



Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

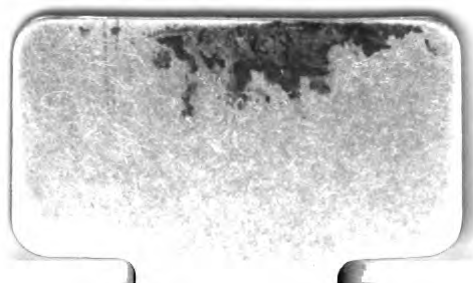
<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.



2033 e. 597



LIFE, VOYAGES, AND EXPLOITS
OF
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

WITH NUMEROUS ORIGINAL LETTERS
FROM HIM AND THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL TO THE QUEEN AND
GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

BY JOHN BARROW, F.S.A.



"THE FIRST WHO PLOUGHED A FURROW ROUND THE WORLD."

NEW EDITION.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1861.



LONDON :

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JAMES R. GRAHAM, BART.,

&c. &c. &c.

ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE,

THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

The first Edition of the ' Life of Sir Francis Drake ' being out of print, the work has been carefully revised ; and also considerably abridged, in order that it might appear as one of the Numbers of the ' Colonial and Home Library.'

P R E F A C E.

THE reasons which have induced me to submit the following pages to the public may be briefly stated.

The Life of Drake, written by Dr. Johnson, is interesting in no common degree ; and in it are happily blended a vivid narrative of adventure with lofty and valuable moral precepts : but it is altogether incomplete ; the great moralist having terminated his narrative somewhat abruptly at the conclusion of the Circumnavigation Voyage ; and leaving untold all the important events of Drake's subsequent life.

Dr. Southey's memoir, given in the third volume of his 'Lives of the British Admirals,' is much more complete ; and evinces great research : but it forms part of a voluminous work ; from the very nature of which many subjects, not immediately connected with Drake, are blended with the details of his life.

It appeared to me, therefore, that a Life of the celebrated circumnavigator, more extended than that of Dr. Johnson and unencumbered with other biographies, might be acceptable to the public : the more especially as there was reason to believe that much valuable matter, illustrative of his career, remained unexplored in the public depositories of the kingdom, and in private collections. I accordingly applied my best diligence to the task : and I do not think that I overrate the result of my labour when I state, that many of the original documents never before published which are given in the following pages will be found in no common degree interesting and important.

By the kindness of Sir James Graham, I received ready permission to investigate the documents in the State Paper Office; where I felt assured that much important matter would be found. From this source, as well as from the numerous collections of manuscripts in the British Museum, I obtained copies of many autograph letters, not only of Sir Francis Drake, but also of the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Effingham; several of them relating to the Spanish Armada, miscalled 'the Invincible;' together with many other documents connected with the public transactions of Sir Francis Drake.

In going through these collections I received great assistance from Sir Henry Ellis, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Lemon; for which my best thanks are due to them: as they are also to Mr. Thorpe; who most obligingly took the trouble to collate my copies with the almost illegible manuscripts.

I next applied to Sir Francis Palgrave, with reference to the records in the Tower; but was informed by him that there is nothing among the Admiralty Papers so early as the reign of Elizabeth. Sir Francis Palgrave thinks it probable that in the Rolls-House there may be Accounts connected with the subject; but says that the search would be laborious, as there are no indices.

The answer which I received from the Bodleian Library was, that "the collection contained nothing new to interest a biographer of Sir Francis Drake."

In the Ashmolean Museum there are only a few notices; and these have already appeared in print.

At Magdalen College, Cambridge, there are numerous and voluminous documents collected or composed by Mr. Pepys, chiefly relating to naval matters; but little or nothing concerning Drake.

To Mr. Bolton Corney, a gentleman of great literary acquirements and research, I am highly indebted for the loan of several valuable and rare tracts, besides detached notes of information on points connected with my subject; and I am the more anxious

thus publicly to offer him my thanks, in consequence of the ready and willing manner in which they were communicated.

There is still, however, a great deficiency of materials regarding the private and domestic life of Drake ; and as the family may be considered extinct, or at least only continued in the female line, there is but little hope that any such will be forthcoming.

