out from the Firme land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were driuen vpon the coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, she hauing onely escaped, wherein there were great riches, and many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they
made their account, that of 220 ships that for certaine were knowen to haue put out of Nova Spagna, S. Domingo, Hauana, Capo verde, Brasilia, Guinea, &c. in the yeere 1589. to saile for Spaine and Portugall, there were not aboue 14 or 15 of them arriued there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same moneth of Ianuarie there arriued in Tercera 15 or 16 ships that came from Siuil, which were most Flieboats of the Low countries, and some Britons that were arrested in Spaine: these came full of soldiers, and well appointed with munition, to lade the siluer that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Aluares de Flores by the kings commandement into Spaine. And because that time of the yeere there are alwayes stormes about those Ilands, therefore they durst not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme that some of their ships that had ankred were forced to cut downe their masties, and were in danger to be lost: and among the rest a ship of Bisciae ran against the land and was striken in pieces, but all the men saued themselves. The other ships were forced to keepe the sea and separate themselues one from the other, where wind and weather would drue them vntill the 15 of March for that in all that time they could not haue one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they endured much miserie, cursing both the siluer and the Iland. This storme being past, they chanced to meet with a small English ship of about 40 tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailes: so they set vpon her and tooke her, and with the English flag in their Admirals sterne, they came as proudly into the hauen as if they had conquered all the realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the English flag vpon her sterne was entring into the road, there came by chance two English ships by the Iland that paiied her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had bene but a mile further in sea: but because she got vnder the Fortresse, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leaue her, and to put further into the sea, hauing slaine fiue or sixe of the Spaniards. The Englishmen that were taken in the small shippe were put vnder hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had bene prisoners 3 or 4 dayes, there was a Spanish Ensigne bearer in the ship that had a brother slaine in the Fleet that came for England, who as then minding to reuenge his death, and withall to shew his manhood on the English captiues that were in the English ship, which they had taken, as is aforesayd, tooke a poiniard in his hand and went downe vnder the hatches, where finding the poore Englishmen sitting in boltes, with the same poiniard he stabbed sixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiuing, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not be murthered by him, and threw themselues into the sea and there were drowned. This acte was of all the Spaniards much disliked and very ill taken, so that they caried the Spaniard prisoner vnto Lisbon, where being arriued, the king of Spaine willed he should be sent into England, that the Queene of England might vse him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to be reuersed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all fauour be beheaded: but vpon a good Friday the Cardinall going to masse, all the captaines and Commanders made so great intreaty for him, that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might understand the bloody and dishonest minds of the Spaniards when they haue men vnder their subiection.

The same two English ships which folowed the Spanish Admirall till he had got the Fort of Tercera, as I sayd before, put into the sea, where they met with another Spanish ship being of the same Fleet, that had likewise bene scattred by the storme and was onely missing, for the rest lay in the road. This small ship the Englishmen tooke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowen what had bene done vnto the
foresayd English captiues I believe they would soone haue reuenged themselues, as afterward many an innocent soule paied for it. This ship thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was taken and confiscated in the Iland of Tercera by the Englishmen that got out of the Iland in a fisher boat (as I said before) and was sold vnto the Spaniards that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they sayled to S. Lucar, where it was also arrested by the duke, and appointed to go in company to fetch the siluer in Tercera, because it was a ship that sailed well, but among the Spaniards Fleet it was the meanest of the company. By this means it was taken from the Spaniards and carried into England, and the owners had it againe when they least thought of it.

The 19 of March the aforesayd ships being 19 in number, set saile, hauing laden the kings siluer, and receiued in Aluaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company and good prouision of necessaries, munition and souldiers that were fully resolved (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for S. Lucar, the wind draue them vnto Lisbon, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie, although Aluaro de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce haue sailed to Saint Lucar, but being constrained by the wind and importunitie of the sailers that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was content to saile to Lisbon: from whence the siluer was by land caried vnto Siuil. At Cape S. Vincent there lay a Fleet of 20 English ships to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into S. Lucar, they had fallen right into their hands, which if the wind had serued they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind hath lent them a happy voiage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely bene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because fortune of rather God was wholy against them: which is a sufficient cause to make the Spaniards out of heart, and to the contrary to giue the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprises do take so good effect, that thereby they are become lords and masters of the sea, and need care for no man, as it wel appeareth by this briefe discourse.

The 7 of August 1590. a nauie of English ships was seene before Tercera, being 20 in number, and 5 of them the Queenes ships: their Generall was one Martin Frobisher, as we after had intelligence. They came purposely to watch for the Fleet of the Spanish Indies, and for the Indian ships, and the ships of the countrieys in the West: which put the flanders in great feare, specially those of Fayal, for that the Englishmen sent a trumpet to the Gouvernour to aske certaine wine, flesh, and other victuals for their money and good friendship. They of Fayal did not onely refuse to giue eare vnto them, but with a shot killed their messenger or trumpeter: which the Englishmen tooke in euil part, sending them word that they were best to looke to themselves and stand vpon their guard, for they ment to come and visite them whether they would or no. The Gouvernour made them answere that he was there in the behalfe of his maiestie of Spaine, and that he would doe his best to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, although they of Fayal were in no little feare, sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine barkes with ponder and munition for warre, with some bisket and other necessary prouision.

The 30 of August we receiued very certaine newes out of Portugal, that there were 80 ships put out of the Groine laden with victuals, munition, money and souldiers, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholiques and Leaguers of France against the king of Nauarre. At the same time two Netherland hulkes comming out of Portugall to Tercera being halfe the Seas
ouer, met with 4 of the Queenes ships, their Generall being sir John Hawkins, that staied them, but let them go againe without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ships had 80 pieces of Ordinance, and that captaine Drake lay with 40 ships in the English chanell watching for the armie of the Groine: and likewise that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent ten other English ships, that if any ships escaped from the Ilands, they might take them. These tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, least if they failed of the Spanish fleete and got nothing by them, that then they would fall vpon the Ilands, because they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held streit watch, sending advise vnto the king what newes they heard.

The first of September there came to the Iland of S. Michael a Portugall ship out of the hauen of Phernambuck in Brasile, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall Fleet that came from India, hauing missed the Iland of S. Helena, was of necessitie constrained to put into Phernambuck, although the king had expressly vnder a great penaltie forbidden him so to doe, because of the wormes that there doe spoile the ships. The same shipphe wherein Bernardin Ribero was Admirall the yeere before 1589. sailed out of Lisbon into the Indies, with 5 ships in her company, whereof but 4 got into India, the 5 was neuer heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away: the other foure returned safe againe into Portugall, though the Admiral was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships that fought long with him, and slew many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The 5 of the same moneth there arriued in Tercera a carauel of the Iland of Coruo, and brought with her 50 men that had bin spoiled by the Englishmen who had set them on shore in the Iland of Coruo, being taken out of a ship that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tidings that the Englishmen had taken 4 more of the Indian ships, and a carauel with the king of Spanies letters of advise for the ships comming out of the Portugal Indies, and that with those which they had taken, they were at the least 40 English ships together, so that not one bark escaped them, but fel into their hands, and that therefore the Portugall ships comming out of India durst not put into the Ilands, but tooke their course vnder 40 and 42 degrees, and from thence sailed to Lisbon, shunning likewise the cape S. Vincent, otherwise they could not haue had a prosperous iourney of it, for that as then the sea was ful of English ships. [Sidenote: Great hauock of Spaniards.] Whereupon the king aduised the fleete lying in Hauana in the Spanish Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they should stay there all that yeere till the next yeere, because of the great danger they might fal into by the Englishmen, which was no smal charge, and hinderance to the fleet, for that the ships that lie there do consume themselues, and in a manner eat vp one another, by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarcitie of al things, so that many ships chose rather one by one to aduenture themselues alone to get home, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmen hands, whereof diuers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see nothing els, but spoiled men set on shore, some out of one ship, some out of another, that pitie it was to see all of them cursing the Englishmen and their owne fortunes, with those that had bene the causes to prouoke the Englishmen to fight, and complaining of the small remedie and order taken therein by the king of Spaines officers.

The 19 of the same moneth there came to Tercera a Carauel of Lisbon, with one of the kings officers, to cause the goods that were saued out of the ship which came from Malacca (for the which we staid there) to be laden and sent to Lisbon. And at the same time there put out of the Groine one Don Alonso de Baçan, with 40 great ships of warre to come vnto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spanish and Portugall Indies, and the
goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to convoy them all together into the river of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at sea, alwaies hauing a contrary wind, they could not get vnto the Ilands, onely two of them that were scattred from the fleet, arriued at Tercera, and not finding the fleet, they presently returned to seeke them: in the meane time the king changed his mind, and caused the fleet to stay in India, as I said before: and therefore hee sent worde vnto Don Alonso de Bassan, that hee should returne againe to the Groine, which he presently did (without doing any thing, nor once approching neer the Ilands, sauing onely the two foresayd ships, for he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the Island of Coruo, but he would not visit them): and so he returned to the hauen the Groine, whereby our goods that came from Malacca were yet to ship, and trussed vp againe, and forced to stay a more fortunate time with patience perforce.

The 23 of October there arriued in Tercera a Carauel with aduise out of Portugall, that of 5 ships which in the yere 1590 were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, 4 of them were turned againe to Portin. After they had bene 4 moneths abroad, and that the Admirall, wherein the Viceroy called Mathias d'Albukerk sailed, had onely gotten to India, as afterward newes thereof was brought ouer-land, hauing bin at the least 11 moneths at sea and neuer saw land, and came in great misery to Malacca. In this ship there died by the way 280 men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinal at Lisbon, with the names and surnames of euery man, together with a description of his voyage, and the misery they had endured, which was onely done, because he would not lose the government of India: and for that cause he had sworn either to lose his life, or to arrive in India, as in, deed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their liues, and onely for want of provision, as it may well be thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portugal as the other ships did, he should have bin cassiered from his Indian regiment, because the people began already to murmur at him for his proud and lofty mind. And among other things that shewed his pride the more, behind above the gallery of his ship he caused Fortune to be painted, and his own picture with a staffe standing by her, as it were threatening Fortune, with this posie, Quero que vencas, that is, I wil haue thee to overcome: which being read by the Cardinal and other gentlemen (that to honor him brought him aboord his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no strange matter among the Portugals: for they abowe all others must of force let the foole peep out of their sleeues, specially when they are in authority, for that I knew the said Mathias d'Albukerk in India, being a soldiuer and a captain, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, and much honoured, and beloued of all men, as behauing himselfe curteously to euery man, whereby they all desired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had receiued his patent with full power and authority from the king to be Viceroy, he changed so much from his former behauior, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before hee departed out of Lisbon, as it is often seen in many men that are advanced vnto state and dignitie.

The 20 of Ianuarie 1591. there was newes brought out of Portugall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had taken a ship that the king had sent into the Portugall Indies, with aduise to the Viceroy for the returning againe of the 4 ships that should have gone to India, and because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might be, hauing likewise in ready money 500 thousand duckets in roials of 8, besides other wares. It departed from Lisbon in the month of November 1590. and met with the Englishmen, with whom for a time it fought, but in the end it was taken and carried into England with men and
all, yet when they came there, the men were set at libertie, and returned into Lisbon, where the captaine was committed prisoner; but he excused himselfe and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, and he made this report vnto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Mine laden with gold, and 2 ships laden with pepper and spices that were to saile into Italy, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170 thousand duckets: all these ships were caried into England, and made good prise.

In the moneth of Iuly 1591. there hapned an earthquake in the Iland of S. Michael, which continued from the 26 of Iuly, to the 12 of August, in which time no man durst stay within his house but fled into the fields, fasting and praying with great sorow, for that many of their houses fel down, and a towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to the ground, all the cloisters and houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The land in some places rose vp, and the cliffs remooued from one place to another, and some hils were defaced and made euen with the ground. The earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the road and on the sea, shaked as if the world would haue turned round: there sprang also a fountaine out of the earth, for whence for the space of 4 daies, there flowed a most cleare water, and after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder and noise vnder the earth, as if all the deuils in hell had bin assembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of Tercera shooke 4 times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there hapned no misfortune vnto it. Earthquakes are common in those Ilands, for about 20 yeres past there hapned another earthquake, wherein a high hill that lieth by the same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, and couered all the towne with earth, and killed many men. The 25 of August the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arriued in Tercera being in all 30 ships, Biskaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 Dutch flieboats that were arrested in Lisbon to serue the king, besides other small ships and pataxos, that came to serue as messengers from place to place, and to discouer the seas. This nauie came to stay for, and conuoy the ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the flieboats were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were saued in the lost ship that came from Malacca, and to conuoy them to Lisbon.

The 13 of September the said Armada arriued at the Iland of Coruo, where the Englishmen with about 16 ships as then lay, staying for the Spanish fleet, whereof some or the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to haue taken them. But when they perceiued the kings army to be strong, the Admiral being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleet not to fal vpon them, nor any of them once to separate their ships from him, vnlesse he gaue commission so to do: notwithstanding the viceadmirall sir Richard Greenuil being in the ship called the Reuenge, went into the Spanish fleet, and shot among them doing them great hurt, and thinking the rest of the company would haue followed, which they did not, but left him there, and sailed away: the cause why could not be knowen. Which the Spaniards perceiuing, with 7 or 8 ships they boorded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least 12 houres together and sunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admiral of the Flieboats, the other a Biscain; but in the end by reason of the number that came vpon her, she was taken, but to their great losse: for they had lost in fighting and by drowning aboue 400 men, and of the English were slaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenuil himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was caried into the ship called S. Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonso de Baçan: there his wounds were drest by the Spanish surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him nor speake with him: all the rest of the Captaines and gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune wondering at his
courage and stout heart, for that he shewed not any signe of faintnes nor changing of colour; but feeling the hour of death to approach, he spake these words in Spanish, and said: Here die I Richard Greenuil with a joyfull and quiet mind, for that I haue ended my life as a true soouldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honor, whereby my soule most joyfull departeth out of this body, and shal alwayes leaue behind it an euerlasting fame of a valiant and true soouldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like words, he gau vp the Ghost, with great and stout courage, and no man could perceiue any true signe of heauines in him.

This sir Rich. Greenuil was a great and a rich gentleman in England, and had great yeerely reuenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very vnquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; insomuch as of his owne priuate motion he offred his seruice to the Queene: he had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these Ilands, and known of euery man, but of nature very seuerse, so that his owne people hated him for his fierenesse, and spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the fleet or Armada, they had their great saile in a readinesse, and might possibly enough haue sailed away, for it was one of the best ships for saile in England, and the master perceiving that the other ships had left them, and folowed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut that they might make away: but sir Rich. Greenuil threatened both him and al the rest that were in the ship, that if any man laid hand vpon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight and in the end were taken. He was of so hard a complexion, that as he continued among the Spanish captains while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse 3 or 4 glasses of wine, and in a brauerie take the glasses betweene his teeth and crash them in pieces and swalow them downe, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all vnto him: and this was told me by diuers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him. The Englishmen that were left in the ship, as the capitaine of the soouldiers, the master and others were dispersed into diuers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen between the Biscains and the Portugals: while each of them would haue the honour to haue first boorded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarel among them, one taking the chiefe ensigne, and the other the flag, and the capitaine and euery one held his owne. The ships that had boorded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Tercera, there to repaque themselues: where being arriued, I and my chamberfelow, to heare some newes, went aboord one of the ships being a great Biscain, and one of the 12 Apostles, whose capitaine was called Bartandono, that had bin General of the Biscains in the fleet that went for England. He seeing vs called vs up into the gallery, where with great curtesie he receiued vs, being as then set at dinner with the English capitaine that sate by him, and had on a sute of blacke veluet, but he could not tell vs any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Bartandano also could a little speake. The English capitaine got licence of the gouernour that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Iland, being of that ship whereof the sailors got away, as I said before. The gouernour of Tercera bade him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The master likewise with licence of Bartandono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the least 10 or 12 wounds, as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at sea betweene Lisbon and the Ilands he died. The capitaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the maner of the fight, and left it with the English marchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the lord Admiral of England. This English capitaine comming vnto Lisbon, was there wel receiued and not any hurt done vnto him, but with
good conuoy sent vnto Setuuel, and from thence sailed into England with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners.

The Spanish armie staied at the Iland of Coruo til the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 sailes of ships partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether readie to saile to Tercera in good company, there suddenly rose so hard and cruell a storneme, that those of the Ilands did affirme, that in mans memorie there was neuer any such seen or heard off before: for it seemed the sea would haue swalowed vp the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are so high that it amaseth a man to behold them: but the sea reached aboue them, and liuing fishes were thrown vpon the land. This storneme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but 7 or 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in al places of the compass, at the lest twise or thrise during that time, and all alie, with a continuall storneme and tempest most terrible to behold, euen to vs that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea: so that onely on the coasts and cliffs of the Iland of Tercera, there were aboue 12 ships cast away, and not onely vpon the one side, but round about it in euyer corner, whereby nothing els was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting and telling, here is a ship broken in pieces against the cliffs, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of 20 dayes after the storneme, they did nothing els but fish for dead men that continually came driuing on the shore. [Sidenote: The wracke of the Reuenge.] Among the rest was the English ship called the Reuenge, that was cast away vpon a cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces and sunke to the ground, hauing in her 70 men Galegos, Biscains, and others, with some of the captiue Englishmen, whereof but one was saued that got vp vpon the cliffses alie, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought vs the newes desiring to be shriuen, and thereupon presently died. The Reuenge had in her diuers faire brasse pieces that were all sunke in the sea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to waigh vp againe the next Sommer after. Among these ships that were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a Flie-boat, one of those that had bin arrested in Portugall to serue the king, called the white Doue, the master of her was one Cornelius Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her 100 souldiers, as in euery one of the rest there were. He being ouer-ruled by the capitaine that he could not be master of his owne, sayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the storneme droue him, in the end came within the sight of the Iland of Tercera, which the Spaniards perceiuing thought all their safety onely to consist in putting into the road, compelling the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away and utterly spoyle: but the capitaine called him drunkard and Heretique, and striking him with a staffe, commaunded him to doe as he would haue him. The Master, seeing this and being compelled to doe it, sayd: well then my Masters, seeing that it is the desire of you all to bee cast away, I can but lose one life, and therewith desperately he sayled towards the shore, and was on that side of the Iland, where there was nothing els but hard stones and rocks, as high as mountaines, most terrible to beholde, where some of the inhabitants stood with long ropes and corke bound at the ende thereof, to throw them downe, vnto the men, that they might lay holde vpon them and saue their liues: but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in pieces before they could get to the wall. The ship sailing in this maner (as I sayd before) towards the Iland, and approching to the shore, the master being an olde man, and full of yeeres, called his sonne that was in the ship with him, and hauing imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good olde father willed his sonne not to take care for him, but seeke to saue himselfe; for (sayd he) sonne thou art yong, and mayest haue some hope
to save thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am old) what
become of me, and therewith each of these shedding many tears, as every
loving father and kind child may well consider, the ship fell upon the
cliffs, and brake in pieces, the father on the one side, the son on the
other side falling into the sea, each laying holde upon that which came next
to hand, but to no purpose; for the sea was so high and furious, that they
were all drowned, and only fourteen or fifteen saved themselves by
swimming, with their legs and arms half broken and out of joint, among
which was the Master's son, and four other Dutch boys: the rest of the
Spaniards and Sailers, with the Captain and Master, were drowned. Whose
heart would not melt with tears to behold so grievous a sight, specially
considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the
beastliness and insolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may
well be seen? Whereby may be considered how the other ships sped, as we
ourselves did in part beholdie, and by the men that were saved did hear
more at large, as also some others of our countrymen that as then were in
the like danger can well witnesse.

On the other Islands the loss was no lesse then in Tercera: for on the
Island of Saint George there were two ships cast away: on the Island of Pico
two ships: on the Island of Gratiosa three ships: and besides those there
came every where round about divers pieces of broken ships, and other
things fleeting towards the Islands, wherewith the sea was all couered most
pitifull to beholdie. On the Island of S. Michael there were foure ships cast
away, and betweene Tercera and S. Michael three more were sunke, which were
seen and heard to cry out, whereof not one man was saved. [Sidenote: About
100 Spanish and Portugall ships drowned.] The rest put into the sea without
masts, all torn and rent: so that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140
ships in all, there were but 32 or 33 arrived in Spain and Portugal, yea,
and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them
arrived there together, but this day one, and tomorrow another, next day
the third, and so one after the other to the number aforesaid. All the rest
were cast away upon the Islands, and overwhelmed in the Sea, whereby may be
considered what great losse and hindrance they receiued at that time: for
by many mens judgments it was esteemed to be much more then was lost by
their army that came for England: and it may well be thought, and presumed,
that it was no other but a just plague purposely sent by God vpon the
Spaniards, and that it might truely be sayd, the taking of the Reuenge was
justly reuenged vpon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the
power of God, as some of them openly sayd in the Isle of Tercera, that they
belieued verily God would consume them, and that he tooke part with the
Lutherans and heretiks: saying further that so soone as they had thrown
the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield ouerboord, they
verily thought that he had a diuellish faith and religion, and therefore
the diuels loued him, so he presently sunke into the bottome of the sea,
and downe into hell, where he raised vp all the diuels to the reuenge of
his death: and that they brought so great stormes and torments vpon the
Spaniards, because they onely maintained the Catholike and Romish religion.
Such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to utter,
without being reprooued of any man therein, nor for their false opinions:
but the most part of them rather sayd and affirmed, that of trueth it must
needs be so.

As one of those Indian fleets put out of Nova Spagna, there were 35 of them
by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all; so
that but 15 escaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were
14 cast away, comming out of the chanell of Hauana, whereof the Admirall
and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came
two ships laden with golde and siluer, that were taken by the Englishmen:
and before the Spanish army came to Coruo, the Englishmen at times had
taken at the least 20 ships, that came from S. Domingo, India, Brasilia, &c. and were all sent into England.