I did not omit to apply in every quarter where there was the slightest chance of obtaining any information ; and especially to Sir Thomas Trayton Fuller Elliott Drake, Bart., the nephew of the late Lord Heathfield, to whose property he has succeeded ; and who has also, under a Royal patent, taken the names of Elliott and Drake, after that of Fuller, as well as the arms of Drake. His reply was that he had nothing whatever, except some relics that were given to Drake by Queen Elizabeth, an account of which had already been published ; but at the same time, in the most obliging manner, expressed his willingness to place the whole of these in my hands.

As Sir Francis Drake was much in communication with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and had frequent correspondence with him, I applied, through a friend, to the Marquis of Salisbury ; requesting to be permitted to have access to the Burleigh Papers, at Hatfield House ; or at least to be informed what was the nature and extent of the documents they contained relating to Drake. The reply was, that it would be a long time before the catalogue was finished ; and that his Lordship must decline to let any person have unlimited access to the papers : but that as soon as they were completely arranged, I should be informed how far he could contribute to my object.

I applied also to the Marquis of Exeter, as it appeared probable that he might be in possession of papers connected with Drake or his family. His Lordship's reply was, that he had sent all his papers to Lord Salisbury. Thus, then, these memorials, whatever they may be, remain, after the lapse of two centuries and a half, still inaccessible.

In transcribing the autograph letters of the Lord High Admiral

and of Sir Francis Drake, I have rigidly adhered to the originals ; even to the spelling, although the same words are frequently written differently, at different times, and even in the same letter.

Subjoined is a list of the principal authors, many of them the contemporaries of Drake, upon whose authority I have framed my account of his life.* In very many instances I have transcribed their original words. It would have been easy for me to have remodelled these passages, and to have given their substance in a modern garb ; and the narrative would have had a less disjointed appearance had I done so. But I felt that any change in their phraseology — any departure from their quaint and forcible mode of expression—must detract, not only from the interest of the details which they give, but in some degree also from the validity of their statements. This conviction outweighed with me all minor considerations.

* Camden
Stow
Strype
Speed
Holinshed
Hakluyt

Purchas
Fuller
Prince
Monson
D'Ewes
Hume

Lediard.—As also,
Rymer's Fœdera
Birch's Tracts
Lord Somers' Tracts
World Encompassed
Drake Revived, &c.

C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITION OF HAWKINS TO THE WEST INDIES.

1567—1568.

The parentage and early life of Francis Drake—His Sea-education—	Page
Voyage to the West Indies with his friend Captain John Hawkins—	
Treachery of the Spaniards and Disasters in that Voyage—Narrative	
of Miles Philips—Letter from Hawkins to Cecil—Narrative of Job	
Horton	1

CHAPTER II.

THIRD VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH MAIN.

1572—1573.

State of England and Spain—Revised Relation of this Voyage by	
Drake himself—Arrive at Port Pheasant—Symerons—Transactions	
at Nombre de Dios—The Treasury and Governor's house—Drake	
wounded—Return to their ships at the Isle of Pinos—Cartagena—	
Capture a great ship of Seville—Drake destroys his own ship the	
Swan—Takes several vessels—Arrives at Port Plenty—Drake leaps	
on shore at Cartagena—John Drake slain—Sickness in the crew—	
Death of Joseph Drake—Attempt to reach Panama by land—Dis-	
appointment—Drake is led to a great tree—Discovers the South Sea,	
and makes a solemn vow—Vasco de Balboa—Returns to England—	
Sir Wm. Davenant's Drama	15

CHAPTER III.

THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1577—1580.

Preliminary Observations—Drake's Services in Ireland—He is patron-	
ised by the Queen—Expensive preparations for the Voyage—Secrecy	
as to its destination—The cause of a rival enterprise—Oxenham's dis-	
astrous voyage and death—Drake's squadron—Captures made by it—	
Misconduct of Doughty—Patagonians—Arrival at St. Julian—Trial	
and execution of Doughty—Passage through the Strait of Magelhaens	
—Driven down to Cape Horn—Passage up the North Pacific—	
Numerous captures of Treasure	34

CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1577—1580.

	Page
Drake proceeds to the Northward—A North-East Passage round America suggested—Intense cold—Interview with the natives of the West Coast of North America—Drake takes possession of New Albion in the Queen's name—Crosses the Pacific to the Moluccas—Calls at Java—Voyage home	59

CHAPTER V.

DRAKE IN ENGLAND.

1580—1585.

Drake is well received at Plymouth—Neglected in London, and at the Court—Restored to the favour of the Queen, who visits his ship at Deptford—Confers Knighthood on him—Honours paid to the ship—Amount of Treasure brought home	72
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

DRAKE'S VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES.

1585—1586.

Drake receives command of a squadron—Sir Philip Sydney—The squadron and troops employed—Land on the island of St. Jago—Attack on St. Domingo, and on Cartagena—Sickness in the fleet—The intention of taking Nombre de Dios, and entering the Isthmus, abandoned—Destroy St. Augustine—Return homewards—Call at Virginia—Bring away the Governor and Colonists, who abandon the Colony—Introduction of Tobacco	82
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITION TO CADIZ.

1587.

Designs of Philip—Insolence of the Spanish Ambassador—Drake appointed to command an expedition—Letter of Sir F. Drake—Arrives at Cadiz; burns, sinks, and carries away about 100 sail of ships—Dispatches Captain Crosse with letters—Leaves Cadiz—Destroys a number of ships in the Tagus—Drake stands over to Terceira, and captures a large and rich carrack—Case of Captain Burroughs	6
---	---

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE.

1588.

Pretence of treating for peace—Unworthy conduct of Spain—Predictions of triumph—Naval and Military forces—Lord High Admiral puts to sea—Correspondence of Lord C. Howard and Sir F. Drake with the Queen, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lords of the Council	Page 113
--	-------------

CHAPTER IX.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE.

1588.

The Armada in the Channel—Anecdote of Drake—First attack—Spanish MS. Journal—Daily proceedings of the two fleets—The Armada is dispersed by fire-ships—Driven into the North Sea—Its disastrous condition—Letters from the Lord High Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, and Lord Henry Seymour 127
---	---------------

CHAPTER X.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE.

1588.

Summary of the Spanish losses—Libels of the late Spanish Ambassador on the British Officers—Drake's reply—Public thanksgiving—Queen's procession to St. Paul's—Letters of the Lord High Admiral and Sir Francis Drake, relative to the late invasion—The fleet is paid off 143
--	---------------

CHAPTER XI.

EXPEDITION TO THE GROUYNE (CORUNNA), AND LISBON.

1589.

Reasons for attacking Spain—Petition of Don Antonio, a candidate for the Crown of Portugal—Sir F. Drake and Sir J. Norris appointed to command the Expedition—Letters of Sir J. Norris and Sir F. Drake to Lord Burleigh—Attack on Corunna—Gallant conduct of a Female—Description of the attack by Norris and by Drake—Essex joins them—Arrival at Peniche—Norris marches for Lisbon—Drake sails for Cascais—Proceedings before Lisbon—Proceedings at Cascais—Embark at Cascais—The fleet is dispersed in a Storm—Arrive at Plymouth—Case of Lord Essex 151
--	---------------

CHAPTER XII.

VOYAGE OF DRAKE AND HAWKINS TO THE SPANISH COLONIES.

1590—1596.

	Page
Letter of Drake to Prince Henry de Bourbon, and his reply—A fleet fitted out under Drake and Hawkins—Its object—Attack on the Grand Canaria fails—The fleet separates in a storm—Meet at Guadaloupe—Death of Hawkins—Sir F. Clifford and Master Browne killed by shot from the forts—Unsuccessful attack by the pinnaces of the squadron—La Hacha, Rancheria, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios taken—Attempt to reach Panama fails—Death of Drake—Return of Expedition—Character of Drake by Fuller, Stow, and others—Review of his Career	167

L I F E
OF
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITION OF HAWKINS TO THE WEST INDIES

1567—1568.

The parentage and early life of Francis Drake—His sea-education—Voyage to the West Indies with his friend Captain John Hawkins—Treachery of the Spaniards and disasters in that voyage—Narrative of Miles Philips—Letter from Hawkins to Cecil—Narrative of Job Horton.