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The miraculous victory achieved by the English Fleete, under the discreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the L. Charles Howard, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Upon the Spanish huge Armada sent in the yeere 1588. for the invasion of England, together with the wofull and miserable success of the said Armada afterward, upon the Coasts of Norway, of the Scottish Western Isles, of Ireland, Spain, France, and of England, &c. Recorded in Latine by Emanuel van Meteran, in the 15. Booke of his history of the Low Countreys.

Hauing in part declared the strange and wonderfull euents of the yeere eighty eight, which hath bene so long time foretold by ancient prophesies; we will now make relation of the most notable and great enterprise of all others which were in the foresaid yeere aitchieued, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and destruction. And it was the expedition which the Spanish king, hauing a long time determined the same in his minde, and hauing consulted thereabout with the Pope, set forth and vndertooke against England and the low Countreys. To the end that he might subdue the Realme of England, and reduce it vnto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be sufficiently revenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which hee (hauing 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the English nation, and for diuers other injuries which had taken deepe impression in his thoughts. And also for that hee deemed this to bee the most readie and direct course, whereby hee might recouer his heredetarie possession of the lowe Countreys, hauing restrained the inhabitants from sayling vpon the coast of England. Which verily, vpon most weighty arguments and euident reasons, was thought would undoubtedly haue come to passe, considering the great aboundance and store of all things necessary wherewith those men were furnished, which had the managing of that action committed vnto them. But now let vs describe the matter more particularly.

[Sidenote: The preparation of the Spanish King to subdue England and the lowe Countreys.] The Spanish King hauing with small fruite and commoditie, for aboue twenty yeeres together, waged warre against the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counsellers thereabout, thought it most conuenient to assault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Vnto the which expedition it stoode him nowe in hand to ioyne great puissance, as hauing the English people his professed enemies; whose Island is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause hee thought good first of all to inuade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escouedo, and by diuers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitiues, that the conquest of that Island was lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland. Moreover the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behouefull for their King to conquer England and the lowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Nauie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the king Catholique had giuen commandement long before in Italie and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of shippes; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as namely in
founding of brasen Ordinance, in storing vp of corne and victuals, in
trayning of men to vse warlike weapons, in leauying and mustering of
souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had
finished such a mightie Nauie, and brought it into Lisbon hauen, as neuer
the like had before that time sailed vpon the Ocean sea.

A very large and particular description of this Nauie was put in print and
published by the Spaniards: wherein were set downe the number, names, and
burthens of the shippes, the number of Mariners and souldiers throughout
the whole Fletee; likewise the quantitie of their Ordinance, of their
armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-poulder, of victuals, and of all their
Naull furniture was in the saide description particularized. Vnto all
these were added the names of the Gouernours, Captaines, Noblemen and
gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce
was there any family of accompt, or any one principall man throughout all
Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinsman in that Fletee: who all
of them were in good hope to purchase vnto themselues in that Nauie (as
they termed it) invincible endlesse glory and renowne, and to possesse
themselues of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the lowe
Countreys. But because the said description was translated and published
out of Spanish into diuers other languages, we will here onely make an
abridgment or briefe rehearsall thereof.

[Sidenote: The number and qualitie of the ships in the Spanish Fletee, with
the souldiers, Mariners, and pieces of Ordinance.] Portugal furnished and
set foorth vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the
Fletee, ten Galeons, two Zabraes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. souldiers, 300.
great pieces, with all requisite furniture.

Biscay, vnder the conduct of Iohn Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole
souldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipusco, vnder the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4
Pataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Leuant Islands, vnder Martine de Vertendona, 10. Galeons,
800. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Castile, vnder Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Pataches, 1700.
mariners, 2400. souldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, vnder the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Patache,
800. mariners, 2400. souldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder the conduct of Iohn Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemish hulkes,
with 700. mariners, 3200. souldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, vnder Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliasses containing 1200.
gally-slaues, 460. mariners, 870. souldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888.
gally-slaues, 360. mariners, 20 great pieces, and other requisite
furniture.

Item, vnder Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Pataches and Zabraes, with 574.
mariners, 488. souldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Besides, the ships aforementioned there were 20 carauels rowed with oares,
being appointed to performe necessary seruices vnto the greater ships:
insomuch that all the ships appertayning to this Nauie amounted vnto the summe of 150. eche one being sufficiently prouided of furniture and victuals,

The number of mariners in the saide Fleete were aboue 8000. of slaues 2088. of souldiers 20000. (besides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great cast pieces 2650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole Fleete was large ynoough to containe the burthen of 60 thousand tunnes.

[Sidenote: A description of the Galeons.] The Galeons were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of marueilous force also, and so high that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselues and to withstand any assault, but in giuing any other ships the encounter farre inferiour vnto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexteritie wield and turn themselues at all assayes. The vpperworke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and strength sufficient to beare off musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of planke and ribs foure or fiue foote in thicknesse, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward proued true, for a great number of bullets were founde to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicke planke. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their shippes, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

[Sidenote: A description of the Galliasses.] The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. slaues for the same purpose, and were able to do great seruice with the force of their Ordinance. All these together with the residue aforenamed were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

[Sidenote: The great Ordinance, bullets, gunpoulnder, and other furniture.] Their pieces of brased ordinance were 1600. and of yron a 1000. The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand.


Of muskets and kaleiuers 7000. Of haleberts and partisans 10000. Moreouer they had great store of canons, double-canons, culuerings and field-pieces for land seruices.

[Sidenote: Their prouision of victuals and other things necessary.] Likewise they were prouided of all instruments necessary on land to conveigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &C. Also they had spades, mattocks and baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of mules and horses, and whatsoeuer else was requisite for a land-armie. They were so well stored of biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche person in the whole Fleete half a qu Coll a euery moneth; whereof the whole summe amounteth vnto an hundred thousand quintals.

Likewise of wine they had 147. thousand pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheese three thousand quintals. Besides fish, rise, beanes, pease, oile, vineger, &c.
Moreover they had 12000 pipes of fresh water, and all other necessary provisions, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, sailes, hempe, ox-hides and lead to stop holes that should be made with the battery of gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by sea, or for an armie by land.

This Nauie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000 persons, and to cost him every day 30 thousand ducates.

[Sidenote: A Spanish terza consisteth of 3200 souldiers.] There were in the said Nauie fiue terzaes of Spaniards, (which terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) vnder the commaund of fiue gournours termed by the Spaniards, Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many olde and expert souldiers chosen out of the garisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonço de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia; who had eche of them 32. companies vnder their conduct. Besides the which companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, euer one of which had their peculiar gournours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

It was not lawfull for any man, vnder grieuous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the Nauie: some of the which being driuen by tempest arriued vpon the coast of France.

The generall of this mightie Nauie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marques of santa Cruz appointed for the same dignitie, deceased before the time.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bouadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Jesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoever else perteined vnto the hospitall.

Ouer and besides the forenamed gournours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine vnto glory. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiuia, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yeluas, and diuers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordoua, of Guzman, of Manricques, and a great number of others.

[Sidenote: The preparation of the Duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.] While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Nauuie, the Duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to giue ayd and assistance vnto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and shipwrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanelles to be made, and among the rest the channell of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that seruice: to the end that by the said chanel he might
transport ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges, where hee had assembled aboue a hundreth small ships called hoyes being well stored with victuals, which hoyes hee was determined to have brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to have conueyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoever.

In the riuer of Waten he caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, every one of which should serue to cary 30. horses, hauing eche of them bridges likewise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe foorth on land. Of the same fashion he had prouided 200. other vessels at Nieuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerke hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be leuied at Hamburgh, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great store of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beset with yron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of claspes and hookes, to ioyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greueling prouided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be compact and ioyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoever things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping vp of hauens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreouer not farre from Nieuport hauen, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing vp of a mount. The most part of his ships conteined two ouens a piece to bake bread in, with a great number of sadles, bridles, and such other like apparel for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serue to conuey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike prouisions.

Neere vnto Nieuport he had assembled an armie, ouer the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount vnto 56. bands, euer band containing a hundreth persons. Neare vnto Dixinmund there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seuen bands of English fugitiues, vnder the conduct of sir William Stanley an English knight.

In the suburbes of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques Del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Vnto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable personages hied themselues: out of Spaine the prince of Melito called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silua, but in very deed accompted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgraue, one of the sonnes of Archiduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chiualry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item Iohn Medices base sonne vnto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Sauoy, the duke of Sauoy his base sonne, with many others of inferior degrees.

[Sidenote: The Popes furtherance to the conquest of England, and of the low countries.] Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they vse to do against Turkes and infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These vaine buls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the deuill at all passages lay in ambush like a thiefe, no whit
regarding such letters of safe conduct. Some there be which affirm that
the Pope had bestowed the realm of England with the title of Defensor
fidei, upon the king of Spain, giving him charge to invade it upon this
condition, that he should enjoy the conquered realm, as a vassal and
tributary, in that regard, unto the sea of Rome. To this purpose the said
Pope proffered a million of gold, the one half thereof to be paid in
readie money, and the other half when the realm of England or any famous
port thereof were subdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole
businesse, he dispatched one D. Allen an English man (whom he had made
Cardinal for the same ende and purpose) into the Low countries, unto whom
he committed the administration of all matters ecclesiastical throughout
England. This Allen being enraged against his own native country, caused
the Popes bull to be translated into English, meaning upon the arrival of
the Spanish fleet to have it so published in England. By which Bull the
excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queens
most sacred Majesty was by them most unjustly deprived of all princely
titles and dignities, her subjects being enjoyned to perform obedience
unto the duke of Parma, and unto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecy, and that the
whole expedition might seeme rather to be intended against the Low
countries, than against England, and that the English people might be
perswaded that all was but bare words and threatnings, and that nought
would come to effect, there was a solemn meeting appointed at Borborch in
Flanders for a treaty of peace between her Majestie and the Spanish king.

[Sidenote: A treaty of peace, to the end that England and the united
provinces might be secure of invasion.] Against which treaty the united
provinces making open protestation, used all means possible to hinder it,
alleging that it was more requisite to consult how the enemy now pressing
upon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit some there
were in England that greatly urged and prosecuted this league, saying, that
it would be very commodious unto the state of the realm, as well in regard
of traffique and navigation, as for the avoiding of great expenses to
maintain the warres, affirming also, that at the same time peace might
easily and upon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others
thought by this means to divert some other way, or to keepe backe the naui
now comming vpon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest.
Howsoever it was, the duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazeled
the eyes of many English and Dutch men that were desirous of peace:
whereupon it came to passe, that England and the united provinces prepared
in deed some defence to withstand that dreadfull expedition and huge
Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be
feared, albeit the constant report of the whole expedition had continued
rife among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gave eare vnto the
relation of certaine that sayd, that this nauie was provided to conduct and
waft over the Indian Fleets: which seemed the more probable because the
Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretion as to adventure
those huge and monstrous ships vpon the shallow and dangerous chanel of
England.

[Sidenote: Her Majesties warlike preparation by sea.] At length when as the
French king about the end of May signified vnto her Majesty in plaine
terms that she should stand vpon her guard, because he was now most
certainly informed, that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent vpon
her reaume, that he feared much least all her land and sea-forces would be
sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queens Majesty more
carefully to gather her forces together, and to furnish her own ships of
warre, and the principall ships of her subjects with soldiers, weapons,
and other necessary prouision. The greatest and strongest ships of the
whole nauy she sent vnto Plimmouth vnder the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Vnder whom the renoumed Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admiral. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and vnder the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Douer and Caleis.

[Sidenote: Her Maiesties land-forces.] On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed vnto the most resolute and faithfull captains. And whereas it was commonly giuen out that the Spaniard hauing once vnited himselfe vnto the duke of Parma, meant to inuade by the rier of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex ouer-against Grauesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the rier fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli, an Italian enginer. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Vnto the sayd army came in proper person the Queens most roiall Maiestie, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike princesse, or rather diuine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies leuied in England.

The principall catholique Recussants (least they should stirre vp any tumult in the time of the Spanish inuasion) were sent to remaine at certaine conuenient places, as namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent vnto other places, to wit, vnto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Maiestie, who of her most gracious clemencie gaue expresse commandement that they should be intreated with all humanity and friendship.

[Sidenote: The preparation of the united prouinces.] The Prouinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giuing credite vnto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselues: but because the Spanish ships were described vnto them to be so huge, they relied partly vpon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their costs. Wherfore they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of 90. and aboue, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile vpon their riuers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the hauens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greueling and almost vnto Caleis, and fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arriual, they had provided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the governement of them vnto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to ioine himselfe vnto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Douer and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships (whereof the greater part besieged the hauen of Dunkerke) were driuen by tempest into Zeland, Iustin, of Nassau the Admiral of Zeland supplied that squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. braue Musquetiers, hauing bene accustomed vnto seafights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose: and so the said Iustin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue forth with his nauy into the sea but of any part of Flanders.

[Sidenote: The Spanish fleete set saile vpon the 19. of May.] In the meaane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the hauen of Lisbon vpon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588 vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, alias the Groine in
Gallicia, where they took in soldiers and warlike provision, this port being in Spain the nearest unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mighty tempest, that the whole Fleete was dispersed, so that when the duke was returned unto his company, he could not espy above 80 ships in all, whereunto the residue by little and little joined themselves, except eight which had their masts blown overboard. One of the four galleys of Portugal escaped very hardly, retiring herself, into the haven. The other three were upon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin an English captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the other, with the slaughter of their governors and soldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others: and so these slaves arriving in France with the three galleys, set themselves at liberty.

[Sidenote: They set sail from the Groine upon the 11. of July. The Spaniards come within kenning of England. Captain Fleming.] The navy having refreshed themselves at the Groine, and receiving daily commandment from the king to hasten their journey, hoisted up sails the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course, till the 19. of the same month, they came then unto the mouth of the narrow seas or English channel. From whence (striking their sails in the mean season) they dispatched certain of their small ships unto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was espyed by an English pinasse, captain whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had been advertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which having ranged along the coast of Spain, were lately returned home into Plymouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresaid tempest, were of opinion that the navy being of late dispersed and tossed up and down the main Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voyage.

Moreover, the L. Charles Howard L. high admiral of England had received letters from the court, signifying unto him that her Maiestie was advertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come forth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that upon her Maiesties commandement he must send back four of her tallest and strongest ships unto Chatham.

[Sidenote: The L. Admirals short warning upon the 19. of July.] The lord high Admiral of England being thus upon the sudden, namely upon the 19. of July about four of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinasse of captain Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approach, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and soldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesaid) to come on board, and that with great trouble and difficulty, insomuch that the lord Admiral himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came forth of the haven. [Sidenote: The 20. of July.] The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleete espyed by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed by Plymouth: in which regard (according to the judgement of many skilful navigators) they greatly overshot themselves, whereas it had bene more commodious for them to have staid themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet vnprouded, greatly relied vpon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish navy. Moreover, this was the most convenient port of all others, where they might with greater securitie have bene advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred vp some mutiny, so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more easily have conveyed his ships.
But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counsell, and were expressly commanded to unite themselves unto the soldiers and ships of the said duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easy and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismayed thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his owne Province and Porte for the defence thereof, and transporting the armie of the duke under the protection of their huge navy, they might invade England.

It is reported that the chief commanders in the navy, and those which were more skilfull in navigation, to wit, John Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and divers others found fault that they were bound unto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concur and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunity of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebb, wherein they might sail from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkness and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoals were to be considered: all which especially depended upon the convenience of the winds, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enjoined by their commission to ancre neere unto, or about Caleis, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warlike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his soldiers upon the Downes.

The Spanish captives reported that they were determined first to have entered the river of Thames, and thereupon to have passed with small ships up to London, supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing City being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the wars, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to finde many rebels against her Maiestie and popish catholiques, or some favourers of the Scottish queen (which was not long before mostjustly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often advertising the duke of Parma of their approach, the 20. of July they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

[Sidenote: The 21. of July.] The day following which was the 21. of July, the English ships approched within musquet shot of the Spanish: at what time the lorde Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordinance upon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimbleness of the English ships in discharging upon the enemy on all sides, gathered themselves close into the forme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes, lest they should outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was faine to come vp rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principal Gallion of Stiull (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silua, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another shippe, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleet, neither would the sayde Fleet stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behind. The lord Admiraill of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, and thought she had bene voyd of Mariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many shippes as he could, passed by it, that he might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his lanterne that night) was guing
of chase vnto fiue great Hulkes which had separated themselues from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lanterne in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceiued it, he cleanly conueyed himselfe out of that great danger.

[Sidenote: The 22. of July.] The day folowing, which was the two and twentye of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his shippe, whereunto hee sent foorth his pinasse, and being aduertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with him, he sent him word that he should yeeld himselfe. Valdez for his honors sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded vnto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at laisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himselfe, he should find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolued to die in fight, he should prooue Drake to be no dastard.

[Sidenote: Don Pedro de Valdez with his ship and company taken.] Vpon which answere Valdez and his company vnderstanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being moued with the renoume and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselues, and found him very fauvourable vnto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining vnto him, came on boord sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his ship were caried vnto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere and an halfe for their ransome.

Valdez comming vnto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested vnto him, that he and they had resolued to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to bee most favourable vnto his vanquished foe: insomuch that he sayd it was to bee doubted whether his enemies had more cause to admire and loue him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploites, or to dread him for his singular felicitie and wisedom, which euer attended vpon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained vnto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gaue him very honourable entertainement, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbin.

Here Valdez began to recounted vnto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were separated by tempest from them, and also how they were determined first to haue put into Plimmouth hauen, not expecting to bee repelled thence by the English ships which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselues that by means of their huge Fleete, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marueled much how the English men in their small ships durst approch within musket shot of the Spaniards mightie wooden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spanish Fleete, and being descended of one and the same familie with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574 besieged Leiden in Holland, were sent captiues into England. There were in the sayd ship 55. thousand duckates in ready money of the Spanish kings gold, which the soldiers merily shared among themselues.

[Sidenote: A great Biscaine ship taken by the English.] The same day was set on fire one of their greatest shippes, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the shipp of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of gunnpowder and other
warrelike prouision. The ypper part onely of this shippe was burnt, and an
the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire.
And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a
number of miserable burnt and skorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to
the great admiration of all men) remained whole and vnconsumed.

In the meane season the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the
Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the
morning hee was almost left alone in the enimies Fleete, and it was foure
of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could
ouertake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada gouernour of the four Galliasses, made
humble sute vnto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter
the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit
vtto him, because hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commission and
charge.

[Sidenote: The 23. of Iuly.] Vpon Tuesday which was the three and twentie
of Iuly, the nauie being come ouer against Portland, the wind began to
turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale
to inuade the English. But the Englishmen hauing lesser and nimbler Ships,
recouered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the
Spaniards seemed to bee more incensed to fight then before. But when the
English Fleet had continually and without intermission from morning to
night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small:
the Spaniardes vniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close
together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet
to inuade others, but onely to defend themselues and to make hast vnto the
place prescribed vnto them, which was neere vnto Dunkerk, that they might
ioine forces with the Duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded
secretly with his small shippes vnder the shadow and protection of the
great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole
expedition.

This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord
Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enimies Fleete, and
seeing one of his Captaines afarre off, hee spake vnto him in these wordes:
Oh George what doest thou? Wilt thou nowe frustrate my hope and opinion
conceiued of thee? Wilt thou forsake me nowe? With which wordes hee being
enflamed, approched foorthwith, encountered the enemie, and did the part of
a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene
conuersant in many Sea-fights.

[Sidenote: A great Venetian ship and other small ships taken by the
English.] In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with
other small ships surprised and taken by the English.

The English nauie in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Hauens
of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came
flocking thither as vnto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to
be attained, and faithfull servuice to bee performed vnto their prince and
country.

In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely,
the Erles of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many
Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir
Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palauacini, Sir Henry
Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Master Ambrose Willoughbie,
Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master
Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, Master William Haruie, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English shippes amounted vnto an hundreth: which when they were come before Douer, were increased to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Queehes greater shippes, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniardes mindes concerning the power of the English Fleet: the mariners and souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelue thousand.

[Sidenote: The 24 of Iuly.] The foure and twentie of Iuly when as the sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English shippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vauntage of the sayd English shippes, which notwithstanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut assunder the Cables and Cordage of the Galliasses, with many other such Stratagemes. They were nowe constrained to send their men on land for a newe supplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great skarcitie, by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleete should be diuided into foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed vnto the lord Admirall: the second to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing obserued very diligent and good order, sayling three and foure, and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and folowing close vp one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

[Sidenote: The 25. of Iuly.] The fiue and twenty of Iuly when the Spaniariedes were come ouer-gainst the Isle of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Ionas vnder the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel sonne in lawe vnto the lord Admirall: the Beare vnder the lord Sheffield nephew vnto the lord Admirall: the Victorie vnder Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester vnder the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thunduring of shot, encountered the Spanish Admirall being in the very midst of all his Fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceiued, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came foorth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordinance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

At length the Spaniardes hoised vp their sayles, and againe gathered themselues vp close into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaued himselfe, and that hee had wisely and in good time giuen ouer the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage.

[Sidenote: The 26. of Iuly.] For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twentie of Iuly, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, M. John Hawkins and others.

The same day the lord Admirall receiued intelligence from Newhauen in France, by certaine of his Pinasses, that all things were quiet in France,
and that there was no preparation of sending aide vnto the Spaniards, which
was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers: but
there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered
England.