AMONG the number of distinguished characters which the reign of Queen Elizabeth produced, the name of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE must always hold a prominent place. Born of humble parents, and thrown upon the world, in early youth, as a common seaman, by honest industry, by perseverance and resolution in overcoming difficulties, and by unflinching courage, he gradually rose to the highest rank in the Naval Service, and to the honour of knighthood bestowed by the Sovereign; an honour which, in that illustrious reign, was the reward of distinguished merit only.

“ This Drake,” says Camden, “ (to relate no more than what I have heard from himself) was born of mean parentage in Devonshire, and had Francis Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford) for his godfather, who, according to the custom, gave him his Christian name. Whilst he was yet a child, his father, Edmund Drake, embracing the Protestant doctrine, was called in question by the law of the Six Articles made by Henry VIII. against the Protestants, fled his country, and withdrew himself into Kent”—“ for,” says Prince, in his ‘ Worthies of Devon,’ “ the sting of Popery still remained in England, though the teeth thereof were knocked out, and the Pope’s supremacy abolished.”

Sir Francis Drake (the nephew) says, in the dedication to the ' Voyage Revived,'

"Honest reader, without apologie, I desire thee in this insuing discourse to observe with me the power and justice of the Lord of Hostes, who could enable so meane a person to right himself upon so mighty a prince, together with the goodness and providence of God, very observable, in that it pleased him to raise this man, not only from a low condition, but even from the state of persecution; his father suffered in it, being forced to fly from his house (neere South Tavistocke in Devon) into Kent, and there to inhabit in the hull of a shippe, wherein many of his younger sonnes were born; hee had twelve in all, and as it pleased God to give most of them a being upon the water, so the greatest part of them dyed at sea; the youngest, though he were as far as any, yet dyed at home, whose posterity inherits that which by himself, and this noble gentleman the eldest brother, was hardly, yet worthily gotten."

"After the death of King Henry," continues Camden, "he (the father) got a place among the seamen in the King's Navy, to read prayers to them; and soon after he was ordained Deacon, and made Vicar of the Church of Upnore upon the river Medway (the road where the fleet usually anchoreth). But by reason of his poverty he put his son to the master of a bark, with which he used to coast along the shore, and sometimes to carry merchandise into Zeland and France.

"The youth, being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by will and testament."

The account thus given by Camden, one of the ablest and most faithful of our old historians, and coming as it does from Drake himself, must be considered as settling the question of his parentage; and disproving the story of his father Edmund being merely a sailor.

What indeed could a sailor have to do with the Six Articles, to make it necessary for him to fly his country? It is more probable that he was one of those who bore the title of Preacher or Minister, and had received holy orders, but was without church preferment, and engaged in giving instruction to the neighbouring people, and reading prayers to them. Be that as it may, he must have been a well-educated man, if it be true that he was ordained Deacon, and inducted to the vicarage of Upnore, on the river Medway.

The cottage on the banks of the Tavy, in which Drake was born, remained unaltered until about thirty years ago. It was then demolished, and a stall for cattle now stands upon its site.

The date of his birth is uncertain. There is an original portrait of him in Buckland Abbey, painted *Anno Domini* 1594; *ætatis suæ* 53: according to this he must have been born in 1541: but there is also a beautiful miniature portrait by Hilliard, sold lately at Strawberry Hill, and now in possession of the Earl of Derby, under which is written *Ætatis suæ* 42; *Anno Dom.* 1581: which gives 1539 for the date of his birth. There is a doubt also as to the name of his father, which appears by the pedigree to have been Robert, and not Edmund, the third son of John Drake of Otterton.

For some time young Drake continued to carry on the same business as his master had done. But the narrow seas were too confined a space for so large and aspiring a mind. He therefore sold his bark, and by the advice of Captain John Hawkins, a bold and adventurous seaman (who is called his kinsman), was induced to try his fortune with him on a venture to the West Indies, in which he embarked the whole of his little property.

Captain John Hawkins had previously made two voyages to Guinea and the West Indies, purchasing Negro slaves at the first place, and selling them to the Spaniards at the latter;—a trade that was then carried on by virtue of a treaty, still subsisting, between Henry VIII. and Charles V. So far was this traffic from being considered infamous, that every encouragement was given to it by Queen Elizabeth; who took Hawkins into her service, made him Paymaster of the Navy, and as a mark of her favour gave him a coat of arms, the crest of which was a demi-moor, properly coloured, bound by a cord,—the very emblem which has since been used to stamp with infamy this inhuman trade.