[Sidenote: The 27. of Iuly. The Spaniards ancre before Caleis.] The seven
and twentie of Iuly, the Spaniards about the sunne-setting were come
ouer-against Douer, and rode at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending
to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to ioyne with the Duke of Parma
his, forces, without which they were able to doe little or nothing.

Likewise the English Fleete following vp hard vpon them, ancred just by
them within culuering-shot. And here the lord Henry Seymer vnited himselfe
vnto the lord Admiral with his fleete of 30. ships which road before the
mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish nauie therefore lay at ancre, the Duke of Medina sent
certaine messengers vnto the duke of Parma, with whom vpon that occasion
many Noblemen and Gentleman went to refresh themselues on land: and amongst
the rest the prince of Ascoli, being accounted the kings base sonne, and a
very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on shore,
who was by so much the more fortunate, in that hee had not opportunitie to
returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that
in returning home it was cast away vpon the Irish coast, with all the
persons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being aduertised of the Spanish Fleetes arriual vpon the
coast of England, made all the haste he could to bee present himselfe in
this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading
himselfe that nowe by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned
king of England, and for that cause hee had resigned the government of the
Lowe countries vnto Count Mansfeld the elder. [Sidenote: The 28. of Iuly.]
And having made his vowes vnto S. Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to
visite for his blind deuotions sake) he returned toward Bruges the 28. of
Iuly.

[Sidenote: The 29. of Iuly.] The next day trauelling to Dunkerk hee heard
the thundering Ordinance of either Fleet: and the same euening being come
to Dixmud, hee was giuen to vnderstand the hard successe of the Spanish
Fleete.

[Sidenote: The 30. of Iuly.] Vpon Tuesday which was the thirtieth of Iuly,
about high noone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish Fleete was
now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come
foorth to assist the sayd Spanish Fleete for feare of fiue and thirtie
warrelike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde
vnder the conduct of the Admirall Iustin of Nassau.

The foresayd fiue and thirtie shippes were furnished with most cunning
mariners and olde expert souldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred
Musketiers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garisons, and whom
they knew to haue bene heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This nauie was giuen especially in charge not to suffer any shippe to come
out of the Hauen, not to permit any Zabraes, Pataches, or other small
vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the
Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared
by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his
forces being as yet vnreadie, were not come on boord his shippes, onely the
English Fugitiues being seuen hundred in number vnder the conduct of Sir
William Stanley, came in fit time to have benembarked, because they hoped
to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves
willing and loath to depart, because they saw but a few mariners, who
were by constraint drawn into this expedition, and also because they had
very bare provision of bread, drinke, and other necessary victuals.

Moreover, the shippes of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their
sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences into them: for
fear of which shippes the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew
themselves both day and night, lest that the duke of Parma his soldiery
should compel them, by maine force to goe on board, and to breake through
the Hollanders Fleet, which all of them judged to be impossible by reason
of the straitness of the Hauen.

[Sidenote: The Spaniards vain opinion concerning their own fleet.] But it
seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a vain and
presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low
countreys would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerke Nauie have
betaken themselves to flight, yielding them sea room, and endeavoring only
to defend themselves, their haunens, and sea coasts from invasion. Wherefore
their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and
flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were under the shadow and wings of the
Spanish fleet, convey over all his troupes, armour, and warlike provision,
and with their forces so united, should invade England; or while the
English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon
any part of the coast, which he thought to be most convenient. Which
invasion (as the captives afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought
first to have attempted by the river of Thames; upon the bankes whereof
hauling at his first arrival landed twenty or thirty thousand of his
principal soldiers, he supposed that he might easily have wonne the
City of London; both because his small ships should have followed and
assisted his land-forces, and also for that the City itself was but
meagrely fortified and easy to overcome, by reason of the Citizens
delicacy and discontinuance from the warres, who with continual and
constant labour might be vanquished, if they yielded not at the first
assault. They were in good hope also to have mette with some rebels against
her Majestie, and such as were discontented with the present state, as
Papists and others. Likewise they looked for ayde from the fauours of the
Scottish Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they
thought would have stirred vp seditions and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end
they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done
according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their
affairs, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed upon the
second of August being Friday, with one power and consent to have put their
intended businesse in practise; the L. Admiral of England being admonished
by her Majesties letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either
to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them
the encounter: [Sidenote: The 28 of July.] and for that cause (according to
her Majesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woorest and
basest ships which came next to hand, and disburthening them of all things
which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch,
brimstone, and with other combustible and fiery matter; and charging all
their ordinance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships
upon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight,
with the winde and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had
proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire,
were, directly carried upon the King of Spaines Nauie: which fire in the
death of the night put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horror (for
they feared lest they were like unto those terrible ships, which Frederick Ienebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with gun-powder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built vpon the river of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fastened, and hoising vp their sailes, they betooke themselues very confusedly vnto the maine sea.

[Sidenote: The galliasse of Hugo de Moncado cast vpone the showlds before Caleis.] In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the four galliasses falling owle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine showld vpon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediately assaulted by divers English pinasses, hoyes, and drumblers.

[Sidenote: M. Amias Preston valiantly boordeth the galliasse.] And as they lay battering of her with their ordinance, and durst not boord her, the L. Admirall sent thither his long boat with an hundreth choise souldiers vnder the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Vpon whose approch their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliasse: against whom the gourner thereof and Captaine of all the four galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himselfe, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe stakre dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping owr-boord into the sea, to save themselues by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador general) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of their fleet into Spaine.

This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaues to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there were found amongst divers other commodities 50000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure. At length when the slaues were released out of the fetters, the English men would haue set the sayd ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the gourner of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Hauen, would not permit them to do, but draue them from thence with his great ordination.

[Sidenote: The great fight before Greueling the 29 of Iuly.] Vpon the 29 of Iuly in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, hauing arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greueling, most brauely and furiously encountered by the English; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who suffered themselves to be deprjued of the commodity of the place in Calais rode, and of the advantage of the winde neere vnto Dunkerker, rather then they would change their array or separate their forces now conioyned and vnited together, standing onely vpon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there 22 or 23 among them all which matched 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conueniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes vsing their prerogatitue of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they listed, came often times very neere vpon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pikes length asunder: and so continually giuing them one broad side after another, they discharged all
their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kind of conflict, until such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great advantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bigness of their ships, and also for that they were so nearely coniyned, and kept in so good array, that they could by no means be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquited themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerke, and by that means to have hindered them from joining with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to haue druen them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage having many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of ordinance against the English; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse: for they lost not any one shippe or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the English men all that time wherein the Spanish Nauie sayld upon their seas, are not found to haue wanted aboue one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes shipp was pierced with shot aboue forty times, and his very cabben was twice shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from vnder him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner vpon a time, the bullet of a demi-culuering brake thorow the middest of their cabbin, touched their feet, and stroke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English shippes, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote vnto her Maiestie that in all humane reason, and according to the judgement of all men (every circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approch within sight of the Spanish Fleet: insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory vnto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

[Sidenote: Three Spanish shippes suncke in the fight.] The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them suncke right downe: and among the rest a certaine great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished euen in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the governours of the same shippe slew one another vpon the occasion following: one of them which would yeeld the shipp was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in revenge of his death slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship suncke.

[Sidenote: Two galeons taken and caried into Zealand.] The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seuen or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so torne with shotte that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother vnto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell ouer two and thirty bands: besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shotte, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committing themselves to their skiffe, arriued at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Vlishingers.
In the other galleon, called the S. Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-master and colonell of 32 bands, being brother unto the marques of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of bullets which had battered her, there were scarce 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her upper worke was of force sufficient to bear off a musket shot: this shipp was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greueling; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe vnto the gouernour thereof, that he might save himselfe and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, vpon a hault courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next vnto himselfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reason of the great abundance of waier which entered his ship on all sides; for the avoiding wherof, and to save his ship from sincking, he caused 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken and separated from his admirall, he endeauored what he could to attaine vnto the coast of Flanders: where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their station assigned them vpon the same coast, he was admonished to yeeld himselfe vnto them. Which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worse case then before, and 40 of his souldiers were slaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himselfe vnto Peter Banderduess and other captaines, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were vnladen, suncke right downe.

For the memory of this exploit, the fbresayd captaine Banderduess caused the banner of one of these shippes to be set vp in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very rooffe, it reached downe to the ground.

[Sidenote: A small shipp cast away about Blankenberg.] About the same time another small shipp being by necessity dtiuen vpon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away vpon the sands, the people therein being saued. Thus almighty God would haue the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had bee to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, prouidence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The 29. of Iuly the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together vnder their fighting sailes, with a Southwest winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships still following the chase. [Sidenote: The dishonourable flight of the Spanish nauy; and the prudent aduice of the L. Admirall.] Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flie. For which cause the L. Admirall of England dispatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his squadron of small ships vnto the coast of Flanders where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet vntil the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But vpon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to
flight, and leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, 
(whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save 
themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and 
crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northern seas) the 
English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57 
degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the 
Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and 
especially powder and shot, returned back for England; leaving behind 
them certaine pinasses only, which they enjoyned to follow the Spaniards 
aloofe, and to observe their course. [Sidenote: The English returne home 
from the pursue of the Spaniards the 4 of August.] And so it came to passe 
that the fourth of August with great danger and industry, the English 
arriued at Harwich: for they had bene tossed vp and downe with a mighty 
tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely 
did great hurt vnto the Spanish fleet, being (as I sayd before) so maimed 
and battered. The English now going on shore, prouided themselues 
forthwith of victuals, gunnepowder, and other things expedient, that they 
might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleet, if it 
chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainly informed 
of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leaue them vnto those 
boisterous and uncouth Northren seas, and not there to hunt after them. 

[Sidenote: The Spaniards consult to saile round about Scotland and Ireland, 
and so to returne home.] The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or 
fiue thousand of their people and hauing diuers maimed and sicke persons, 
and likewise hauing lost 10 or 12 of their principall ships, they consulted 
among themselues, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the 
hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, that 
they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other 
naval furniture, and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance 
(who verily hoping and undoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish 
Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding 
abundance of ankers to be made, and other necessary furniture for a Nauy to 
be prouided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should 
serve them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to 
returne for Spaine.

For they well understood, that commandement was giuen thorowout all 
Scotland, that they should not haue any succour or assistance there. 
Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, hauing 
taken certaine Scottish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on board 
their ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also 
least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and 
mules ouerboord: and so touching no where vpon the coast of Scotland, but 
being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcades and Faar-Isles, they 
proceeded farre North, euyn vnto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from 
any land at the least 40. leagues. Heere the Duke of Medina generall of the 
Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he 
himselfe with twenty or fiue and twenty of his ships which were best 
proudied of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course ower 
the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about 
forty in number, and committed vnto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the 
coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped 
there to get fresh water, and to refresh themseuves on land. [Sidenote: The 
shippe-wracke of the Spaniardes vpon the Irish coast.] But after they were 
driuen with many contrary windes, at length, vpon the second of September, 
they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest vpon diuers parts of 
Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe 
of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses: and two great 
ships of Venice also, namely, la Raita and Belahzara, with other 36 or 38
ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the channell of England, whereof some were taken by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel upon the coast of France.

Moreouer, there arrriued at Neuhausen, in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. [Sidenote: Of 134 ships of the Spanish fleet, there returned home but 53.]

Two ships also, were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the sayd great ship were saued: insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great: namely of the foure galliasses but one, and but one of the foure ballies. Of the 91 great galleons and hulls there were missing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabraes 17 were missing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasses, ballies, galeons, and other vessels, both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English chanell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the hauen; and such like mishaps did many others vndergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconueniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arriuall. The Duke of Medina immediatly vpon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his priuate house, and forbidden to repaire vnto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason vnto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowne deceased soone after their returne; as namely Iohn Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning before their arriuall; and among the rest Thomas Perenot of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and sonne vnto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Vpon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother vnto the Marques de Tamnares, and kinseman vnto the earle of Beneuentum and Calua, and Colonell ouer 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we sayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captiue, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silua, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise vpon the Scottish Westerne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre vpon the maine land, there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of which were saued divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred soldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought vnto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scottish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there stayed for a time vntill the Councels pleasure was knowen; who in regard of their manifolde miseries, though they were enemies, wincked at their passage.
Vpon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and
diuers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought
prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Colonell of two and thirty
bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso,
and two others of the family of Cordoua, who were committed vnto the
custodie of Sir Horatio Palauicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of
Monsieur de Noüe (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained
prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be ransomed for them by way of
exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all
Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a
kineman.

[Sidenote: New coines stamped for the memory of the Spaniards ouerthrow.]  
For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine
of Siluer and brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the
armes of Zeland, with this inscription: GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the
other side, the pictures of certeine great ships, with these words: THE
SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: IT CAME, WENT, AND
WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was
vanquished this yere; for which, glory be giuen to God onely.

Likewise they coined another kinde of money; vpon the one side whereof was
represented a ship fleeing and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men
making prayers and giuing thanks vnto God vpon their knees; with this
sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memory
of the same matter, they haue stamped in Holland diuers such like coines,
according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

[Sidenote: The people of England and of the vnited prouinces, pray, fast,
and giue thanks vnto God.] While this wootherfull and puissant Nauie was
sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainely see and
heare that which before they would not be perswaded of; all people
thorowout England prostrated themselues with humble prayers and
supplications vnto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had
greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had
threatened most grievous torments) enioyed to their people continuall
fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury
now imminent vpon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer
was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and
that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with
affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne dayes of supplication were
observed thorowout the vnited Prouinces.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by
the commandement of her Maiestie, and in the vnited Prouinces, by the
direction of the States, a solemne festiuall day publikely appointed,
wherein all persons were enioyned to resort vnto the Church, and there to
render thanks and praises vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to
exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solemnity was obserued vpon the
29 of Nouember; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giuing
of thanks.

Likewise, the Queenes Maiestie herselфе, imitating the ancient Romans, rode
into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subjects glorious
deliuerance. For being attended vpon very solemnely by all the principall
estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her sayd City of
London in a triumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace
vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and
colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displayed. And all the Citizens of
London in their Liueries stood on either side the street, by their seuerall
Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Maiestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gaue thanks vnto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places inuincible) such as sayled not vpon the Ocean see many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authors thereof. In regard of which her Maiesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verses were penned to the honour of her Maistey by learned men, whereof some which came to our hands we will here annexe.

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AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIAE REGINAM.

THEODOR. BEZA.

Strauerat innumeris Hispanus nauibus æquor,  
Regnis iuncturus sceptra Britanna suis.  
Tanti huius, rogitas, que motus causa? superbos  
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Avaritia.  
Quam bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus?  
Et tumidos tumidæ vos superasti aqve  
Quam bene totius raptores orbis auaros,  
Haueit inexhausti iusta vorago maris!  
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,  
Regina, ô mundi totius vna, decus,  
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,  
Prodiga sic opibus perge iuuare pios,  
Vt te Angli longum, longum Anglis ipsa fruaris,  
Quam dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

The Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,  
And bend her ships against the English shore,  
With so great rage as nothing could appease,  
And with such strength as neuer seene before:  
And all to ioyne the kingdome of that land  
Vnto the kingdomes that he had in hand.

Now if you aske what set this king on fire,  
To practise warre when he of peace did treat,  
It was his Pride, and neuer quencht desire,  
To spoile that Islands wealth, by peace made great:  
His Pride which farre aboue the heauens did swell  
And his desire as vnsuffic'd as hell.

But well haue windes his proud blasts ouerblown,
And swelling waues alayd his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs vnknowen,
Deuoured the deuourer to his smart:
And made his ships a pray vnnto the sand,
That meant to pray vpon anothers land.

And now, O Queene, aboue all others blest,
For whom both windes and waues are prest to fight,
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
(As farre from pride, so ready to do right)
That England you, you England long enioy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

*       *       *       *       *

A briefe and true report of the Honorable voyage vnnto Cadiz, 1596. of the ouerthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning, sacking, and burning of the Cite, with all other accidents of moment, thereunto appertaining.

After that the two most Noble and Renowmed Lords Generals: The L. Robert Earle of Essex, and the L. Charles Howard L. High Admirall of England, were come vnnto Plymmouth (which was about the beginning of May last, 1596.) being there accompanied with diuers other Noble Peeres, as the Earle of Sussex, the L. Thomas Howard, the L. Harbert, the L. Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the L. Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the L. Burk, Don Christopher young Prince of Portingall, young Count Lodouick of Nassaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir Iohn Vanderfoord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great woorth attending vpon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, aswell for the new furnishing and reuictualing of her Maiesties Royall Nauie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from diuers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting: making that place as it should seeme the Rendezvous for all the whole Fleete, there to complete the full number of al such companies both for sea and land: as was in their noble and deepe wisedomes thought meeete and agreed vpon.

All the time of this their abode there, there was a most zealous and diligent care had for the holy seruice of God dayly and reuerently to be frequented: and also for other good and ciuill orders of militarie discipline to be obserued, to the exceeding great comfort and reioycing of all the hearts of the godly and well disposed.

And for that it might the better appeare, that there was small hope of pardon to be expected of the offenders, if they did at any time neglect their duties, about due observation of matters of importance: Their orders, lawes, and decrees being once published: about the 8. or 9. of the same moneth, there were two offenders executed a little without the towne, in a very fayre pleasant greene, called the Ho: the one for beginning of a muteny in his company, the other for running away from his Colours.

And about the same time in the Dutch Regiment, an other for murthering of one of his companions, about a quarrell betweene themselues, rising as it was supposed, vpon their drinke, was by order of Martaill law, presently tyed to the partie so murthered, and forthwith both of them so cast into the sea.

Moreouer, about the 28. of the same moneth, a certaine Lieutenant (whose name I will forbeare) was by sound of Drumme publicly in all the streetes disgraced, or rather after a sort disgraded, and cashierd for bearing any
farther Office at that time, for the taking of money by way of corruption, of certaine prest soildiers in the Countrey, and for placing of others in their roomes, more vnfit for seruice, and of lesse sufficiency and abilitie. This seuer executing of justice at the very first did breed such a deepe terror in the hearts of the whole armie, that it seemed to cut of all occasion of the like disorder for euer afterwards to be attempted.

And here before their departure from Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in print, and make known to all the world, especially to such as whom it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch, English and Spanish tongue, what were the true, iust and vrgent causes, that at this time prouoked her Majestie, to undertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Nauiie, annexing thereunto a full declaration, what was good will and pleasure should be done and performed of all them that ment not to incurre their owne priuate present daungers, or else were willing to auoyde her Maiesties future indignation and displeasure.

Likewise now, at the same instant, their owne most prouident and godly decrees, which they had deuised for the honest cariage of euery particular person in their degrees and vocation, were made known to all men, and published in sundry writings, with diuers great punishments, set downe and appointed for the wilfull offenders and brekers of the same.

Thus then, all things being in very good order and well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and deuoutly called vpon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being diuers times most reuerently and publikely celebrated: These two most noble personages, with all their honorable Associats, and most famous worthy Knights, Gentlemen, Captaines, Leaders, and very willing and expert Souldiers, and Mariners, being furnished with 150. good sayle of shippe or thereabout: In the name of the most High and euerliuing God, and with all true and faithful obedience, to her sacred Maiesty, to the infinite good and tranquillitie of our Countrey, and to the perpetuall glory, and triumphant renowne of the eternall memory of their honorable names to all posterity, the first day of Iune embarked themselues, weighed Ancre, and hoyesd vp sayle, and put to sea onward their iourney from the Sownds of Plymmouth.

The winde, at the first setting foorth, seemed very fauourable: but yet in the euening growing very scant, and all that night falling more and more against vs, and we hailing sayled no further then to a certaine place called Dodman Head: we were constrained the next day, to make our returne to the road of Plymmouth againe, and there in the Sownds to lie at ancre for that night.

About this time, and in this very place, by good fortune there came to my handes a prayer in English, touching this present Action, and made by her Maiestie, as it was voyced: The prayer seemed to me to be most excellent, aswell for the matter as also for the manner, and therefore for certaine diuers good motiues which then presently came to my minde, and whereof hereafter in his more conuenient time and place, I will make farther mention, I presumed at that very instant to translate it into Latine.

The Prayer is thus.

Most Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne how no malice of Reuenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedfull care, and wary watch,
that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-suretie of harme might breed either
danger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou
doest enspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper
the worke, and with best forewinds guide the journey, speed the victory,
and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the triumph of their
fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English blood.
To these devout petitions Lord giue thou thy blessed grant.

My homely translation, is thus.

Svmmè præpotens Deus, immensæ huius totius nostri mundi molis fabricator et
Rector, qui solus perscrutaris intimos cordis nostri sensus, et ad fundum
vsque nostrarum cogitationem explorando penetras, ac in eis, quid verè, et
ex ammo cogitemus, et quæ sint actionum nostrarum rationes, ac fundamenta,
cognoscis: Tu, qui ea, quæ in te est, ab omni aeternitate præscientia,
vides, quod nec aliquo viciscendi malitiosa cupiditas, nec iniuriarum
referendarum desiderium, nec sanguinis effundendi sitis, nec alicuius
luci, quæstusse auditas ad istam classem preparandam, et emissum nos
commouerit: sed potius, quod prouida quædam cura, solærque vigilantia huc
nos impulerit: ne vel inimicorum nostrorum neglectus, vel status nostri
firmarum nimirum secura cogitation, aut illis gloriem et honorem, aut nobis
dannum et periculum pariat: Cum, inquam, hæc sint nostri, quicquid
attentatur, negotii fundamenta: cumque tu hunc nobis animum, mentémque
inieceris, vt istud aggrederemur: curuatis genibus a te humillimè petimus,
vt velis hoc nostrum incoetum secundissimè fortunare, totum iter
prosperrimis flatibus dirigere, celerem et expeditam victoriam nobis
concedere, reducimus talem nostris militibus elargiri, qualis et nomini
tuo incrementum gloriæ, et illis famæ, laudisque triumphum, et Regno nostro
firmam tranquilitatem possit apportare: idque cum minimo Anglorum
sanguinis dispendio. His nostris religiosis petitionibus concede, Domine,
sacrosanctum et annuentem voluntatem tuam.