That the adventurous spirit of Drake should have induced him cheerfully to join a man who had always been kind to him, and who was engaged in large mercantile concerns, on a voyage to the West Indies, cannot be wondered at.

“Nothing,” says Dr. Johnson, “was talked of among the mercantile or adventurous part of mankind but the beauty and riches of this new world. Fresh discoveries were frequently made, new countries and nations, never heard of before, were daily described; and it may easily be concluded that the relators did not diminish the merit of their attempts, by suppressing or diminishing any circumstance that might produce wonder or excite curiosity.”

Drake was already acquainted, but to what extent we know not, with the West Indies and the coast of the Caribbean Sea; for in the Preface to the Voyage (called his Third), revised, as we shall see, by Drake himself, and published by his nephew, he speaks of the wrong he suffered with Captain John Lovell, in the years 1565 and 1566, at Rio da Hacha. Of this voyage no particulars appear to have been at any time published; it was no doubt based on mercantile speculation; and perhaps among other things, in the traffic for slaves, as an outward-bound cargo: and doubtless the knowledge he then acquired was of important advantage to Captain Hawkins in his present undertaking.

The expedition consisted of one of the Queen's ships, which, as the strongest proof of her approbation of the voyage, she lent to Hawkins. It was called the *Jesus of Lubeck*, and was of 700 tons burden. It was commanded by Hawkins as Admiral—or General; the latter being the title given in those days to the commander of a naval expedition. To the *Jesus* was added the *Minion*, Captain John Hampton; the *William and John*, Captain Thomas Bolton; and the *Judith*, Captain Francis Drake, he being then, as it is stated, in the twenty-third year of his age, or, if the inscription on the Buckland Abbey picture be correct, in his twenty-sixth. There were besides two other very small vessels, the *Angel* and the *Swallow*.

On the 2nd of October, 1567, they set sail from Plymouth, but met with a violent storm off Cape Finisterre, which lasted four days: the ships separated, the boats were all lost, and the *Jesus* suffered so much as to be nearly disabled. The storm ceasing, however, they were enabled to re-assemble the ships and to pursue their course; and having reached the Cape de Verde, Hawkins landed about 150 of his men, in the hope of obtaining a supply of negroes. Here, however, they got but few, and those with great hurt and damage to their men, chiefly caused by the envenomed arrows of the negroes: and "although," says Hakluyt, "in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any, that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouthes shutte some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole;" "when I myself," says Hawkins, "had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped."

They next proceeded down the coast of Guinea, and after

many difficulties, and the loss of several men, they succeeded in obtaining about 200 negro slaves more; and departed with this cargo of human beings on their voyage for the Spanish Islands of the West Indies, to sell them to the Spaniards, as Hawkins had done before, under the conditions of the treaty above mentioned.

Hawkins, however, before he proceeded with his cargo to the West Indies, went farther down the coast to St. Jorge da Mina, where he was to obtain gold for his merchandise, fitted, no doubt, for the slave-market. At this place a negro king came to ask his assistance against a neighbouring king, promising him all the negroes that should be taken. An offer so tempting was not to be rejected; and 150 men were selected and sent to assist this black warrior. They assaulted a town containing 8000 inhabitants, strongly palled round, and fenced after their manner, and so well defended that Hawkins' people had six slain and forty wounded. More help was called for:

"Whereupon," says Hawkins, "considering that the good success of this enterprise might highly further the commodity of our voyage, I went myself; and with the help of the king of our side, assaulted the town both by land and sea; and very hardly, with fire (their houses being covered with palm-leaves), obtained the town and put the inhabitants to flight; where we took 250 persons, men, women, and children; and by our friend, the king on our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to have our choice; but the negro (in which nation is never or seldom found truth) meant nothing less; for that night he removed his camp and prisoners, so that we were fain to content us with those few that we had gotten ourselves."