After that we had anchored at Plymmouth that night, as I haue said, the
third of Iune very early in the morning, hauing a reasonable fresh gale of
winde, we set sayle, and kept our course againe, and the ninth of the same
moneth comming something neere to the North cape, in a maner in the same
altitude, or not much differing, which was about xliii. degrees, and
something more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to bee descried from
the land: There it pleased the Lords to call a select Councell, which was
always done by hanging out of a flagge of the armes of England, and
shooting off of a great warning peece. On this select or priuie Councell
were no more than these: The two Lords Generall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the
Lorde Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, Sir
George Cary master of the Ordinance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony
Ashley, Clarke of the sayde Councell. And when it pleased the Lords
Generall to call a common Counsell (as often times they did vpon weightie
matters best known to their honours) then they would cause an other kinde
of flagge to be hanged put, which was the Redcrosse of S. George, and was
verie easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the
select Counsell, and so often as this flagge of Saint George was hanged
out, then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose
opinions were to be demaunded, in such matters as appertayned vnto this
sayd select Counsell: It was presently concluded, that our course in
sayling should forthwith be altered, and that we should beare more into
the West, for some purposes to them best known.

At that very instant many letters of instructions were addressed and sent
to every particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: What the contenues of
those letters of instructions were it was not as yet knowne vnto any, neither was it held meet to be enquired or known of any of vs. But vnder
the titles and superscriptions of every man's particular letter these words were endorsed. Open not these letters on pain of your lives, unless we chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these letters did contain in them the principal place and meaning of this intended action, which was hitherto by their deep foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did, or could so much as suspect it, more then themselves, who had the only managing thereof. A conceit in my judgment of greatest moment in the world, to effect any matter of importance. I mean, to entertain those two virtues, Fidem et Taciturnitatem: so much commended by the old writers. And if there was ever any great designement, in this our age, and memorie, discreetly, faithfully, and closely caried, I assure my selfe it was this, and though it were but in respect to that point onely: yet for such faithfull secrecy, it deserueth immortall praise.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being divided into five squadrons: that is to say, The Earle of Essex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which squadrons, albeit they did every day separate themselves of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to look out for such ships as were happily under sail, as also for the better procuring of sea-room: yet always commonly either that day, or the next day, towards evening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to another: which they term by the name of Hayling: a ceremonie done solemnly, and in very good order, with sound of Trumpets and noyse of cheerefull voyces: and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents, as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I sayde, our journey was most prosperous, and all our ships in very good plight, more then that the Mary Rose, by some mischance, either sprang or spent her fore-yarde, and two days after Sir Robert Crosse had in a manner the like mischance.

Nowe being thus between the North cape, and cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping, such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shouare might be able to descrie vs: The tenth of June, a French Barke, and a Fleming coming from the coast of Barbarie were brought in by some of our companie: but they were both of them very honourably and well vsed by the Lords Generall: and so after a fewe days tarrying, were peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honorable wisedomes.

The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir Richard Leuison Knight, assisted with Sir Christopher Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight slewe two of them, and hurt eleuen, and in the end brought them all three in: and this was the very first hansell and maydenhead (as it were) of any matter of importance, or exployt worthy observation that was done in the way outward of this honorable voyage, and was so well perfourmed of those most worthy Gentlemen, as every man highly commended them for their great valure, and discretion, and no lesse reioyced at this their fortunate successse.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weston meeting with a Flemming, who refused to vall his foretoppe, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good space: in the end the Swan, wherein the sayd Sir Richard was, had her forebeake strooken off: and having spent before in fight the one side of
her tire of Ordinance, while she prepared to cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the mean time the Fleming taking this opportunity, did get almost half a league from him: and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the sayd Flemming being in a manner got to the very mouth of the Riuver vp to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in by M. Dorrell, being Captaine of the Iohn and Francis of London. Thus by diuiding their squadrons, and spreading the whole sea over a mighty way, there could not so much as the least pinke passe but she was espied and brought in.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine litttle stragling Carauels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a young beggarly Fryer ytterly vnlearned, with a great packet of letters for Lisbon: the poore wretches were maruellously well vsed by the Lords Generall, and that Carauel, and the like still as they were taken were commaunded to giue their attendance, and their Honours did vnderstand what they might of these poore men, of the estate of Spaine for that present.

About this time and in this place it was, that first in all my life time I did see the flying fishes, who when they are hardly pinched and chased by the Bonitoes and other great fishes, then to auoyde the daunger, they presently mount vp, and forsake the water, and betake themselues to the benefite of their wings and make their flight, which commonly is not aboue fiue or sixe score, or there about, and then they are constrayned to fall downe into the water againe, and it is the Mariniers opinion that they can fly no longer then their wings be wet. The fish it selfe is about the bignesse of a Mackrell or a great white Hearing, and much of that colour and making, with two large wings shaped of nature very cunningly, and with great delight to behold, in all the world much like to our Gentlewomens dutch Fans, that, are made either of paper, parchment, or silke, or other stuffe, which will with certaine pleights easily runne and fold themselues together. One of these flying fishes was presented to my L. Admirall by a fisher man, and newly taken in his L. returne from Cadiz, and then I [had] good leisure and opportunitie to view it. ['had' missing in source text--KTH]

The 18. day early in the morning wee tooke an Irish man, and he came directly from Cadiz, hauing beene there but the day before at twelue of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and with them xviii. or xix. gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were diuers of the kings best: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commanded also to giue his attendance.

The 20. of Iune being Sunday, we came before Cadiz very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Nauy had not lost either by sicknesse or by any other maner of wayes sixe men to my knowledge: as for the Dutch company, I am not able precisely to say what happened there, for that they were no part of our charge to be looked vnto, but were a regiment entire of themselues, and by themselues to be prouided for, either for their diet, or for the preservation of their healths by phisicke.

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of Iune wee came to Cadiz, and there very earely in the morning presented our selues before the Towne, ryding about a league or something lesse, from it. The sea at that instant went maruelous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Counsell being called, our Lords Generall forthwith attempted with all expedition to land some certayne companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certayne long boats, light horsemen,
pynnesses, and barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof; they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some foure score good soldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care the men were all saued excepting viii. And therefore they were constrainned to put off their landing till an other more convenient time.

That morning very timely, there, lighted a very faire doue vpon the maine yard of the L. Admirals ship, and there she sate very quietly for the space of 3. or 4. houres, being nothing dismayed all that while, every man gazed and looked much vpon her, and spake their minds and opinions, yet all concluding by no meanes to disquiet her: I for my part, tooke it for a very good omen and boding, as in trueth (God be thanked) there fell out nothing in the end to the contrary. And as at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the same towne, another Doue presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ship, and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to vs all, and did so still keepe vs company, euen till our arrriuall here in England.

We no sooner presented our selues, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other, and therewithall kept themselves very close to their towne, the castle, and the forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our farther determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boysterous, and little or nothing could be done, more then that about the euening there passed some friendly and kinde salutations sent one from the other in warlike maner, by discharging certain great peeces, but to my knowledge no hurt done at all, or else very little.

A carefull and diligent watch was had all that night thoroughout the whole armie, and on monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and fauourable, betweene fiue and sixe of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of almightie God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any farther delay, with all speed, courage, and alacritie, did set vpon the Spanish ships, being then vnder sayle, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, vp toward Puente de Suaço on Grenada side, being in number lix. tall ships, with xix. or xx. Gallies attending vpon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy vs, and alwayes relieue themselues interchangeably: hauing likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes readie to play vpon vs and ours.

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderful aduantage of vs, all circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightsnes of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered. For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some vi. or vii. English miles ouer or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelues, sands and shallowes in it, so that the very chanell and place for sea roome, is not aboue 2. or 3. miles, yea and in some places not so much, for the ships of any great burthen, to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground or else constrained to run fowle one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and inuincible courage, the Lords generall presently set vpon them, and sorting out some such conuenient ships, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times service, they were druuen to take some other course then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore vpon a graue consultation had by a select Counsell, what great dangers might ensue vpon so mightie a disadvantadge as
appeared in all probability, if it were not by good and sound judgement prevented, and therewithall in their singular wisedomes foreseeing that some great stratageme might be practised by the enemy, either by fire-worke, or some other subtill politike devise, for the hazarding of her Maiesties ships of honor in so narrow a place, thus with al expedition they concluded that the Viceadmirall, the L. Thomas Howard, that most noble L. Howard (whose exceeding great magnanimity, courage, and wisedome, ioyned with such an honorable kind of sweet courtesie, bountie, and liberalitie, as is not able by me and my weakenes to be expressed, hath wonne him all the faithfull louting hearts of as many as euer haue had any maner of dealing with him) This L. Thomas, I say, in the Non Pareille for that time, and the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh (a man of maruellous worth and regard, for many his exceeding singular great vertues, right fortitude and great resolutenes in all matters of importance) in the Warspight associated with diuers most famous worthy knights, namely, Sir Francis Vere the L. Martiall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary M. of the Ordinance, in the Mary rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon, gentemen for all laudable good vertues, and for perfect courage and discretion in all military actions, of as great praise and good desert as any gentlemen of their degree whosoever, hauing with them some of the shippes of London and some of the Dutch squadron of reasonable burthen, should leade the dance, and glue the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generall with some others of their companies, should in their convenient time and order, second the maine battell. The fight being begunne and growen very hot, the L. Generall the Earle of Essex, (whose infinite princely vertues with triumphant fame deserve to be immortalized) being on Port S. Mary side, vpon a sudden and vnlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the formost into the maine battell. The other most honorable L. Generall (whose singular vertues in all respects are of such an excellencie and perfection as neither can my praise in any part increase them, nor any mans envy any whit blemish or diminish them) vnderstanding, the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, and perceiuing by the M. of his ship, the Arke Royall, that lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without farther delay, called presently for his Pynnesse, and in the same Pynnesse put himselfe, and his honorable son L. William Howard that now is, aboord the Honor de la mer, and there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible, and most hideous to the beholder by the continuall discharging of those roaring thundering great peeces, on all sides, and so continued doubtful till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie vnto, began to yeeld and giue ouer, her men that remained aliue shifting for themselues as they were able, and swimming, and running a shoare with all the hast that they could possibly, and therewithall, at the very same instant themselues fired their ship, and so left her, and presently thereupon a great Argosie, with an other mighty great ship, fired themselues in the like maner. Immediately hereupon, the residue of the ships ran themselues on ground, as farre from vs as they could, and therby purchased their owne safety, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all two faire ships only were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthy, a ship by estimation of some xii. hundred tunne, and the other S. Andrew, being a shippe of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this suddaine great victorious ouerthrow, made all the hast they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there shrowded themselues in such sort as our shippes could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The Spanish ships in all were fix. and as is sayd, all tall ships and very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other freighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselues affirme; and had we not come that very time that we did, (which for my
part, I do not attribute so much unto meere chance, as to some secret deepe insight and foreknowledge of the two most worthy Lords generall, who no doubt spared for no cost or labour for true intelligence) we had certainly mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leaue to other mens judgement and report, but sure I am that themselues offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords Generall, and should haue beene receiued, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

What maner of fight this was, and with what courage performed, and with what terror to the beholder continued, where so many thundering tearing peeces were for so long a time discharged, I leaue it to the Reader to thinke and imagine. Yet such was the great mercy and goodnes of our liuing God, that in all this cruell terrible fight, in the end, there were not either slaine or hurt by any maner of meanes (excepting one mischance that happened, wherof I will by and by make mention) many aboue the number of 100. of our men: notwithstanding diuers of our shippes were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twentie times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselues. I knowe not of any other hurt done, sauing onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes shewed himselfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a little too much haste with his Pinnesse to boord the Philip, had there his said Pinnesse burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saued.

One other mischance (as I said) there happened, and it was thus: One of the Flemings flieboats, who had, in all the conflict before, caried himselfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blowen vp by his owne powder, who could not haue any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinkling of an eye, both shippes and men were all cast away, excepting vii. or viii. which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saued.

Immediatly vpon this notable victory without any farther stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle of Essex put to shore and landed about 3000. shot, and pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, vnder the conduct of three most famous worth; knights. Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle of Essex himselfe, being accompanied with diuers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Sussex, the Lord Harbert, the Lord Burt, Count Lodouick of Nassaw, the Lord Martiall Sir Francis Vere, with many other worthy Knights, and men of great regard, who all in that dayes seruice did most valiantly behauve themselues, with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint and the way was all of dry deepe slyding sand in a maner, and beside that, very vneuen, and by that meanes so tiresome and painefull as might be. The enemie hauing reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stoode in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome vs, and to encounter the Lorde Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troupes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching, hastened on with such vnspakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the very first encounter, whereat the footemen being
wonderfully dismayed and astonished at the vnexspected manner of the Englishmens kinde of such fierce and resolute fight retyred themselues with all the speede possible that they could, to recouer themselues into the Towne againe, which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforde to skale the walles: which thing in very deede, although it was not without great danger and difficulty to be perfourmed: Yet such was the inuincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexterity of the English, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemie was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man or else in a maner ioyned with the first.

The towne walles being then possessed, and the English Ensigne being there displayed vpon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the towne, making still their waie with sworde and shot as well as they could, being still fought withall at euery turne.

Immediately vpon this most famous entrie, the noble Earle, (according to their resolutions, as I take it, put downe before) was seconded by the noble L. Admirall in person, who was accompanied, with the noble L. Thomas Howard, the most worthy gentleman his sonne, now L. Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Leuison, and with diuers other gentlemen, his L. followers of good account: his colours being aduanced by that valiant resolute gentleman, (a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts, of good learning and vnderstanding) S. Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewise marching with al possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeres, the Intolerable heate, for the time, and the ouertiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, ioyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gaue them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being ioyned together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous knight Sir Iohn Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entry of the towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe being caried away, with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the shot of a musket in the head, most vnfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, and from time to time as they could, still annoyng them, with seuen battering pieces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kind of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whome the Lords Generall had signified: that vnlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselues, they should looke for no mercy, but should euery one be put to the sword: vpon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day, they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeeld themselues absolutely to their mercy, and deliuered vp the Castle.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause, and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were diuers great and suddaine alarms guen: which did breed some great outrages and disorder in the towne. At euery which alarme, the two Lords Generall shewed themselues marvelous ready and forward, insomuch that at the very first alarme, skant wel furnished with any more defence then their shirts, hose, and dublets, and those too altogether in a maner vntied, they were abroad in the streets themselves, to see the vtermost of it. But for that
it is not as yet very well known (or at the least not well known unto me) either wherefore, or by whom these alarms were attempted: I am therefore to intreat, that a bare report, that such a thing was done, may suffice.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all manner of blood and cruel dealing, and that there should no kind of violence or hard usage be offered to any, either man, woman or child, upon pain of death: And so permitting the spoyle of so much of the town as was by them thought meete, to the common soldiers for some certaine dayes, they were continually in counsell about other graue directions, best known to their honourable wisdomes.

This honourable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously obsuerued of the English: But how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will neither affirme, nor yet deny. For I perceiue betweene them and the Spaniards, there is in implicable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the Dutch squadron was espied in the fight, immediatly thereupon both they of Ssiul and S. Lucar and also some, of some other places, did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships, as delt with them friendly by the way of traffick and Marchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Marchants and Owners of the same, and, as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreme cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while the very next day being the two and twenty day of Iune, all the Spanish shippes which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great ouerthrowe had bee the day before, were by the Spaniards themselves there set on fire, and so from that time forward they neuer left burning of them, till euery one of them, goods and all, as farre as wee know were burnt and consumed. This their doing was much maruelled at of vs, and so much the more, for that, as I sayd before, there had bene made some offer for the redemption and sauing of the goods, and it was not to them vnknowne that this their offer was not misliked, but in all probabilitie should haue bene accepted. The common opinion was, that this was done either by the appointment of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, or els by expresse commandement from the higher powers.

Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were runne on ground, did quitte themselues also out of that place, and by the bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the same Iland, and so by putting themselues to the maine sea, escaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but something vp towards the Towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes.

Thus was this notable victorie, as well by sea as by land, both begunne and in effect perfourmed, within the compasse, in a maner, of foureteene houres: A thing in truth so strange and admirable, as in my judgement will rather bee wondered at then beleeued of posteritie. And if euer any notable exploit in any age was comparable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainly in my poore opinion it was this.

Here it is to be wished (and perchance of some too it is looked for) that every mans particular worthy acte in this dayes seruice, with the parties names also, should be put downe, that thereby both they and their good deserts might be registered to all posteritie: and for my part I would it were so, and wish I were able to doe it. But for that I confesse it is a matter that passeth my power, yea, and for that I thinke it also a thing impossible to be precisely perfourmed by any other, I am to craue pardon for that I rather leave it out altogether, then presume to doe it maymedly: and in this point I referre the Reader onely to the Mappe that is set
foorth of this iourney, where it is in some parte conueniently touched and specified.

The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and hauing a goodly Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine College of the Jesuites, and was by naturall situation, as also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better judgement. Their building was all of a kind of hard stone, euen from the very foundation to the top, and euery house was in a manner a kinde of a fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the toppe, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke thereon: hauing vpon the house top, great heapes of weighty stoanes piled vp in such good order, as they were ready to be thrown downe by euery woman most easily vpon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow, (I thinke to avoide the intollerable great heat of the Sunne) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sorte march thorough them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose Watling streete in London to be.

The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of iron to them, and haue very large folding leaues of wainscot or the like. It hath very fewe Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out roome of lest account, seruing for some necessary vses, either to wash in, or the like, or els nowe and then perchance for the dressing of a dish of meate, hauing, as it should seeme vnto me, alwayes a greater care and respect how to keepe themselues from all kind of great heat, then how to prouide for any store of great roste. It had in it by report of them that should best know it, some foure thousand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and sixe hundred horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto, especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well stored with all manner of munition, shot, and powder, as they were.

Whether they had knowledge of our comming or no, I can say nothing to it: Themselfes giue it out that they understood not of it, but onely by a Carauel the Friday at euening before we came. But whether they knew it or no, thus much I dare boldly affirme, that if the English had bene possessed of that or the like Towne, and had bene but halfe so well prouided as they were, they would haue defended it for one two moneths at the least, against any power whatsoeuer in at Christendome. But surely GOD is a mighty GOD, and hath a wonderfull secret stroke in all matters, especially of weight and moment. Whether their hearts were killed at the mighty ouerthrow by sea, or whether they were amased at the inuincible courage of the English, which was more then ordinary, caring no more for either small shot or great, then in a maner for so many hailestones, or whether the remorse of a guilty conscience toward the English nation, for their dishonourable and diuelish practices, against her Sacred Maistie, and the Realme, (a matter that easily begeteth a faint heart in a guilty minde) or what other thing there was in it I know not, but be it spoken to their perpetuall shame and infamie, there was neuer thing more resolutely perfourmed, of the courageous English, nor more shamefully lost of the bragging Spaniard.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to resolute the asker: for I confesse that for mine owne part, I had not so much good lucke, as to be partaker so much as of one pennie, or penny worth. Howbeit my ill fortune maketh that towne neuer a whit the poorer. But as it should appear by the great pillage by the common soouldiers, and some mariners too, and by the goodly furnitures; that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby
utterly lost and spoyle, as not so worth the carrying away, and by the over great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Olives, Raisins, Spices, and other rich grocary wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rash sort were knockt out, and lay trampled under feete, in every common high way, it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though perchance, not of any such great commoditie to the last subduers, for that I judge that the better part was most ryotously and intemperately spent and consumed. A disorder in mine opinion very much to be lamented, and if it might be by any good meanes remedied, in my conceit, it were a most honourable deuice.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell, about the disposing of all matters, aswell touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought mee of them in their honourable wisedomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expressed. For not only the liues of euery one were spared, but also there was an especial care had, that at the Religious, as well men as women, should be well and fauourably intreated, whom freely without any maner of ransome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported over to Port Saint Marie, a towne in a maner as sayre as Cadiz: but at that time, as the case did stand, certainly known to be of no wealth in the world, and it was some sixe or seuen miles distante over against Cadiz, in a maner as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andaluzia, subject to the territory of the Duke de Medina Sidonio.

Moreouer, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy knight Sir Amias Preston, and some others in some conuenient Barkes, to transport over to the sayd Towne safely and in good order, a hundred or moe of the better sort of ancient gentlewomen, and marchants wiuues, who were suffered to put vpon themselues, some of them two, yea, some three suites of apparell, with some conuenient quantitie of many jewells, Chains, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree. Such was the heroicall liberality, and exceeding great clemencie of those most honourable Lords Generall, thereby, as it should seeme vnto mee, beating downe that false surmised opinion, which hath hitherto commonly spread abroad, and setled among the Spaniards: which is, That the English doe trouble them and their countries, more for their golde, riches and pearle &c. then for any other iust occasion. Whereas by these their honourable dealings it is manifest to all the world, that it is onely in respect of a iust reuenge for the manifolde iniuries, and most dishonourable practises that have bene from time to time attempted by them against vs and our nation, and also in the defence of the true honour of England: which they have sought, and daylie doe seeke, by so many sinister and reprochfull deuices, so much as in them lieth, to deface.

Vpon Saturday being the 26. Sir John Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, so farre foorth us the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Nauie discharged a great part of their Ordinance, in such order, as was thought mee of and conuenient by the Lords Generals commandemement.