On the 27th of March they came in sight of Dominica, coasted Margarita, Cape de la Vela, and other places, "carrying on, and without obstruction, a tolerable good trade," that is, of course, selling their negroes for silver. But at Rio da Hacha all commerce with the inhabitants was strictly prohibited. Hawkins, deeming this to be an infraction of the treaty, and an unauthorized and illegal proceeding, determined to attack the place: and having landed 200 men, the town was taken by storm with the loss of two men only; and no hurt is said to have been done to the Spaniards; because, after their volley was discharged, they all fled. They soon, however, returned; and then secret trade was carried on during the night; and the Spaniards bought 200 negroes; and at all other places the inhabitants traded willingly.

In proceeding from hence toward Cartagena they were caught in a terrible storm ; which continued four days, and so shattered the *Jesus*, that they cut down her upper works : her rudder was also shaken, and she sprang a leak. Proceeding toward Florida, they encountered another storm ; and were driven into the bay of Mexico, and entered into the port of San Juan d'Ulloa : in searching for which they took on their way three ships, which carried passengers to the number of one hundred.

“ I found in this port,” says Hawkins, “ twelve ships, which had in them by report, 200,000*l.* in gold and silver ; all which being in my possession, with the King's Island, and also the passengers, before in my way thitherward stayed, I set at liberty without taking from them the weight of a groat.”

The Spaniards mistook the English ships for a fleet from Spain, which was daily expected ; and the chief officers came on board ; but being soon undeceived, were in great alarm : when, however, they found that victuals only were demanded, they took courage and furnished them in abundance.

To prevent any misunderstanding, Hawkins sent to Mexico, representing to the viceroy that he had put into this port in consequence of stress of weather ; that he was in want of victuals, and his ships in great need of repair ; and, as Englishmen and friends to Spain, he requested that they might be supplied with what they wanted, on proper payment being made.

“ On the morrow,” says Hawkins, “ we saw open of the haven thirteen great ships, and understanding them to be the fleet of Spain, I sent immediately to advertise the general of the fleet of my being there ; giving him to understand, that before I would suffer them to enter the port, there should be some order of conditions pass between us, for our safe-being there, and maintenance of peace.”

It is not easy to comprehend how a commander of three ships, two of them of no strength, should presume to dictate to thirteen great ships, not to mention the twelve others already in port, and that port belonging to the Spaniards, and guarded by a battery of brass guns ; or that he should be bold enough to talk of making conditions, before he would suffer them to enter their own harbour. It marks the wide difference between an English sea commander and a Spanish one, in those days, as indeed in many subsequent periods.

Hawkins, however, felt that he had gone too far, and that his audacity was likely to get him into a scrape :

“And here,” he says, “I began to bewail that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them. That was, either I must have kept out the fleet from entering the port, the which with God’s help I was able to do, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never fail to execute, where they may have opportunitie to compass it by any means; if I had kept them out, then had there been present shipwreck of all the fleet, which amounted in value to six millions, which was, in value of our money, 1,800,000*l.*, which I considered I was not able to answer, fearing the Queen’s Majesty’s indignation in so weighty a matter. Thus with myself revolving the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the jutt of the uncertainty than the certainty; the uncertain doubt, I account, was their treason, which, by good policy, I hoped might be prevented; and therefore, as choosing the least mischief, I proceeded to conditions.”

The fact was, as he more clearly admits in another place, that besides the risk he ran of an unequal combat, he was afraid to take upon himself the responsibility of plundering from the king of Spain so immense a sum of money, which could not fail to bring her Majesty into collision with that sovereign.

The General therefore resolved not to commit any act of hostility, nor do anything that could be construed into a breach of the treaty. All that he required of the Spaniards was the assurance of security for himself and his people, and all that belonged to him; that provisions should be supplied to them for money, and that they should have liberty to trade: moreover that, during his abode there, he should keep possession of the island and the eleven pieces of brass cannon that were planted upon it.

In the fleet was a new viceroy from Mexico, Don Martin Henriquez; who, although he disliked these conditions and made some demur, at last agreed to them, and gave a writing to that effect signed and sealed by himself; each party giving and exchanging ten hostages for the due performance of the stipulations.

“At the end of three days,” says Hawkins, “the Spanish fleete entered the port, the ships saluting one another, as the manner of the sea doth require; the morrow after, being Friday, we laboured on all sides, in placing the English ships by themselves, and the Spanish ships by themselves, the captains and inferior persons of either part offering and showing great courtesie one to another, and promising great amitie on all sides.”