The twenty seuenth day being Sunday, in the Abbey the diuine service was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete utterance, and even there the same day, something before the sermon was made, these worthie Gentlemen following were knighted by the Lords General. And here I am to signifie by the way that two of these were knighted three or foure dayes before, and some three or foure moe were knighted after that time, vpon certaine occasions: but yet I holde it beste (and I trust
without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

The names of such noble men and gentlemen, as were knighted at Cadiz in June 1596 by the two most honourable Lordes Generall.

27.      The Earle of Sussex.      Sir Charles Blunt
          The Lord Harbert.          Sir George Gifford.
          The Lord Burk.            Sir Robert Crosse.
          Sir Richard Leuen.        Sir James Wootton.
          Sir Peter Egeomort.       Sir Richard Ruddal.
          Sir Anthonie Ashley.      Sir Robert Mansfield.
          Sir Arthur Throchmorton.  Sir Humfrey Druel.
          Sir Miles Corbet          Sir Amias Preston.
          Sir Oliver Lambert        Sir John Buck.
          Sir John Townesend.       Sir John Aldridg.
          Sir Christopher Heydon.   Sir John Asshindon.
          Sir Philip Woodhouse.     Sir John Browne.
          Sir Thomas Smith.         Sir John Gray.
          Sir Thomas Palmer.        Sir John Vanderfoord,

[In the preceding List, the last name should undoubtedly be Sir Robert Dudey._]

I am not curious in placing these gentlemen, but put them downe at a venture. Only I haue oberserved, as neere as I could, the just day and time when they were created. And I trust where the place of it selfe is so worthy and equall, there the bare naming and placing of the parties, shal brede no offence, or make a disparity. The two gentlemen that were last knighted receiveed their knighthood in the way of our returne from Cadiz: the one of them vpon the sea, not farre from the Bay of the Groyne, at what time our ships stood vpon their staies for a space while certaine Pinnasses were sent to descrie what shipping was at the Groine: The other at Plimmouth in the open streete, when the Lords Generall came from the Sermon. The one a man of long seruice, and good desert among the Dutch: the other of so many good parts of a worthy gentleman, as the like are seldome seene to concurr in any.

I spake in the beginning of her Majesties praier, which I presumed (though vnworthy) to translate into Latine: and nowe at this very time there was some opportunity offered, for to make some vse of that translation. For nowe being in Cadiz, attending vpon my most honourable good Lord, I talked
with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeed there were some, though not very many. I talked also with the Bishop of Cusco there, a graue aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to have gone to the Indies had we not then taken him prisoner, and so stayed his iourney for that time. With these men euer as occasion did serue, I did seeke nowe and then to spende some speech, and to entertaine time withall, I would breake with them of this our victorie, and of the injuries and bad dealings of their Prince and Countrey offered to her Maiestie, whereby shee was prouoked, and in a manner drawn to this action: though otherwise of her own most excellent princely good nature, she was altogether giuen to peace, and quietnes. And alwayes in some part of our conferences, I would shew them a copie of her Maiesties praier in Latine, which I had alwayes of purpose ready about me; whereby it might the better appeare vnto them, how vnwillingly, and vpon how great and vrgent occasions her Maiesty was, as it were enforced to vnertake this action: and therewithall I did vse now and then to bestow vpon them a copy of the same in writing. They seemed in all outward shew to allow of my speeches, and to praise her Maiesties good inclination; and earnestly to wish that there might be a firme concord and peace againe.

It pleased the Lords general to deale exceeding fauourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to giue him his free passage without any ransome, and therewithal to let him to vnderstand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or vnarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings and children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, siluer, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that, their only comming was to meet with their dishonorable practises, and manifold injuries, and to deale with men of warre and valoure, for the defence of the true honour of England: and to let them to vnderstand, that whensoever they attempted any base-conceited and dishonorable practise to their soueraigne Queene, their Mistresse, that it should be reuenged to the uttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords general continued at Cadiz, there came to them certain poore wretched Turks, to the number of 38, that had bin a long time gally-slaues, and either at the very time of the fight by sea, or els immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land: yeelding themselues to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speed to apparel them, and to furnish them with money, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conuied into Barbary, willing them to let the countrey vnderstand what was done, and what they had seene. Whereby I doubt not, but as her Maiesty is a most admirable Prince already, ouer all Europe, all Africk, and Asia, and throughout Christendome: so the whole worlde hereafter shall haue just cause to admire her infinitely Princely vertues, and thereby bee prouoked to confesse, that as she hath bin mightily protected from time to time, by the powerful hand of the almighty, so vn doubtedly, that she is to be judged and accounted of vs, to be his most sacred handmaide, and chosen vessel. And therefore, whatsoever wicked designement shalbe conspired and plotted against her Maiesty hereafter, shalbe thought to be conspired, plotted, and intended against the almighty himselfe: and for that cause, as I trust, shalbe by the infinite goodnes and mercy of that almighty, mightily frustrate and ouerthrown.

The 28. day being Munday, the L. Admirall came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeed he did, and vpon the aduise of his Physition, to deale something in Physicke, for that his L. found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his L. to write certain letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliuerance of
English captives, who were remaining in the gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the said Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port S. Mary, or els at Rotta, or thereabout. His L. did endite the letters himselfe, but his pleasure was, they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeed they were) in the latine tongue vnto the Duke.

A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duc de Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissime Princeps, ex nonnullis quibusdam Hispanis intelligimus, Excellentiam vestram iam nunc esse apud portam S. Mariæ. Et quoniam in anno Domini 1588. id nobis tunc muneris assignatum erat à sereniss. nostra Regina domina mea, vt contra vos, vestrásque copias, Ego solus pro eo tempore Generalis essem constitutus: Idcirco non opinamur vobis ignotum esse, quàm mite quoddam, et humanum bellandi genus, tunc híc iam in hoc ipso tempore, aduersus huius loci populum atque incolas vsurpauerimus: tum etiam sapius antehac quàm humaniter, benignèque eos omnes tractauerimus, quos ex vestris iure bellii captiuos acceperimus. Ex quorum numero quàm multa milia etiam gratis, nullo accepto pretio, libertate donauerimus, id putamus omnibus esse testatus, quàm vt à quoquam denegetur. Quocirca, neque vlo modo nobis in mentem venire potest, vt dubitemus, quin parem etiam in vobis humanitatem aduersus nostros captiuos simus reperturi.Cum igitur nobis compertum iam sit, habere vos in vestris galeris, ex Reginæ nostræ serenissimæ Dominae meæ subditis vnum et quinquaginta captiuos: non equidem dubitamus, quin eos omnes sitis relaxaturi, et ad nos missuri: ea lege, ac conditione, vt totidem ex vestris híc captius eiusmodi loci atque ordinis, melioris etiam fortassìi notæ, ac conditionis, homuncios, ad os vicissim remittamus. Id quod nos facturos data fide spondemus, quàm primùm nostros captiuos ex vestris manibus acceperimus. Hac in re si nostro desiderio ac voluntati parùm satisfactum erit, aliud profectò tunc posthac bellii genus ingrediemur, aliúmque bellandi morem cogemur, etiam inuiti, et contra voluntatem prosequi. Ex Regia Anglicana classe apud Cadiz ultimo Iunij, stilo ant quo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

These letters were sent by a Spaniard, and an answere was brought from the Duke with al conuenient speed, and as it should seeme by the L. Admirals next answere returned to him in writing, which immediately hereafter foloweth, the Duke de Medina Sidonia his letters were honorable, and with good regard.


Illustrissime Principi Duc de Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissime Princeps, literas ab excellentia vestra hodiè acceperimus: quæ verò nostra sit ad illas responsio, nobiles isti viri, qui vestras literas ad nos pertulerunt: pleniùs declarabunt. Hoc interim cupimus esse penitùs persuasum Excellentiae vestrae; nos sedulù operam datauros, vt in omnì honorificæ benignitatis humanitatisque genere, expectationi vestrae omni ex parte respondeamus. Quod ad Anglicos nostros captiuos attinet, quos ab Excellentia vestra huc ad nos crastino die missum iri expectamus, in ea re pollicemur Excellentiae vestrae, quòd pleniùs à nobis vestrae voluntari satisfactum erit: et quòd pro illis captius tales nos captiuos vobis remittemus, quales tum ab ipso Dom. Mendoza, tum ab alijs illustr. viris,
The next day after, being the 4. of Iuly, the L. L. generall caused the
towne of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased and defaced so much as they
could, the faire cathedal Church, and the religious houses only being
spared, and left vnblemished. And with the town al such provision for
shipping, and other things, as were seruiceable for the K. vse, and yet
were not either so conuenient for vs to be caried away, or els such as we
stood no whit at all in need of; were likewise at the same instant consumed
with fire. And presently therupon, their Lordships, with as conuenient,
speed as they could, and the whole army in such good order and leisure, as
they thought best, came aboord.

The next day being the 5. of Iuly, the L. L. generall with all the armie
being vnder saile and now making for England, and but as yet passing the
very mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, a galley full of English prisoners, with a
flag of truce, met vs from Rotta, sent by the D. of Medina Sidonia, and
sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag
being either not big enough, or not wel placed in the galley, or not wel
discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not: but thus it
was: by one of our smallest ships that sailed formost, assoone as the said
galley came within gunshot, there was a great peece discharged vpon her,
and at that instant there was one man slaine outright, and 2. other
grieuously hurt. The error being espied and perceiued, our ship gaue ouer
immediatly from any farther shooting. Assoone as the galley came neere vs,
my L. Admirall caused a gracious salutation to be sounded with his
trumpets, and willed the captains forthwith to come aboord his ship: which
they did, and then he feasted them with a very fine and honorable banket,
as the time and place might serve. And then by them vnderstanding of that
unfortunate mischance that had hapned by the shot of the said ship, he was
very sory for the same, and yet such was the merciful prouidence of
almighty God, that euen in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand
ouer the English. And al the harme that was done did light onely vpon the
poore Turk, and the Spaniard himselfe. When this Lorde had well banqueted
them, hee presently called for his barge, and did accompany the said galley
to the Lorde general the Earle of Essex, who then did ride with his ship a
good distance off: and there they being in like maner most honorably
receiued, and intertained, the Spanish gentlemen deliuered vp their
prisoners the English captiues, of whom some had bin there 6 yere, some 8,
or ten: yea, and some 22. yeere, and vpward, and of some them but lately
taken in S. Francis Drakes last voiage to the Indies. The number of the
prisoners deliuered were but 39, and no mo, and were brought in, and
deliuered by Don Antonio de Corolla and his brother, and, by Don Pedro de
Cordua, and certaine others. If you demaund why, of one and fiftie
Captiues, there were no moe deliuered then was, I presuppose, (and I thinke
it true to) that at that time the residue were farther off in some remote
places of Spaine bestowed, and so by that means, not able at this time to
bee in a readinesse, but yet like enough that there is some good order
taken for them hereafter, to be redeemed, and sent ouer into England.

If any man presume here so farre, as to enquire how it chanced, that the
Lords generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no farther, and why Port
S. Mary being so faire a towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why Sheres alias Xeres? And why Rotta and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that or this left undone? I will not answere him with our common English proverbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discrete men can wel answere in five dayes.

But that graue auncient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, briefe, pithy saying, and it is this: "Nemo tentauit inquirere in columnas Herculis, sanctiusque ac reuerentius habitum est de factis Deorum credere, quam scire." Which saying, in my fancy, fitteth marueilous well for this purpose: and so much the rather, for that this Cadiz is that very place, (at least by the common opinion) where those said pillers of Hercules were thought to be placed: and, as some say, remaine as yet not farre off to be scene. But to let that passe, the saying beareth this discrete meaning in it, albeit in a prety kind of mystical maner vittered: That it befitteth not inferiour persons to be curious, or too inquisitiue after Princes actions, neither yet to be so sawey and so malapert, as to seeke to diue into their secrets, but rather alwayses to haue a right reuerend conceite and opinion of them, and their doings: and thereon so resting our inward thoughts, to seek to go no further, but so to remaie ready alwayses to arme our selues with dutiful minds, and willing obedience, to perform and put in execution that which in their deepe insight and heroicall designdements, they shall for our good, and the care of the common wealth determine vpon.

This, and much lesse to, might suffice to satisfie any honest minded man. But yet if any will needs desire to be a little farther satisfied, albeit it neede not, yet then, this much I dare say and affirm, that vpon my knowledge, the chiefest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest were left vntouched, was this: For that it was most certainly knowen, that they were townes not woorth the saluting of such a royal companie, in which there was no maner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houses of stone, and standing walles, and might well haue serued rather as a stale, perchance, to haue entrapped, then as a meane to haue enriched. And it had bin more then a suspicion of follie, for such an army as this, to haue sought to fight with the aire, and to haue laboured with great paine and charges, yea, and with some evident danger too, to haue overthrown that, which could very litle or nothing haue profited, being destroyed: and yet nowe, can doe as little harme being left, as it is, vntouched.

And thus much for our iourney to Cadiz: for the accidents that happened by the way, for the wining, spoiling, and burning of the saide towne, for the overthower of the Spanish Fleet there, and for al other by-matters that happened, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence.

As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portingal by the way, with the taking, spoyling, and burning of the towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spanish confines therabouts, &c. I minde to leaue it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as myselfe was not, and shalbe of more sufficient ability to performe it.

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The Most Honourable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile, Knight. 1595.
[Footnote: At London, printed by I. Roberts, for Richard Smith, 1595. (Written by Gervase Markham--KTH).]

That time of yeare when the inamored Sunne
Clad in the richest roabes of liuing fiers,
Courted the Virgin signe, great Nature Nunne,
Which barrant earth of al what earth desires
Euen in the month that from _Augustus_ wonne,
His sacred name which vnto heauen aspires,
And on the last of his ten trebled days,
When weare labour new refresh assayes.

Then when the earth out-brau'd the beautious Morne,
Boasting his cornie Mantle stird with aire,
Which like a golden Ocean did adorne,
His cold drie carcasse, featurelesse, vnfaire,
Holding the naked shearers scithe in scorne,
Or ought that might his borrowed pride empaire,
The soule of vertue seeing earth so ritch,
With his deare presence gilds the sea as mitch.

The sea, which then was heauie, sad, and still,
Dull, vnapplyed to sportue wantonnesse,
As if her first-borne _Venus_ had beene ill,
Or _Neptune_ scene the _Sonne_ his loue possesse,
Or greater cares, that greatest comforts kill,
Had crowned with griefe, the worlds wet wildernesse,
Such was the still-foot _Thetis_ silent paine,
Whose flowing teares, ebbing fell backe againe.

_Thetis_, the mother of the pleasant springs,
Grandam of all the Riuers in the world,
To whom earths veins their moistning tribut brings,
Now with a mad disturbed passion hurld,
About her caue (the worlds great treasure) flings:
And with wreath'd armes, and long wet hairs uncurld,
Within her selfe laments a losse vnlost,
And mones her wrongs, before her ioyes be crost

Thus whilst churning sorrowe ceaz'd her hart,
_Thetis_ (ô melt my spyrit in that name,) As sings the Swan her funerall depart,
And waues her wings the ensignes of her fame,
So he, with vertue sweetening bitter smart,
Which from the seas long toyling seruice came:
For why, sixe Moones, and so oft times the Sunne
Was past, and had one halfe the signes ore-runne,
Ere he the earth, our common Mother saw;
Now earlie greets black _Flores_ banefull Ile,
(_Flores_ from whence afflictions selffe doth draw
The true memorials of a weeping stile;) And with _Caisters_ Querristers[1] which straw
Descant, that might Death of his darts beguile,
He tunes saluting notes, sweeter then long,
All which are made his last liues funerall song.

Skillesse in deaths great Parliament he cals
His fellow mat's, and minions to his fame,
Shewes them long lookt for land, and how it brauls,
Repulsing backe the billowes as they came,
Much he triumphes, and passed griefe for-stals
With present ioy (sorrow lights pleasures flame:)
And whilst his hopes of _Happy-Fortune_ sings,
_Misfortune_ by, controls them with her wings.
Desir'd reliefe, and euer welcome rest,
The elements that forme the wearie man,
Began to hold a counsaile in his brest,
Painting his wants by sicknes pale and wan;
With other griefes, that others force opprest,
Aduising stay, (as what is but they can.)
Whilst he that fate to come, and past, nere feard,
Concludes to stay till strength decayd repaird.

Then casts he Anchor hulling on the maine,
And all his shyps poore Citizens recounts,
And hundred iust were free from sicknes paine,
Fourscore and ten death their redress accounts;
So that of all both sicke and sound vsnslaine,
Vnto two hundred wanting ten amounts.
A slender armie for so great a guide,
But vertue is vnknowne till it be tride.

Those whom their harts enabled to attempt,
He puts a shoare to make supplie for neede;
Those whom long sicknes taught of death contempt,
He visits, and from _loues great Booke doth reede_
The balme which mortall poysen doth exempt;
Those whom new breathing health like sucklings feed,
Hie to the sands, and sporting on the same,
Finde libertie, the liues best liuing flame.

Looke how a troope of Winter-prisoned Dames,
Pent in th’ inclosure of the walled townes,
Welcoms the Spring, Vsher to Somer flames,
Making their Pastimes in the flowrie downes,
Whose beauteous Arras[2] wrought in natures frames,
Through eyes admire, the hart with wonder crownes,
So the wood-walled citizens at sea,
Welcome both Spring and Sommer in a day.

The warring byllowes, seas artillerie,
With long held siege, had bru/z'd their beaten keele,
Which to repaire the most, most busied be,
Lab'ring to cure, what want in labours feele;
All pleas'd with toyle, clothing extremitie
In Hopes best robes, that hang on Fortunes wheele
But men are men, in ignorance of Fate,
To alter chaunce, exceedeth humaine state.

For when the Sun, towred in heauens head,
Downe from the siluer mountaine of the skye,
Bent his bright Chariot on the glassie bed,
Faire christall, guilded with his glorious eye,
Fearing some usurpation in his stead,
Or least his Loue should too-long daliance spy
'Tweene him and _Virgo_, whose attractue face,
Had newly made him leaue the _Lyons_ chase.

In that same myd-daies hower came sayling in,
A thought-swift-flying Pynnase, taught by winde,
T' outstrip in flight Times euer flying wing;
And being come where vertue was inshrinde,
First vaild his plumes, and wheeling in a ring,
With Goat-like dauncing, stays where _Grinuile_ shynd,
The whyle his great Commaunder calls the name,
Which is ador'd of all that speakes the same.

The great Commaunder of this little Barke,
Which like an Eglet armes the Eagles side,
Was _Midleton_, the ayme of Honors marke,
That more had prou'd then danger durst haue tride,
Now seeing all good fortunes sun-shine darke,
Thrise calls Sir _Richard_, who as oft replyde,
Bidding him speake, and ring his newes aloude,
Ill, not apald, nor good could make him proude.

O then (quoth Midleton) thou soule of all
What euer boasts in magnanimitie,
Thou, whom pure Vertue her best part doth call,
Better then valure, stronger then dietie,
Whom men adore, and all the gods exhall
Into the booke of endlesse memorie,
I bring thee tidings of a deadly fray,
Begun in Heauen, to end vpon the Sea.

The glorious Senate of the Skyes was set,
And all the gods were royaliz'd in state,
When _Happy-fortune_ and _Ill-fortune_ met,
Striuing who first should enter Heauen's gate,
The one made mad the others fame to let,
Neither but stirr'd with rage to wonder at,
Confusedly, as water floods doe passe
Their common bounds, such their rude entrance was.

The gods disturb'd, admire their strange aproch,
Censuring their angers by their gloing eyes,
_Ill-fortune_ was attended by _Reproch_,
_Good-fortune, Fame_, and _Vertue_ stellesies;
One sweares the other doth her right incroch,
Which is the elder house, none can devise:
The gods diuide, yet in the end agree
The Fates shall iudge each others pedigree.

_Good-Fortune_, drawes from heauen her hye descent,
Making hie _Ioue_ the roote of her large tree;
She showes from him how many god-heads went,
_Archangells, Angells_, heauen's posteritie:
From thence, she shows the glorious third she lent,
To _Monarks, Emperours_, and _Kyngs_ in fee,
Annexing as Colatteralls to her line,
_Honour, Vertue, Valure_, and _Endles-time_.

Naithlesse, _Ill-fortune_ will be elder borne,
She saith, she springs from _Saturne, Ioues_ wronged Sier,
And heauen, and earth, and hell her coate haue borne,
Fresh bleeding harts, within a field of fier;
All that the world admires, she makes her scorn,
Who farthest seems, is to _Ill-fortune_ nier,
And that iust proofe may her great praise commend,
All that _Best-chaunce_ begins, _Ill-chaunce_ doth ende.

Thus they, dispute, guilding their tongues report
With instances, and argumental sawes,
_Ill-fortune_, bids let all the worlde resort,
And show within their Chronicles and lawes,
The man whose liue-line neuer did consort,
With sharpe affliction, deaths first grounded cause,
Then will she yeeld, else, is shee victor still.
Worlds good is rare, perpetuall is their ill.

Euen as the racket takes the balls rebound;
So doth _Good-fortune_ catch _Ill-fortunes_ proofe,
Saying, she wil her in herselфе confound,
Making her darts, Agents for her behoofe;
Bow but thine eies (quoth she) whence ha'ts abound,
And I will show thee vnder heauens roofe
'Th vnconquered man whom no miscance importunes.
Crown of my kingdom, deaths man to misfortune.

At this, the casments of the skye broke ope,
Discouering all what's girdled in her frame,
 Whilst _Happy-fortune_ through her eyes large scope
Like a Cosmographer comments on the same;
Three parts with praise she past and future hope,
Then to the fourth, the Westerne world she came,
 And there, with her eyes festrawe paints a storie,
 Stranger than strange, more glorified than glorie.