This amity on the part of the Spaniards was, however, soon discovered to be fallacious: they were observed to be placing additional guns on the fortifications of the island, and increasing

the crews of their ships. The viceroy sanctioned this treachery, inasmuch as he took no steps to prevent it; although he assured Hawkins that "he would be their defence against all villainies." As the master of the *Jesus* spoke Spanish, Hawkins sent him to the viceroy to inquire if his suspicions were correct: immediately the master was seized, the trumpet sounded, the English were taken by surprise, and the Spaniards most perfidiously falling upon them, killed a great number of men, seized, plundered, and burnt three of their ships, made their crews prisoners, and obliged the remainder, in the smaller ships, to retreat without provisions, and in so miserable a plight, that scarcely a sixth part survived to reach England.

The English, however, did not come away wholly unrevenged;

"For," says Hawkins, "no sooner were the *Jesus* and the *Minion* got about two ships' length from the Spanish fleet, than the fight began to be so warm on all sides, that, in less than an hour, the Spanish Admiral was supposed to be sunk, the Vice-Admiral burnt, and another of their chief ships believed to be sunk, so that their ships were little able to annoy us."

The cannon on the island being now in possession of the Spaniards, they turned them upon the English, and the masts, yards, and rigging of the *Jesus* were soon so shattered that no hopes were left of carrying her off: it was with these cannon, also, that the small ships of the English were destroyed. The English then resolved to place the *Jesus* between the fort and the *Minion*, and at night to tranship all the provisions and necessaries from the former into the latter, and to leave the *Jesus* behind. But the Spaniards set fire to two of their large ships, and let them drive down upon those of the English.

"Upon this," says Hawkins, "the men on board the *Minion*, without either the captain's or master's consent, set sail in such a hurry and confusion, that it was not without great difficulty I was received on board."

Miles Philips, one of the unfortunate men who had been put on shore, gives a more detailed account. He says,

"The *Minion*, which had somewhat before prepared herself to avoid the danger, hauled away, and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke; then they sought to fall on board the *Jesus*, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slain; but yet our men defended themselves and kept them out; for the *Jesus* also got loose, and joyning with the

Minion, the fight waxed hote upon all sides; but they having won and got our ordinance did greatly annoy us. In this fighte there were two great shippes of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme us, but from the shore they beat us cruelly with our own ordinance in such sort that the Jesus was very sore spoyled, and suddenly the Spaniards, having fired two great shippes of their owne, they came directly against us, which bred among our men a marvellous feare. Howbeit the Minion, which had made her sayles ready, shifted for herself, without consent of the Generall, captaine, or master, so that very hardly our Generall could be received into the Minion, and those which the small boat was not able to receive were most cruelly slain by the Spaniardes.

“ Of our shippes none escaped saving the Minion and the Judith; and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certain trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men ashore, they took and hung them up by the armes, upon high postes, until the blood burst out of their fingers’ ends: of which men so used, there is one Copston and certaine others yet alive, who by the merciful providence of the Almighty were long since arrived here in England, carrying still about with them (and shall go to their graves) the marks and tokens of those their inhuman and more than barbarous cruell dealings.”*

Thus the Minion, with only one small bark of fifty tons, the Judith (Drake’s ship), escaped the treachery of the Spaniards:

“ But,” says Hawkins, “ the same night the Judith likewise forsook us. We were now left alone, with only two anchors and two cables, our ship so damaged that it was as much as we could do to keep her above water, and a great number of us with very little provisions. We were besides divided in opinion what to do. Some were for yielding to the Spaniards, others chose rather to submit to the mercy of the savages; and again, others thought it more eligible to keep the sea, though with so scanty an allowance of victuals as would hardly suffice to keep us alive.