See (sayd _Faire-fortune_, to her soule shapt _Foe_) 
How on the scourge that beates against the Ile
 Of _Flores_ , whence they curst oblations growe,
 A wind-taught capring ship which ayre beguiles,
(Making poore _Cephalus_ for-lorne with woe,
Curse arte, which made arte framed saile such smiles)
 Richlie imbrodred with the Iems of warre,
 In thy dispight commaunds a lucky starrye.

In that faire vessel liues my garlands flower.
 _Grinuile_ , my harts immortall arterie;
Of him thy dettie had neuer power,
Nor hath hee had of griefe one sympathetic;
Successe attends him, all good hap doth shower
A golden raine of perpetuitie
Into his bossome, whete mine Empire stands,
Murdring the Agents of thy blacke commands.

Say, and say true, (for what but thou wilt say,)
That euer _Grinuils_ fortunes came before thee,
Of euer prostrate at thine Altars lay,
Or with one wreath of Cipresse did adore thee?
Prove one blacke storme in all his Sommers day,
Whose threatening clouds compeld him to implore thee.
 Then wil I staine my milkwhite vaile with weeping,
 And as thine handmaide dye in sorrowes keeping.

As wounds the lightning, yet preserues the skinne,
So did these words split _Lucklesse-fortunes_ hart,
Her smiling _Superficies_ , lockt within
A deepexulcerated festring smaart;
Heere shee perceiu'd her first disgrace begin,
And wordlesse from the heauens takes her depart.
Yet as she flewe her wings in flying cri'd
On _Grinuile_ shall my fame and power be tride.
At her departure all the heavens were glad.
Triumphant in Ill-fortunes banishment,
_Apollo_ set new _Anthems_ as _Ioue_ bad,
Which sphere tunes made more then most excellent;
No light in heaven but with new fier was clad,
Making next _Ioue, Good-fortune_ president,
Enrowling in the Bookes of destenie,
This memorable famous victorie.

Only the _Fat's_ su'd for her backe repeale,
(For they _Ill-fortune_ lou'd exceeding well)
Many her deeds and Trophies they reveale,
And all her liues blacke legend, weeping tell;
Yet all they speake, cannot in heaven prevail,
Which seene, in spight they follow her to hell,
And there inhoused with their mother _Night_,
All foure devise, how heaven and earth to spight.

Hence sprang the loues of _Ioue_, the _Sonnnes_ exile,
The shame of _Mars_ and _Venus_ in a net,
_Junos_ forsaken bed; Saturns compile
Of frantike discontentment, which bestet
All heaven with arms; _Diana_ hence had while
To court her sleeping boy; whilst _Thetis_ let
_Phoebus_ imbrace her in her _Neptunes_ stead,
Who made complaints, breach of his bridall bed:

Yet not content with these disparagments,
Much greater mischiefes issues from their minds,
_Grimaille_, thy mountaine honour it augments
Within their breasts, a Meteor like the winds,
Which thrall'd in earth, a reeling issue rents
With violent motion; and their wills combinds
To belch their hat's, vow'd murderers of thy fame,
Which to effect, thus they begin the same.

Fast to _Iberia_ flies untoward chance,
_Iberia_, which we vulgar Christen _Spaine_,
Vpon whose Sunne-burnt continent doth daunce
Western _Ducallidon_, the greatest maine,
Thither shee packs, _Error_ doth their advance
Her coale-blacke standerd in the hands of paine;
And as esapt from ruishment or bale,
With false teares, thus shee tunes a falser tale.

Great Empire (said shee) blessed in thy birth,
Beautious created for-head of this round,
That with thy smiles first lent to heaven mirth,
And bout thy temples all perfections woond,
Lodgd in th'immagin'd corners of the earth;
Thou whom our centers Monarchesse art crownd,
Attend my suite, baptisd in mournefull teares,
Who but ere while triumphed on the sphereas.

Nor for my selfe more then thine owne decay
Which blindfold pleasure clouds as they arise,
Be gracious, and retort the domefull daye
Which thee and me to shame would sacrifice.
Loe, on the great west-walling boisterous sea,
Which doth imbrace thy gold-enclosing eyes,
Of many sailes one man, of one poor Ile,
That will my fame, and all thy faire defile.

His numberlesse great infinit of fame,
Haue shut against me heauens great christall dore,
The clouds, which once my feets dust had to name,
Hang ore my forhead, threatening euermore
Death to my praise; life to my infant shame,
Whilst I with sighes mediate a new restore.
And in my selfe behold my pleasures past,
Swimming amongst the ioyes I cannot tast.

Th' ambrosian Nectar-filled banqueting,
No more shall I communicate, or see,
Triumphes in heauen, Ioues masks, and reuelling,
Are cleene exempt, both from my ioyes and me.
The reason, for my loue to thee I bring,
Trimming the locks with Iems of dietie,
Making the gods a dread a fatall day,
Worse then the Giants warre or Centaurs fray.

Poore goddesse, rob'd of all eternall power,
Whose broken Statues, and down razed Fan's,
Neuer warm'd altars, euer forgotten hower
Where any memorie of praise is tane,
Witness my fall from great _Olympus_ tower;
Prostrate, implore blame for receiued bane,
And dyre reuenge gainst heauens impietie,
Which els in shame will make thee follow mee.

Behold these robes, maps of my fortunes world,
Torne, and distaind with eye-scornd beggerie;
These rags deuide the Zones, wherein is hurld
My liues distemprate, hote cold miserie;
These teares are points, the scale these hairs vncurld,
My hands the compasse, woe the emperie:
And these my plaints, true and auriculer,
Are to my Globe the perpendiculer.

Looke how I am, such art thou like to be
If armes preuent not heauens intendiment,
_Grinuile_, which now surfeits with dignitie,
Burd'ning the Sea with my disparagement;
Chiding the wanton winds if greedelie
They kisse his sailes; or els too slowlie vent,
 Like _Ioue_, which bad the day be and it was,
So bids he Conquest warre; she brings to passe.

The sole incouragement he giues his power,
Is Prophet-like presaging of thy death,
Courage he cries, euen in the dying hower,
And with his words, recalls departing breath;
O (sayes he to his Mat's) you are my glories tower,
Impregnable, wall'd with vnuanquisht faith,
You are the hands and agents of my trust,
I but the hart reuoluing what we must.

Liue Saints, til we haue ript the wombe of _Spayne_,
And wounded _Error_ in the armes of hell,
Crushing the triple Mytery in disdain,
Which on the sevenfold mounted Witch doth dwell,
Angells rewards for such dissignes remaine,
And on heauens face men shall your stories tell;
At this they shoute; as eager of the pray,
As Ants in winter of a sunn-shine day.

Thus like triumphant _Cæsar_ drawne in Rome,
By winged _Valure_, and unconquered _Chaunce_,
He plowes the Sea (ô were it made his tombe)
Whilst _Happy-fortune_ pypes unto his daunce.
Yet may thy power alternat heauens doome,
So pleaseth thee thy forward will t'advance,
And cheare the sinews of thy mighty arme,
Whose out-strech force shall quell his proud alarme.

Then giue newe fuell to his honours fier,
Least slight regard wealth-winning _Error_ slay,
And so old _Saturns_ happie world retier,
Making _Trueths_ dungion brighter than the day;
Was neuer woe could wound thy kingdom nyer,
Or of thy borrowed beautie make display,
Because this vow in heauens booke doth remaine,
That _Errors_ death shall consumate thy raigne.

Now, for my god-heads remnant liues in thee,
Whose lost successe breeds mine eternall end,
Take for thine ayde, afflicting _Miserie_,
_Woe_, mine attendant, and _Dispayre_ my freend,
All three my greatest great _Triumuerie_,
Blood bath'd _Carnifici_, which will pretendent
A murdring desolation to that will,
Which me in thee, and thee in mee would kill.

Here, with her fixed Comet-blazing eyes,
The damned _Augurs_ of untimely death,
Shee ends her tale, whilst from her harts causse flyes
A storme of winds, no gentle sighing breath,
All which, like euill spirits in disguise,
Enter _Iberias_ eares, and to her sayth,
That all the substance of this damned storie,
Was zealous true, coyned for her _Spanish_ glorie.

Sworne to beleue, for ill, in ill assies,
_Spayne_ then enamour'd with the _Romane_ trull,
Calls all her forces, more then Atomies,
And tells _Ill-fortunes_ storie to the full;
Many Parenthises shee doth devise,
And frost-releeting words doth choycely cull,
Bewitching those whom oft shee had deceiued,
With such like Hemlock as her selfe receiued.

The first and greatest one, commaunding all,
The soule of mischiefes old created mother,
Was _Don Alphonso Bassan_, proud in brall,
The Marques _Sancta Cruces_ onely brother;
Him shee coniures by typ's emperiall,
And all that falshoods seeming trueth could couer,
To vndertake this hie (she termed it) act,
Which craues a curse of all that reads the fact.
Her selfe (shee said) and all the flowers of _Spayne_,
Should vnder his, as heauens Ensigne warre:
Thus from her harts foule dunghill flyes amaine
Grosse vapours, metamorphosd to a starre;
Her words in fumes like prodogies retaine
His hart, by her tongues witchcraft bound so farre,
And what shee will, that will hee vnder-take,
Be it to warre with heauen for her sake.

The seeming Nectar of her poysoning speech,
So well shee saw surprise his licoras sence,
That for to reare her ill beyonds ills reach,
With selfe-like tropes, decks self-like eloquence,
Making in _Britain Dona_ such a breach,
That her arm'd wits, conqu'ring his best wits sence,
He vowes with _Bassan_ to defende the broile,
Which men of praise, and earth of fame shal spoile.

To him shee giues the _Biscaynoys_ for guard,
Mechanicall Artificers for death,
And those which of affliction neuer hard,
She tempers with the hammer of her breath:
To euery act shee giues huge lyp-reward,
Lauish of oathes, as falshood of her faith;
And for the ground of her pretended right,
Tis hate, which enuies vertue in a Knight.

These two to her fast bound in vassailage,
Vnto the Marques _Arumburch_ shee flyes,
Him shee prouokes, him shee finds apt to rage,
Imprisoning Pitties teares in flintie eyes;
To him the power of _Siuill_ for a gage
Shee doth bequeath; bidding his prowesse ryse,
And clense his Countries face from widowes tears,
To which he posts, like lightning from the sphears.

Lastly, to make vp mischiefes perfect square,
To _Luis Cutino_ shee takes her flight,
Him shee commaunds, he to her hommage sware
To guide a Nauie to this damned fight,
Of Hulks and Fly-boats such as durst to dare.
Shee giues him soueraigne rule, and publique right,
And then vniting all foure powers in one,
Sends them to sea, to calme _Misfortunes_ mone.

And now behold (duine for valiancie)
Like flying Castells sayle they to this strand,
Fiftie three saile, strong in artillarie;
Best men of warre knowne in the _Spanish_ land;
Fifteene Armados, Kings of soueraignty,
Which led the lesser with a mightie hand:
And these in foure battalions hither flie,
With whom three dayes I sailed in companie.

Then gentle _Grinuile, Thetis_ parramoure,
Dearer than _Venus_, Daughter of the flood,
Set sailes to wind, let not neglect deuoure
Thy gracious fortunes and thine Angell goode,
Cut through the maine, compell thy keele to scoure,
No man his ill too timelie hath with-stoode
And when _Best-chaunce_ shal haue repaired thy fortune,
Time for this flight may iust reuenge importune.

Here _Midelton_ did end the passing peale
Which gaue the warning to a dismall end,
And as his words last knell began to faile,
This damned Nauie did a gimmering send,
By which _Sir Richard_ might their power reuale,
Which seeming conquerlesse did conquests lend;
At whose appearance _Midelton_ did cry,
See where they come, for fame and pitty flie.

This certaine story, of too certaine ill,
Did not extinguish, but gaue honour fier,
Th'amazing prodigie, (bane of my quill.)
Bred not astonishment, but a strong desier,
By which this heauen-adopted Knights strong will,
Then hiest height of Fame, flew much more hier:
And from the boundlesse greatnes of his minde,
Sends back this answer through his lyps refin'd.

Thanks hardie _Midelton_ for thy dilate,
Perswasiue presage to auoyde my death,
But if thou wed my fortunes with my state,
This sauing health shall suffocate my breath,
To flye from them that holds my God in hate,
My Mistres, Countrey, me, and my sworne fayth,
Were to pull of the load from _Typhons_ back,
And crush my selfe, with shame and seruille wrack.

Nor if my hart degenerate should yeeld,
To entertaine an amorus thought of life,
And so transport mine honour to the field,
Where seeming valure dies by cowards knife,
Yet zeale and conscience shall new forces build,
And others soules, with my soule holdeth strife;
For halfe my men, and all that draw sound breath,
Are gone on shore, for foode to conquer death.

If I forsake them, certaine is their end,
If I obtaine them, doubtfull is our fall,
Vpon my flight, shame and their sacks depend,
Vpon my stay, hope of good hap doth call,
Equall to me, the meanest I commend;
Nor will I loose, but by the losse of all:
They are the sinewes of my life and fame,
Dismembred bodies perish cripple-lame.

This sayd, he sends a cock-boate to the shore,
To summon backe his men vnto their ship,
Who com'd a board, began with some vprore
To way their Anchors, and with care to dip
Their hie reuolues in doubt, and euermore,
To paint deaths visage with a trembling lip,
Till he that was all fearelesse, and feare slew,
With Nectard words from them all dangers drew.

When _Midelton_ saw _Grinuills_ hie reuolue,
Past hope, past thought, past reach of all aspire,
Once more to moue him flie he doth resolue,
And to that purpose tips his tongue with fier;
Fier of sweete words, that easelie might dissolue
And moisten flint, though steeld in stiffe attire,
Had not desier of wonder praise, and fame,
Extinkt the sparks, and still keepe dead the flame.

Greater, and better then inarked he,
Which in the worlds huge deluge did suruie,
O let thy wings of magnanimitie,
Not vainlie flatter, _Honour_ to acchiue,
Gainst all conceit impossibilitie,
By which thou murderst _Vertue_ , keepe alie,
Nor in thy seeking of diuinitie,
Kill not heauens fame by base mortalitie.

O _Grinuile_ thou hast red Philosophy
Nature and Arte hath made thee excellent,
And what thou read'st, hath grafted this in thee,
That to attempt hie dangers euident
Without constraint or neede, is infamie,
And honor turns to rashshes in th'euent:
And who so darrs, not caring how he darrs,
Sells vertues name, to purchase foolish starrs.

Deere Knight, thou art not forst to hazard fame,
Heauens haue lent thee meanes to scape thine ill,
If thou abide, as true as is thy name,
So truly shall thy fault, thy death fulfill:
And as to loue the life for vertues flame,
Is the iust act of a true noble will,
So to contenme it, and her helps exclude,
Is baseness, rashness, and no _Fortitude_.

He that compard mans bodie to an hoast,
Sayd that the hands were scouts, discoveringe harmes,
The feete were horsemen, thundring on the coast,
The brest, and stomacke, footmen, huge in swarmes.
But for the head, in soueraigntie did boast,
It Captayne was, director of alarms,
Whose rashness, if it hazarded an ill,
Not hee alone but all the hoast did spill.

Rash _Isadas_ , the _Lacedemon_ Lord,
That naked fought against the _Theban_ power,
Although they crown'd his valure by accord,
Yet was hee find for rashness in that hower:
And those which most his carelesse praise affoord,
Did most condemne what follie did deuoure;
For in attempting, provesse is not ment,
But wiselie doing what we doe attempt.

Then sith t'is valure to abandon fight,
And base to darre, where no hope is to winne,
(Renowned man, of all renowne the light)
Hoyst vp thy sailes, delay attrackts thy sinne,
Flie from ill-boding starrs with all thy might,
Vnto thy hart let praise and pittie in.
This sayd, and more desirous much to crie,
Sir _Richard_ stayd him, with this rich replie.
Captayne, I praise thy warlike eloquence,
And sober Axioms of Philosophie,
But now's no time for schoole points difference,
When Deaths blacke Ensigne threatens miserie;
Yet for thy words sound of such consequenc.
Making flight praise, and fight pale obloquie,
Once ere I die, Ile clense my wits from rust,
And proue my flying base, my stay most iust.

Whence shall I flie? from refuge of my fame,
From whom? euen from my Countreis mortall foe,
Whither? but to the dungeon of my shame,
Why shall I flie? for fear of happie woe,
What end of flight? to saue vile life by blame,
Who ist that flies? _Grinuile_? Captayne no,
_Tis_ _England_ _flies_, faire Ile of hapiness,
And true diuine _Elizas_ holynes.

Shall then my life regard taynt that choice faire?
First will I perrish in this liquid round,
Neuer shall Sunne-burnt _Spanyards_ tongue endeare
_Iberian_ eares with what shall me confound,
The life I haue, I for my Mistris beare,
Curst were that life, should it her scepter wound,
And treble cursed be that damned thought,
Which in my minde hath any fayntnes wrought.

Now, for Philosophie defends thy theame,
Euen selfe Philosophie shall arme my stile,
Rich buskin'd _Seneca_, that did declaime,
And first in _Rome_ our tragicke pompe compile,
Saith, _Fortitude_ is that which in extreme
And certaine hazard all base feares exile:
It guides, saith he, the noble minde from farre,
Through frost, and fier, to conquer honors warre.

_Honie-tongd _Tullie_, Mermaid of our eares,
Affirmes no force, can force true _Fortitude_.,
It with our bodies, no communion beares,
The soule and spririt, sole doth it include;
It is that part of honestie which reares
The hart to heauen, and euer doth obtrude
Faint feare, and doubt, still taking his delight
In perrills, which exceed all perrills might.

_Patience, Perseuerance, Greatnes_, and _Strong Trust_,
These pages are to _Fortitude_ their King,
_Patience_ that suffers, and esteemeth iust,
What euer woe, for vertue fortunes bring;
_Perseuerance_, holds constant what we must,
_Greatnes_, that still effects the greatest thing.
And armed _Trust_, which neuer can dispaire,
But hopes good hap; how euer fatall deare.

The Roman _Sergius_, hauing lost his hand,
Slew with one hand foure in a single fight,
A thing all reason euer did with-stand.
But that bright _Fortitude_ spred forth her light
_Pompey_, by storme held from th' Italian_ land,
And all his sailors quaking in his sight,
First hoisted sail, and cry'd amidst the strife,
There's need I goe, no neede to saue my life.

_Agis_ that guilt the _Lacedemon_ streete,
Intending one day battaile with his foes,
By counsaile was repeld, as thing vnmeete,
The enemie beeing ten to one in shoes;
But he reply'd, Tis needful that his feete
Which many leads, should leade to many bloes:
And one being good, an Armie is for ten
Foes to religion, and known naughty men.

To him that told _Dienecus_ his foes
Couer'd the Sun with darts and armed speares,
Hee made reply, Thy newes is ioy in woes,
Wee'le in the shadow fight, and conquer feares.
And from the _Polands_ words my humor floes,
I care for naught but falling of the Sphæres.
Thunder affrights the Infants in the schooles,
And threatnings are the conquerors of fooles.

As these, my case is not so desperate,
And yet, then these, my darre shall be no lesse:
If this in them, for fame was wondred at,
Then this in mee, shall my desiers expresse;
Neuer shall _Greece_, nor _Rome_, nor Heathen state,
With shining honor, _Albions_ shine depresse,
Though their great circuits yeelds their acts large bounds,
Yet shall they neuer darr for deeper wounds.

And thus resolu'd, deere _Midelton_ depart,
Seeke for thy safetie in some better soyle,
Thy stay will be no succour in my smart,
Thy losse will make them boast of better spoyle.
And be assur'd before my last breath part,
Ile make the Sunne, for pittie backe recoyle.
And clothe the sea within a scarlet pale,
Jude of their death which shall my life exhale.

This ship which now intombs my iealous soule,
Honestlie enuious of aspiring laude,
Is cald _Reuenge_, the scourge which doth controule,
The recreants that _Errors_ right applaud,
Shall like her selfe, by name and fame enroule
My spyrits acts, by no _Misfortune_ aw'd,
Within eternall Bookes of happie deeds,
Vpon whose notes, immortall Vertue reeds,
Say, if I perish, t'was mine honours will,
My Countries loue, religion, and my Queene,
And if that enuie glorie in mine ill,
Say that I dyed, conqu'ring, vnconquered seene.
Say fiftie three strong shyps could not fulfill,
Gainst one poore mayden vessell their foule teene,
But that in spight of death, or miserie,
She fought, and foyled, and scapt captiuitie.

Replie not _Midelton_ mine eares are clos'd,
Hie in heauen's for-head are my vowes ingrau'd,
I see the baneful Nauie nowt disclosed,
Begun betime, Fate hath thy fortune sau'd;
To me good starres were neuer yet opposed,
Glorie hath crownd me when I glorie crau'd,
Farwel, and say how euer be my chaunce,
My death at honours wedding learnt to daunce.

This sayd, away sailes Midelton with speede,
Sad, heauie, dull, and most disconsolate,
Shedding stout manlie teares at valures deed,
Greeuing the ruine of so great estate;
But _Grinuile_, whose hope euer did exceede,
Making all death in daungers fortunate,
Gan to prouide to quell this great vprore,
Then which the like was neuer heard before.

His fights set vp; and all things fit prepard,
Low on the ballast did he couch his sick,
Being fourscoore ten, in Deaths pale mantle snar'd,[4]
Whose want to war did most their strong harts prick.
The hundred, whose more sounder breaths declard,
Their soules to enter Deaths gates should not stick,
Hee with diuine words of immortall glorie,
Makes them the wondred actors of this storie.

Nothing he left vnsaid that tongue could say,
To breede contempt of death, or hate of thrall,
Honours reward, fame for a famous day,
Wonder of eares, that men halfe gods shall call:
And contrarie, a hopelesse certaine way,
Into a Tyrants damned fists to fall,
Where all defame, base thoughts, and infamie,
Shall crowne with shame their heads eternally.

In this great thunder of his valiant speech,
From whence the eares-eyes honors lightning felt,
The _Spanish_ Nauie came within the reach
Of Cannon shot, which equallie was delt
On eyther side, each other to impeach;
Whose volleys made the pittying skyes to melt,
Yet with their noyse, in _Grinuiles_ heart did frame,
Greater desier, to conquer greater fame.

And now the sunne was past his middle way,
Leaning more louely to his Lemans bed,
And the noones third hower had attacht the day,
When fiftie three gainst one were basely led;
All harts were fierd; and now the deadlie fray,
Began tumultuouslie to ouer-spread.
The sea with fier, the Element with smoake
Which gods, and monsters from their sleep awoake.

In foure great battailes marcht the _Spanish_ hoast,
The first of _Suill_ led in two great squares,
Both which with courage, more then can be most,
Sir _Richard_ forst to giue him way with cares;
And as the Sea-men terne it in our coast,
They sprang their luffe, and vnder lee declares,
Their manie forces feebled by this one,
Whose thoughts, saue him, are rightly due to none.
And now he stands amidst the thickest throngs,
Walled round with wooden Castels on the waue,
Fifty three Tygers greedy in their wrongs,
Besiege the princelie Lion in his caue:
Nothing sees _Grinuile_ which to hope belongs,
All things are fled that any hap could saue;
Bright day is darkned by incurtaind night,
And nothing visits them but Canons light.

Then vp to heauen he lifts his loftie hart,
And cryes, old _Salon_, I am happy made.
All earthlie thoughts cleane from his spirits part,
Vertue and Valure all his sences lade,
His foes too fewe, too strong he holds his part,
For being conqueror he would conquer all,
Or conquered, with immortall honour fall.

Neuer fell hayle thicker then bullets flew,
Neuer show'rd drops faster than showring blowes,
Liu'd all the _Woorthees_, all yet neuer knew
So great resolue in so great certaine woes;
Had Fame told Caesar what of this was true,
His Senate-murdred spirite would haue rose,
And with faire honors enuie wondred then,
Cursing mortalitie in mightie men.

Whilst thus affliction turmoyled in this brall,
And _Grinuile_ still imployed his Actor death,
The great _San-philip_, which all _Spayne_ did call
Th' vnuanquisht ship, _Iberias_ soule and faith,
Whose mountaine hugenes more was teermad then tall,
Being twice a thousand tuns as rumour saith,
Came rushing in, becalming _Grinuiles_ sailes,
Whose courage grew, the more his fortunes failes.

Hotlie on eyther side was lightning sent,
And steeled thunder bolts dinge men to hell,
Vnwelde _Phillip_ backt with millions lent,
Worse cracks of thunder then on _Phaeton_ fell,
That with the dayes fier fiered the Element;
And why? because within her ribs did dwell,
More store of shot and great artillarie,
Then might haue seru'd the worlds great victorie.

Three tire of Cannon lodg'd on eyther side,
And in each tire, eleuen stronglie lay,
Eyght in her chase, that shot forth right did bide,
And in her sterne, twice eight that howerlie play;
Shee lesse great shot, in infinets did hide,
All which were Agents for a dismall day.
But poore _Reuenge_ lesse rich, and not so great,
Aunswered her cuffe for cuffe, and threat for threat.

Anon they graple eyther to the other,
And doth the ban-dogge with the Martins skinne;
And then the wombe of _Phillip_ did vncouer,
Eight hundred Souldiers, which the fight beginne:
These board Sir _Richard_, and with thronging smother
The daye, the ayre, the time, and neuer linne,
But by their entrance did instruct eight more,
To doe the like, on each side foure and foure.

Thus in one moment was our Knight assaild,
With one huge _Argosie_, and eight great ships,
But all in vaine, their powers naught prevaild,
For the _Reuenge_, her Canon loud-dogs slips,
Whose bruizing teeth, so much the _Phillip_ quaild,
That foundring in the greedie maine, he dips
His damned bodie in his watrie tombe,
Wratp with dishonour in the Oceans wombe.

The other eight, fighting, were likewise foild,
And driuen perforce vnto a vile retraite,
None durst abide, but all with shame recoild,
Whilst _Valures_ selfe, set _Grimuile_ in her seate;
Onely _Don Luis Saint Iohn_, seeing spoild,
His Countries honour by this strange defaite,
Single encountred _Grimuile_ in the fight,
Who quicklie sent his soule to endlesse night.

_George de Prunaria_, a Spanish Knight,
\_Euer held valiant in dispight of fate,
Seconded _Luis_, and with mortall night,
Writ on Sir _Richards_ target souldiers hate,
Till _Grimuile_ wakned with his loud rung fight,
Dispatcht his soules course vnto _Plutos_ gate:
And after these two, sent in post all those
Which came within his mercie or his blowes.

By this, the sunne had spread his golden locks,
Vpon the pale green carpet of the sea,
And opned wide the scarlet dore which locks
The easefull euening from the labouring day;
Now Night began to leape from iron Rocks,
And whip her rustie wagon through the way,
Whilst all the _Spanish_ host stoode maz’d in sight,
None darring to assayle a second fight.

When _Don Alfonso_, Generall of the warre,
Saw all his Nauie with one ship controld,
He toare his hayre, and loudlie cryd from farre,
For honour _Spanyards_, and for shame be bold;
Awaken Vertue, say her slumbers marre
\_Iberias_ auncient valure, and infold
Her wondred puissance, and her glorious deeds,
In cowards habit, and ignoble weeds.

Fie, that the spyrst of a single man,
Should contradict innumerable wills,
Fie, that infinituies of forces can,
Nor may effect what one conceit fulfills;
Woe to the wombe, ceaselesse the teats I ban,
That cherrisht life, which all our liues ioyes kills;
Woe to our selues, our fortunes, and our minds,
Agast and scarrd, with whistling of the winds.

See how he triumphes in dispight of death,
\_Promethean_ like, laden with liuing fier,
And in his glorie spits disdainfull breath,
Loathing the baseness of our backe retire;
Euen now me thinke in our disgrace he saith,
Foes to your fames, why make you Fate a liyer,
   When heauen and she haue giuen into your hand,
What all the world can neuer back demand?

Say that the God of _Warre_; Father of Chialrie,
The _Worthies_ , _Heroes_ , all fam'd Conquerours,
_Centaurs_ , _Gyants_ , victorious _Victorie_
Were all this _Grinuils_ hart-sworne paramours.

Yet should we fightlesse let our shyps force flie:
Well might we crush his keele with rocklike powers,
   And him with them ore-whelme into the maine,
Courage then harts, fetch honour backe againe.

Heere shame, the fretting canker of the mind,
That fiers the face with fuell from the hart,
Fearing his weapons weakenes, eft assigned
To desperate hardines his confounding dart,
And now the _Spaniards_ made through words stone blind,
Desperate by shame, ashamed dispaire should part,
   Like damned scrichowles, chimes to dead mens hours,
Make vowes to fight, till fight all liues deuours.

And now the tragick sceane of death begins,
Acts of the night, deeds of the ouglie darke,
   When Furies brands gaue light to furious sins,
And gastlie silence gaping wounds did marke;
Sing sadlie then my Muse (teares pittie wins)
Yet mount thy wings beyond the mornings Larke,
   And wanting thunder, with thy lightnings might,
Split cares that heares the dole of this sad night.

The fier of _Spaynes_ pride, quencht by _Grinuils_ sword,
   _Alfonso_ rekindles with his tong,
And sets a batelesse edge, ground by his word
Vpon their blunt harts feebled by the strong,
Loe animated now, they all accord,
   To die, or ende deaths conflict held so long;
And thus resolud, too greedelie assay
   His death, like hounds that hold the Hart at bay.

Blacker then night, more terrible then hell,
Louder then thunder, sharper then _Phoebus_ steele,
Vnder whose wounds the ouglie _Python_ fell,
   Were bullets mantles, clowding the haplesse keele,
The slaughtered cryes, the words the cannons tell,
   And those which make euen rocky Mountaines reele,
And thicker then in sunne are Atomies,
   flew bullets, fier, and slaughtered dead mens cries.

At this remorsles Dirgie for the dead,
The siluer Moone, dread Soueraigne of the Deepe,
That with the floods fills vp her horned head
And by her waine the wayning ebbs doth keepe:
   Taught by the Fat's how destenie was led,
Bidds all the starres pull in their beames and weepe:
   For twas vnfit, chast hallowed eyes should see
Honour confounded by impietie.
Then to the night she gives all soueraigne power,
Th'eternall mourner for the dayes diuorce,
Who drowned in her owne harts killing shower,
Viewes others torments with a sad remorse.
This flintie Princesse, ayme cries to the hower,
On which to looke, kinde eies no force could force.
And yet the sight her dull hart so offended,
That from her sight a fogge dewe descended.

Now on our Knight, raines yron, sword, and fiers,
Iron wrapt in smoke, sword bath'd in smoking blood,
Fiers, furies king, in blood and smoke aspires
The consumation of all liuing good,
Yet _Grinuile_ with like Agents like expires
His foemen's darts, and euermore withstood
Th'assaults of death, and ruins of the warre,
Hoping the splendour of some luckie starre.

On eyther side him, still two _Gallions_ lay,
Which with continuall boardings nurst the fight,
Two great _Armados_ howrelie ploy'd their way,
And by assaulte, made knowne repellesse might.
Those which could not come neere vnto the fray,
Aloose dicharg'd their volleys gainst our Knight.
And when that one shrunk back, beat with disgrace,
An other instantly supply'd the place.

So that their resting, restlesse him containd,
And theyr supplies, deny'd him to supply:
The _Hydra_ of their mightines ordaind
New spoile for death, when old did wounded lie:
But hee, _Herculian_-like one state retaind,
One to triumph, or one for all to die.
Heauen had onelie lent him but one hart,
That hart one thought, that thought no feare of smart.

And now the night grew neere her middle line,
Youthfully lustie in her strongest age,
When one of _Spaynes_ great _Gallions_ did repine,
That one should many vnto death ingage,
And therefore with her force, halfe held diuine,
At once euaporates her mortall rage,
Till powerfull _Grinuille_, yeelding power a toombe
Splyt her, & sunck her in the salt waves wombe.

When _Cutino_, the Hulks great Admirall,
Saw that huge Vessel drencht within the surge,
Enuie and shame tyered vpon his gall,
And for reuenge a thousand meanes doth vrge;
But _Grinuile_-, perfect in destructions fall,
His mischives with like miseries doth scourge,
And renting with a shot his wooden tower,
Made _Neptunes_ liquid armes his all deuouer.

These two ore-whelm'd, _Siuills Ascension_ came,
A famous ship, well man'd and strongly drest,
_Vindicta_ from her Cannons mouthes doth flame,
And more then any, our dread Knight opprest:
Much hurt shee did, many shee wounded lame,
And Valurs selfe, her valiant acts confest.
Yet in the end, (for warre of none takes keepe)
_valurs_ sunck her within the watry deepe.

An other great _Armado_, brusd and beat,
Sunck neere _S. Michaels_ road, with thought to scape,
And one that by her men more choicely set,
Beeing craz'd and widow'd of her comly shape,
Ran gainst the shore, to pay _Ill-chaunce_ her debt,
Who desolate for desolations gape:
Yet these confounded, were not mist at all.
For new supplies made new the aged brall.

This while on _Grinuile_ ceazed no amaze.
No wonder, dread, nor base astonishment,
But true resolue, and valurs sacred blaze,
The crowne of heauen, and starrie ornament
Deck't his diuine part, and from thence did raze
Affects of earth, or earth's intendiment.
And in this broyle, as cheerefull was his fight,
As _Ioues_, embracing _Danae_ by night.

Looke how a wanton Bridegroome in the morne,
Busilie labours to make glad the day,
And at the noone, with wings of courage borne,
Recourts his bride with dauncing and with play,
Vntil the night which holds meane bliss in scorne,
By action kills imaginations sway,
And then, euen then, gluts and confounds his thought,
With all the sweets, conceit or Nature wrought,

Euen so our Knight the bridegroome vnto _Fame_,
Toild in his battailes morning with vnrest,
At noone triumph'd and daunst, and made his game,
That vertue by no death could be deprest;
But when the night of his loues longings came,
Euen then his intellectuall soule confest
All other ioyes imaginarie were
Honour vnconquerd, heauen and earth held deare.

The bellowing shotte which wakened dead mens swounds,
As _Dorian_ musick, sweetned his cares,
Ryuers of blood, issuing from fountaine wounds,
Hee pyttes, but augments not with his teares,
The flaming fier which mercilesse abounds,
Hee not so much as masking torches feares,
The dolefull Eccho of the soules halfe dying,
Quicken his courage in their banefull crying.

When foule _Misfortune_ houering on a Rock,
(The stonie girdle of the _Florean_ Ile,)
Had seene this conflict, and the fearfull shock,
Which all the _Spanish_ mischiefes did compile,
And saw how conquest licklie was to mock
The hope of _Spayne_, and fauster her exile,
Immortall shee, came downe herselfe to fight,
And doe what else no mortall creature might.

And as she flew the midnights waking starre,
Sad _Cassiopea_ with a heauie cheare,
Pusht forth her forehead, to make known from farre,
What time the dryrie dole of earth drew neare,
But when shee saw Misfortune arm'd in warre,
With teares she blinds her eyes, and clouds the ayre,
And asks the Gods, why Fortune fights with man?
They say, to doe, what else no creature can.

O why should such immortall enuie dwell,
In the enclosures of eternall mould?
Let Gods with Gods, and men with men retell,
Vnequall warres t'vnequall shame is sould;
But for this damned deede came shee from hell,
And Ioue is sworne, to doe what dest'nie would,
Weepe then my pen, the tell-tale of our woe,
And curse the fount from whence our sorrows flow.

Now, now Misfortune fronts our Knight in armes,
And casts her venom through the Spanysh hoast,
Shee salues the dead, and all the lyuing warmes
With vitall enuie, brought from Plutos coast;
Yet all in vaine, all works not Grinuils harmes;
Which seene, shee smiles, and yet with rage imbost[5]
Saith to her selfe, since men are all too weake,
Behold a goddessse shall thy lifes twine breake.

With that shee takes a Musket in her hand,
Raft from a dying Souliour newlie slaine,
And ayming where th' unconquered Knight did stand,
Dischargd it through his bodie, and in twaine
Deuds the euer holic nuptiall band,
Which twixt his soule, and worlds part shold remaine,
Had not his hart, stronger then Fortunes will,
Held life perforce to scorne Misfortunes ill.

The bubling wound from whence his blood distild,
Mourn'd to let fall the hallowed drops to ground,
And like a jealous loue by ruiall illd,
Sucks in the sacred moisture through the wound;
But he, which felt deaths fatall doome fulfilld,
Grew fiercer valiant, and did all confound,
Was not a Spanyard durst abord him rest,
After he felt his deaths wound in his brest.

Hundreds on hundreds, dead on the maymed fall,
Maymed on sounde, sound in them selues lye slaine,
Blest was the first that to his ship could crall,
For wounded, he wounds multituds againe;
No sacrifice, but sacrifice of all,
Could stay his swords oblations vnto paine,
Nor in Phillipie, fell for Caesars death,
Soules thicker then for Grinuils wasting breath.

The Nemian Lyon, Aramanthian Bore,
The Hircanian Tyger, nor the Cholcean Bulls,
Neuer extended rage with such vprore,
Nor in their brests mad monstrous furie lulls;
Now might they learne, that euer learnt before,
Wrath at our Knight, which all wrath disanulls,
For slauish death, his hands commaunded more,
Then Lyon, Tyger, Bull, or angrie Bore.
Had _Pompey_ in _Pharsalia_ held his thought,
_Cæsar_ had neuer wept vpon his head,
Had _Anthonie_ at _Actiome_ like him fought,
_Augustus_ teares had neuer drowned him dead,
Had braue _Renaldo_, _Grinuiles_ puissance bought,
_Angelica_ from France had neuer fled,
Nor madded _Rowland_ with inconstancie,
But rather slayne him wanting victorie.

Before a storme flewe neuer Doues so fast,
As _Spaniards_ from the furie of his fist,
The stout _Reuenge_, about whose forlorne wast,
Whilome so many in their moods persis,
Now all alone, none but the scourge imbrast,
Her foes from handie combats cleane desist;
Yet still incircling her within their powers,
From farre sent shot, as thick as winters showers.

_Anger_, _and Enuie_, enemies to _Life_,
Strong smouldering _Heate_ and noisom stink of _Smoke_,
With over-labouring _Toyle_, _Deaths_ ouglie wife,
These all accord with _Grinuiles_ wounded stroke,
To end his liues date by their ciuell strife,
And him vnto a blessed state inyoke,
But he repelld them whilst repell he might,
Till feinting power, was tane from power to fight

Then downe he sat, and beat his manlie brest,
Not mourning death, but want of meanes to die;
Those which suruiu'd coragiouslie be blest,
Making them gods for god-like victorie;
Not full twice twentie soules aliue did rest,
Of which the most were mangled cruellie,
Yet still, whilst words could speake, or signes could show,
From death he maks eternall life to grow.

The Maister-gunner, which beheld his eyes
Dart fier gainst death triumphant in his face,
Came to sustaine him, and with courage cryes,
How fares my Knight? worlds glory, martiall grace?
Thine honour, former honours ouer-flyes,
And vnto _Heauen_ and _Vertue_ bids the bace;
Cheere then thy soule, and if deaths wounding pain it,
_Abram's_ faire bosome lyes to entertaine it.

Maister, he sayes, euen heers the opned dore,
Through which my spirit bridgroome like must ride,
(And then he bar'd his wounded brest all gore)
To court the blessed virgine Lambe his bride,
Streaming diuine blood from his sliced side,
And to that heauen my soule with courage flyes,
Because vnconquered, conquering it dyes.

But yet, replyed the Maister once againe,
Great vertue of our vertues, strive with fate,
Yeeld not a minute vnto death, retaine
Life like thy glory, made to wonder at.
This wounds recouerie well may entertaine
A double triumph to thy conquering state,
And make thee live immortal Angell blest,
Pleaseth thee suffer it be searcht and drest.

Descend then gentle Grinvile downe below,
Into my Cabin for a breathing space,
In thee there let thy Surgeon stanch our woe,
Giuing recuer to thee, our wounded case,
Our breaths, from thy breaths fontaine gently flow,
If it be dried, our currents loose their grace:
Then both for vs, and thee, and for the best,
Descend, to have thy wound bound vp and drest.

Maister, reply'd the Knight, since last the sunne
Lookt from the hiest period of the sky,
Giuing a signall of the dayes mid noone,
Vnto this hower of midnight, valiantly,
From off this vpper deck I haue not runne,
But fought, and freed, and welcomed victorie,
Then now to giue new couert to mine head,
Were to reuiue our foes halfe conquered.

Thus with contrarie arguments they warre,
Diuers in their opinions and their speech,
One seeking means, th' other a will to darre;
Yet both one end, and one desire reach:
Both to keepe honour liuing, plyant are,
Hee by his fame, and he by skilfull leach,
At length, the Maister winnes, and hath procurd
The Knight descend, to have his woundings curd.

Downe when he was, and had display'd the port
Through which his life was martching vp to heauen,
Albe the mortall taint all cuers retort,
Yet was his Surgeon not of hope bereuen,
But giues him valiant speech of lifes resort,
Saves, longer dayes his longer fame shall euen,
And for the meanes of his recouerie,
He finds both arte and possibilitie.

Misfortune hearing this presage of life,
(For what but chimes within immortall eares)
Within her selfe kindles a home-bred strife,
And for those words the Surgions doomes day swears.
With that, her charg'd peece (_Atropos_ keene knife,)
Agaime she takes, and leueld with dispairs,
Sent a shrill bullet through the Surgions head,
Which thence, through Grinuils temples like was led.

Downe fell the Surgeon, hope and helpe was reft,
His death gaue manumition to his soule,
Misfortune smyld, and euen then shee left
The mournfull Ocean, mourner for this dole;
Away shee flyes, for all was now bereft,
Both hopes and helpe, for life to win deaths gole;
Yet Grinuile vnamaz'd with constant faith,
Laughing dispisd the second stroke of death.

What foole (saith he) ads to the Sea a drop,
Lends Etna sparks, or angry stormes his wind?
Who burnes the root when lightning fiers the top?
Who vnto hell, can worse then hell combind?
Pale hungry Death, thy greedy longings stop,
Hope of long life is banefull to my mind:
Yet hate not life, but loath captiuitie,
Where rests no trust to purchase victorie.

Then vp he came with feeble pace againe,
Strength from his blood, blood from his wounds descending,
Saieth, here I liu'd, and here wil I sustaine,
The worst of Deaths worst, by my fame defending,
And then he fell to warre with might and maine,
Valure on death most valiantly depending,
And thus continued aye coragiously,
Vntil the day chast shadowes from the sky.

But when the mornings dewie locks drunk vp
A mistie moysture from the Oceans face,
Then might he see the source of sorrowes cup,
Plainly prefigured in that hatefull place;
And all the miseries that mortals sup
From their great Grandsire _Adams_ band, disgrace;
For all that did incircle him, was his foe,
And that incircled, modell of true woe.

His masts were broken, and his tackle torne,
His vpper worke hew'd downe into the Sea,
Naught of his ship aboue the sourge was borne,
But euen leueld with the Ocean lay,
Onely the ships foundation (yet that worne)
Remaind a trophey in that mighty fray;
Nothing at all aboue the head remained,
Either for couert, or that force maintained.

Powder for shot, was spent and wasted cleane,
Scarce seene a corne to charge a peece withall,
All her pykes broken, halfe of his best men slaine,
The rest sore wounded, on Deaths Agents call,
On th'other side, her foe in ranks remains,
Displaying multitudes, and store of all
What euer might auaile for victorie,
Had they not wanted harts true valiancie.

When _Grimuile_ saw his desperate drierie case,
Meerely dispoyled of all success-full thought,
Hee calls before him all within the place,
The Maister, Maister-gunner, and them taught
Rules of true hardiment to purchase grace;
Showes them the end their trauailes toile had bought,
How sweet it is, swift _Fame_ to ouer-goe,
How vile to diue in captiue ouerthrow.

Gallants (he saith) since three a clock last noone,
Vntill this morning, fifteene howers by course,
We haue maintaing stoute warre, and still vndoone
Our foes assaults, and driue them to the worse,
Fifteene _Armados_ boardings haue not wonne
Content or ease, but beene repeld by force,
Eight hundred Cannon shot against her side,
Haue not our harts in coward colours died.
Not fifteen thousand men around in fight,
And fifteen howers lent them to atchieue,
With fifty three great ships of boundlesse might,
Haue had or meanes or prowesse to contriue
The fall of one, which mayden vertue dight,
Kept in despite of _Spanish_ force aliue.
Then list to mee you imps of memorie,
Borne to assume to immortalitie.

Sith loosing, we vnlost keepe strong our praise,
And make our glories, gaynours by our ends,
Let not the hope of howers (for tedious dayes
Vnto our lines no longer circuite lends)
Confound our wondred actions and assayes,
Whereon the sweete of mortal eares depends,
But as we liue by wills victorious,
So let vs die victours of them and vs.

Wee that haue mercilesse cut Mercies wings,
And mufled pittie in deaths mistie vale,
Let vs implore no mercie; pittyings,
But from our God, deere fauour to exhale
Our soules to heauen, where all the Angells rings
Renowne of vs, and our deepe tragick tale;
Let us that cannot liue, yet liue to dye,
Vnthrald by men, fit trophieys for the skye.

And thus resolu'd since other meane is reft,
Sweet Maister-gunner, split our keele in twaine,
We cannot liue, whom hope of life hath left,
Dying, our deaths more glorious liues retain,
Let not our ship, of shame and foile bereft,
Vnto our foe-men for a prize remaine;
Sinke her, and sinking with the _Greeke_ wee'le cry,
Best not to be, or beeing soone to dye.

Scarce had his words tane wings from his deere tong,
But the stout Maister-gunner, euer rich
In heauenlie valure and repulsing wrong,
Proud that his hands by action might inrich
His name and nation with a worthie song,
Tow'rd his hart higher then Eagles pitch,
And instantlie indeuours to effect
_Grinuils_ desier, by ending Deaths defect.

But th' other Maister, and the other Mat's,
Disented from the honour of their minds,
And humbly praid the Knight to rue their stat's,
Whom miserie to no such mischiefe binds;
To him th' alheadge great reasons, and dilat's
Their foes amazements, whom their valures blinds,
And maks more eager t'entertaine a truce,
Then they to offer words for warres excuse.

They show him diuers gallant men of might,
Whose wounds not mortall, hope gaue of recuer,
For their saks sue they to diuorce this night
Of desperate chaunce, calld vnto Deaths black lure,
Their lengthened liues, their countries care might right,
And to their Prince they might good hopes assure.
Then quod the Captaine, (deare Knight) do not spill,
The liues whom gods and Fat's seeke not to kill.

And where thou sayst the _Spanyards_ shall not braue T' haue tane one ship due to our virgin Queene,
O knowe, that they, nor all the world can saue,
This wounded Barke, whose like no age hath seene,
Sixe foote shee leaks in hold, three shot beneath the waue,
All whose repaire so insufficient beene,
That when the Sea shall angrie worke begin,
She cannot chuse but sinke and dye therein.

Besides, the wounds and brusings which she beares,
Are such, so manie, so incurable,
As to remoue her from this place of feares.
No force, no wit, no meane, nor man is able;
Then since that peace prostrate to vs repaires,
Vnlesse our selues, our selues make miserable,
_Herculeen_ Knight, for pittie, pittie lend,
No fame consists in wilfull desperat end.

These words with emphasis and action spent,
Mou'd not Sir _Richard_, but inrag'd him more,
To bow or yeeld, his heart would neare relent,
He still impugns all thought of lifes restore;
The Maister-gunner euer doth consent
To act his wish, swearing, in beds of gore
Death is most louelie, sweete and amiable,
But captiu'd life for foulenes admirable.

The Captayne, seeing words could take no place,
Turnes backe from them vnto the liuing few,
Expounds what pittie is, what victors grace;
Bids them them selues, them selues in kindnes rew,
Peace if they please, will kindlie them imbrace,
And they may liue, from whom warres glory grew;
But if they will to desperate end consent,
Their guilty soules too late shall mourne repent.

The sillie men, who sought but liuing ioyes,
Cryes to the Captaine for an honor'd truce,
Life they desire, yet no life that destroyes
Their wonne renownes, but such as might excuse
Their woes, their wounds, and al what els anoyes
Beautie of laude, for other they refuse;
All which the Captaine swears they shal obtaine,
Because their foes, in doubtfull states remaine.

O when Sir _Richard_ saw them start aside,
More chaynd to life then to a glorius graue,
And those whom hee so oft in dangers tryde,
Now trembling seeke their hatefull liues to saue.
Sorrow and rage, shame, and his honors pride,
Choking his soule, madly compeld him raue,
Vntil his rage with vigor did confound
His heauie hart; and left him in a swound.

The Maister-gunner, likewise seeing Fate
Bridle his fortune, and his will to die,
With his sharpe sword sought to set ope the gate,
By which his soule might from his bodie flie,
Had not his frends perforce preseru'd his state,
And lockt him in his Cabbin safe to lie,
Whilst others swarm'd where haplesse _Grinuile_ lay,
By cryes recalling life, late runne away.

In this too restlesse turmoile of vnrest,
The poore _Reuenges_ Maister stole awaye,
And to the _Spanish_ Admirall adrest
The dolefull tidings of this mournfull day,
(The _Spanish_ Admirall who then oprest,
Houering with doubt, not daring t'end the fray,) And pleads for truce, with souldier-like submission
Anexing to his words a straight condition.

_Alfonso_ , willing to giue end to armes,
For well he knew _Grinuile_ would neuer yeild,
Able his power stoode like vnnumbred swarmes,
Yet daring not on stricter tearmes to build,
He offers all what may alay their harms
Safetie of liues, nor any thrall to weld,
Free from the Gallie, prisonment, or paine,
And safe returne vnto their soyle againe
To this he yeelds, as well for his own sake,
Whom desperate hazard might indamage sore,
As for desier the famous Knight to take,
Whom in his hart he seemed to deplore,
And for his valure halfe a God did make,
Extolling him all other men before,
Admiring with an honourable hart,
His valure, wisdome, and his Souldiours Art.

With peacefull newes the Maister backe returns,
And rings it in the liuing remnants eares,
They all reioyce, but _Grinuile_ deadly mourns,
He frets, he sighs, he sorrowes and despaires,
Hee cryes, this truce, their fame and blisse adiourns,
He rents his locks, and all his garments teares,
He vowes his hands shall rent the ship in twaine
Rather then he will _Spanish_ yoke sustaine.

The few reseru'd, that life esteem’d too well,
Knowing his words were warrants for his deede,
Vnkindly left him in that monstrous hell,
And fled vnto _Alfonso_ with greate speede,
To him their Chieftaines mightines they tell,
And how much valure on his soule doth feede,
That if preuention, not his actions dim,
Twill be too late to saue the shyp or him.

_Bassan_ made proude, vnconquering t'ouer-come,
Swore the brave Knight nor ship he would not lose,
Should all the world in a petition come:
And therefore of his gallants, fortie chose
To board Sir _Richard_ , charging them be dombe
From threatening words, from anger, and from bloses,
But with all kindnes, honor, and admire
To bring him thence, to further _Fames_ desire.
Sooner they boarded not the crazt Barke,  
But they beheld where speechlesse _Grinuile_ lay,  
All smeard in blood, and clouded in the darke,  
Contagious curtaaine of Deaths tragick day;  
They wept for pittie, and yet silent marke  
Whether his lungs sent liuing breath away,  
Which when they sawe in ayrie blasts to flie,  
They striu'd who first should stanch his misery.

Anon came life, and lift his eye-lids vp,  
Whilst they with teares denounce their Generals wil,  
Whose honor'd mind sought to retort the cup  
Of deaths sad poysion, well instructd to kill;  
Tells him what fame and grace his eyes might sup  
From _Bassans_ kindnes, and his Surgions skill,  
Both how he lou'd him, and admir'd his fame,  
To which he sought to lend a liuing flame.

Aye mee (quoth _Grinuile_) simple men, I know  
My bodie to your Generall is a pray,  
Take it, and as you please my lyms bestow,  
For I respect it not, tis earth and clay:  
But for my minde that mightier much doth grow,  
To heauen it shall, despight of _Spanish_ sway.  
He swounded, and did neuer speake againe.  
This said, orecome with anguish and with paine,

They took him vp, and to their Generall brought  
His mangled carkasse, but vnmaimed minde,  
Three dayes hee breath'd, yet neuer spake he ought,  
Albe his foes were humble, sad, and kinde;  
The fourth came downe the Lambe that all souls bot,  
And his pure part, from worser parts refind,  
Bearing his spirite vp to the loftie skyes,  
Leauing his body, wonder to wonders eyes.

When _Bassan_ saw the Angell-spirite fled,  
Which lent a mortall frame immortall thought,  
With pittie, griefe, and admiration led,  
He mournfully complaine what Fat's had wrought.  
Woe me (he cryes) but now aliue, now dead,  
But now inuincible, now captiue brought:  
In this, vnjust are Fat's, and Death declared,  
That mighty ones, no more than meane are spared.  
You powers of heauen, rayne honour on his hearse,  
And tune the Cherubins to sing his fame,  
Let Infants in the last age him rehearse,  
And let no more, honour be Honor's name:  
Let him that will obtaine immortall verse,  
Conquer the stile of _Grinuile_ to the same,  
For till that fire shall all the world consume,  
Shall neuer name, with _Grinuile_ name presume.  
Rest then deere soule, in thine all-resting peace,  
And take my teares for tropheys to thy tombe,  
Let thy lost blood, thy vnlost fame increase,  
Make kingly eares thy praises second wombe:  
That when all tongues to all reports surcease,  
Yet shall thy deeds, out-liue the day of doome,  
For even Angels, in the heasens shall sing,
Grinuile vnconquered died, still conquering.

O ælinam.

Footnotes:

1: Choristers.

2: Hangings, so called from having first been made at Arras.

3: Constellations.

4: Entangled.

5: Blown by being hunted.

"But being then _imbost_, the stately deer
When he hath gotten ground," &c.

--Drayton's Polyolbian, xiii, p. 917.

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A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by five ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights. Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Iones.

The Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turkey trade, hauing receiued intelligencies, and aduertisements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arrested al English ships, bodies, and goods in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet trafique which they vsed to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had giuen order to the Captaines of his gallies in the Leuant, to hinder the passage of all English ships, and to endeuour by their best meanes, to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their flete for Turkie, in such strength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemie might the better be preuented, and the voyage accomplished with greater securitie to the men and shippes. For which cause, fiue tall, and stoute shippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were proudied and furnished with all things belonging to the Seas; the names whereof were these:

1. The Marchant Royal, a very braue and good shippe, and of great report.

2. The Tobie.

3. The Edward Bonauenture.

4. The William and Iohn.

5. The Susan.

These fiue departing from the coast of England, in the moneth of Nouember 1585. kept together as one flete, til they came as high as the Isle of Sicilie, within the Leuant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each shippe began to take leaue of the rest, and to separate himselfe, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, situated vpon the coast of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the rest to those places, whereunto they were priuatly
appointed. But before they divided themselves, they altogether consulted, of and about a certain and special place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their severall portes. And in conclusion, the generall agreement was to meet at Zante, an Island neere to the maine continent of the West part of Morea, well knownen of all the Pilots, and thought to be the fittest place of their Rendevous. Concerning which meeting, it was also couenanted on eche side, and promised, that whatsoeuer ship of these 5. should first arrrive at Zante, should there stay and expect the coming of the rest of the fleete, for the space of twenty dayes. This being done, ech man made his best hast according as winde and wether woulde serve him to fulfill his course, and to dispatch his businesse: and no neede was there to admonish or incourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor opportunitie omitted on any side, in the performance of ech mans duetie, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Constantinople had made such good speede, and gotten such good weather, that she first of all the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast ancre, attending the arriuall of the rest of the fleete, which accordingly (their busines first performed) failed not to keepe their promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and Iohn came from Tripolie in Syria, and arriued at Zante within the compasse of the foresaide time limitted. These ships in token of the ioy on all parts concerned for their happy meeting, spared not the discharging of their Ordinance, the sounding of drums and trumpets, the spreading of Ensignes with other warlike and ioyfull behaviours, expressing by these outward signes, the inward gladnesse of their mindes, being all as ready to ioyne together in mutuall consent to resist the cruel enemie, as now in sporting maner they made myrth and pastyme among themselues. These three had not bene long in the hauen, but the Edward Bonauenture also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their lading, the sight of whom increased the ioy of the rest, and they no lesse glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kinde sort, according to the maner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stoode at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content to stay in the port, till the necessities of ech shipp were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this port of Zante, the newes was fresh and currant, of two severall armies and fleetes prouided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong Gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleete houered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20. Gailies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the island of Malta, vnder the charge and government of Iohn Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name seruing the king of Spaine. These two diuers and strong fleetes waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt made their accout and sure reckoning that not a shipe should escape their furie. And the opinion, also of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Gallies in both these armies, hauing receuied such straight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and little in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that wee should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselves upon the goodnesse of their
cause, and the promise of God, to bee deliuered from such as without reason sought their destruction, carried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to adventure through the Seas, and to finish their Navigations, maugre the beards of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too carelessse, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie vpon Gods prouidence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselves, and to deliberate advisedly for their best defence. And in the end with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and ech shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoever extremity should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Græcia, and committed themselves againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietnes, without sight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Africke: into sight wherof they came the 13. day of July 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they descried 13. sailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselves ready for a fight, laid out their Ordinance, scoured, charged, and primed them, displayed their ensignes, and left nothing undone to arme themselves thoroughly. In the meane time, the Gallies more and more approched the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Isles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the servise and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the Gallies sent from ech of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were? They answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the said frigate expostulated with them, and asked why they delayed to sende or come with their Captaines and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiua their Geuerall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas? Our men replied and said, that they owed no such duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigat to depart with that answere, and not to stay longer a brabling, vpon her perill. With that away she went, and vp comes towards them the other frigate of Malta, and shee in like sort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were. Our Englishmen in the Admirall, not disdaining an answere, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this case, they also demaundeth of the frigat whence she and the rest of the gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malta, and for mine owne part my name is Cauallero. These gallies are in servise and pay to the king of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiua a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him to know his pleasure, he is a noble man of good behauiour and courtesie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admiral, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said. We purpose not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courtesie, whereof we are suspitious and doubtful, and not without good cause: vsing withall good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboard him, promising securitie and good vsage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon hee in deed left his frigat, and came aboard him, whom hee intertained in friendly sort, and caused a
cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reuerend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honourably of her Maiestie, and giving good speeches of the courteous vsage and interteinement that he himselfe had receiued in London, at the time that the duke of Alenson, brother to the late French king was last in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leaue, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especially of the Marchant Royal, which he confessed to haue seene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiuia the Spanish general, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Masters and Pursers should come to him with speed, or else hee would set vpon them, and either take them or sinke them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him; and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish brauado that should make them yeeld a iot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an injuriue. Whereupon Cauallero the messenger left bragging, and began to persuade them in quiet sort and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing moue them to doe that which hee required. At the last he intreated to haue the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the Generall, so that he might be satisfied, and assured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himselfe seemed willing to bee imployed in that message, and laboured by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to graunt it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discreet answers to satisfie the Generall, and thereby to saue the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battel. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Cauallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a soldiuer) deliuer him backe againe in safetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had receiued sufficient triall of Spanish inconsistencie and perjurie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spaniards othe. But at last, vpon much intreatie, he yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good speeches and answeres of reason would haue contented him, whereas otherwise refusall to do so, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish Generall, the rest of the Gallies hauing espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeelede, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigat, every man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, Haue these Englishmen yeelded? the frigate answered, Not so, they neither haue nor purpose to yeeld, onely they haue sent a man of their company to speake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of souldiers attending vpon him in armour also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleete, why stand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whose person I here represent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, pasports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose? Let al these things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further displeasure and the spoyle of you all: These wordes of the Spanish Generall were not so outragiously pronounced as they were mildly answered by M. Rowit, who tolde him that they were al Merchantmen, usig trafique in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not vrged further then reason. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his Souereigne
the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe about to offer any such injurie to English Marchants, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes of any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as, touching his commandement aforesaide, for the acknowledging of duetie, in such particular sort, he told him, that were there was no duetie owing, there none should be performed, assuring him that the whole company and shippes in generall stood resolutely vpon the negatiue, and would not yeeld to any such vreasonable demaund, joyned with such imperious and absolute maner of commanding. Why then, said he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor shew obedience to me in the name of any king. I wil either sinke them or bring them to harbor, and so tell them from me. With that the frigat came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboard the English Admiral againe according to promise: who was no sooner entred in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides: the Spaniards hewed off the noses of the Gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the shot, and the English on the other side courageously prepared themselves to the combat, euery man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was discharged from the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admirall with a Culuering; so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: ech English ship matched it selfe in good order against two Spanish Gallies, besides the inequalitie of the frigats on the Spaniards side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valure according to their strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewith would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God the reuenger of al euils, and the giuer of victories, that it would please him to assist them in that good quarel of theirs, in defending themselues against so proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion which the insolent enemie sought so much to ouerthrowe. Contrarily, the foolish Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady giue vs the victory, and the honour thereof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes and prayers on both sides the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtfull a long time to which part the victorie would incline: til at the last the Admiral of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde vp her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom al the sort of them inclosed, labouring by all their meanes to keep them aboue water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had receiued to perish in the seas: and what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselues, the English were vncertaine, but by a probable coniecture apparant afar off, they supposed their losse was so great that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: [Sidenote: A fight of fiue houres.] whereupon with shame and dishonor, after 5. houres spent in the battell, they withdrew themselues: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes: with the losse onely of two men slaine amongst them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinson with his good words and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shameful repulse of the enemy.

Thus with dutiefull thankes to the mercy of God for his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Nauigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port towne vpon the coast of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselues after their wearinesse, and to
take in such supply of fresh water and victuals, as they needed: they were
no sooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof sent a
messenger to the ships to knowe what they were, with which messenger the
chiefe master of ech shippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not
onely with the state of their ships in respect of marchandize, but with the
late fight which they had passed with the Spanish Gallies, reporting euer
particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the said
king shewed himselfe marueilous glad, interteining them in the best sort,
and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall
proclamation in the city vpon paime of death, that no man of what degree or
state soeuer he were, should presume either to hinder them in their
affaires, or to offer them any maner of inurie in body or goods. By vertue
whereof they dispatched al things in excellent good sort, with al fauor and
peaceablenesse: only such prisoners and captiues of the Spaniards as were
in the Citie, seeing the good vsage which they receiued, and hearing also
what seruice they had performed against the foresaide Gallies, grudged
exceedingly against them, and sought as much as they could to practise some
mischeife against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone
in a certaine lane of the Citie, came vpon him suddenly, and with his knife
thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wound, but that it was
easily recouered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king
with the fact, who immediatly sent both for the party that had receiued the
wound and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence of
himselfe and the English, to chastise the slaue euen to death, which was
performed to the ende that no man should presume to commit the like part,
or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The English hauing receiued this good justice at the kings hands, and al
other things that they wanted, or could craue for the furnishing of their
shippes; tooke their leaue of him, and of the rest of their friends, that
were resident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the
second army of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the month of
the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of necessitie to passe. But
comming neere to the said Straight, it pleased God to raise at that instant
a very darke and mistie fogge, so that one ship could not discerne another,
if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof; together with the notable
faire Easterne winds that then blewe most fit for their course, they passed
with great speed through the Straight, and might haue passed with that good
gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withstand them, and the aire neuer so
cleare for euer ship to be seene. [Sidenote: The second Spanish fleete
lying in watie for the English.] But yet the Spanish Gallies had a sight of
them when they, were come within 3. English miles of the towne, and made
after them in all Possible haste, and although they saw that they were
farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and foolish pride, they shot
off their Ordinance, and made a stirre in the Sea as if they had bene in
the midst of them, which vanitie of theirs ministred to our men notable
matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadowes, and to
take so great painses to so small purpose.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud
Spanish king, which, he had prouided of purpose to distressethe English,
who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little
hurt; and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name,
the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the just commendation of ech
mans seruice performed in that voyage.

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VI. The Conquest of the Grand Canaries, &c.

VII. The Summary or briefe declaration of the Admirals departing towardes the West Indies

VIII. The Worldes Hydrographical Discription,...published by J. Dauis of Sandrudg by Dartmouth...anno 1595, May 27
To the Righte Honorable Lordes of Her Maiesties Most Honorable Priuie Counsayle

The World's Hydrographical Obiections against al northerly Discoueries

To proue a passage by the norwest, etc.

By experience of Trauellers to proue this passage

To proue the premisses by the attemptes of our owne countrymen, besides others

By late experience to proue that America is an Iland, etc.

That the Ayre in colde regions is tollerable

That vnder the Pole is the place of greatest dignitie

What benefites would growe vnto Englande by this passage being discouered

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