“ In this miserable plight we ranged an unknown sea for fourteen days, till extreme famine obliged us to seek for land. So great was our misery that hides were reckoned good food; rats, cats, mice, and dogs, none escaped us that we could lay our hands on; parrots and monkeys were our dainties. In this condition we came to land on the 8th of October, at the bottom of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and a proper place to repair our ship. But we found every thing just contrary to our expectation; neither inhabitants, nor provisions, nor a haven for the repair of our ship. Many of our men, nevertheless, being worn out with hunger, desired to be set on shore, to which I consented; and such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to go homewards I put apart; so that they were indifferently

* Narrative of Miles Philips, given by Hakluyt.

posted, a hundred on one side, and a hundred on the other side. These hundred men we set a-land with all diligence in this little place, before said, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remains of victuals to take the sea.

“Of about two hundred souls which we then were, one hundred chose to seek their fortune on land, on which they were set with great difficulty; and with the remainder, after having watered, I again submitted to the mercy of the seas, and set sail on the 16th of October.”

Hawkins himself and his companions were first endangered by a vehement storm; after that, by famine: many of his men died; and the rest, from weakness, being unable to manage the ship, entered Ponte Vedra, near Vigo, to obtain fresh meat: there also many of them died; and, for fear of being a second time betrayed by the Spaniards, he again put to sea, and arrived in England on the 25th of January, 1568.

“If,” says Hawkins, in concluding his narrative, “all the miseries and troubles of this melancholy voyage were to be completely and thoroughly written, it would require a laborious man with his pen, and as much time as the author had, who wrote the lives and deaths of the Martyrs.”

The following is a copy of a letter in the State Paper Office, from Hawkins, announcing his arrival in England from this disastrous voyage:—

25th January 1568.

Right Honorable, my dewty most humbly consydered: yt may please your honor to be advertysed that the 25th day of Januarii (thanks be to God) we aryved in a place in Cornewall called Mounts bay, onelie with the Minyon which is left us of all our flet, & because I wold not in my letters be prolyxe, after what maner we came to our dysgrace, I have sent your honor here inclosed some part of the circumstance, and althoughe not all our meseryes that hath past yet the greatest matters worthy of notyng, but yf I shold wryt of all our calamytyes I am seure a volome as great as the byble wyll scarcelye suffyce: all which thyngs I most humblie beseeche your honour to advertyse the Queen's Majestie & the rest of the counsell (soch as you shall thinke mette).

Our voiage was, although very hardly, well acheived & brought to resonable passe, but now a great part of our treasure, merchandyze, shippinge and men devoured by the treason of the Spanyards. I have not moche or any thyng more to advertyse your honour, nore the rest, because all our business hath had infelycyye, mysfortune, and an unhappy end, & therefore wyll troble the Queen's Majestie, nor the rest of my good lords with soch yll newes. But herewith pray your honour eftsoons to impart to soch as you shall thynke mete the sequell of our busyness.

I mynd with God's grace to make all expedicyon to London myselfe, a.

what tyme I shall declare more of our esstate that ys here omytted. Thus prayinge to God for your Honours prosperous estate take my leave : from the Mynion the 25th day of Januarii 1568.

Your's most humbly to command,
(Signed) JOHN HAWKINS.

To the Ryght Honorable Sir Wm Cycylle Knighte, & Principall Secretarie to the Queen's Majestie, gyve this.

No mention whatever is made of the Judith, nor does the name of Drake once occur in Hawkins' account of this unfortunate voyage; there are, however, detached accounts of it in which Drake is represented as having done wonders with the little Judith.

Regarding the hundred men who were put on shore, and the sufferings they underwent from the Indians and Spaniards, the industry of Hakluyt and Purchas has collected many particulars. The accounts given by these men on their return to England of the miseries they had undergone, and of the horrid cruelties practised upon many of them by the Inquisition, tended greatly to arouse a spirit of indignation against the whole Spanish nation. The following account of the affair at St. Jean d'Ulloa was given by Job Horton, one of the sufferers who returned to England on the 2nd day of December, 1590. It is extracted from Hakluyt.

" From Cartagena, by foule weather, wee were forced to seeke the port of Saint John de Ulloa. In our way thwart of Campeche we met with a Spaniard, a small ship who was bound for Santo Domingo; he had in him a Spaniard called Augustine de Villa Neuva; them we took and brought with us into the port of Saint John de Ulloa. Our Generall made great account of him, and used him like a nobleman; howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed. When wee had mored our ships and landed, wee mounted the ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our safeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee discovered the Spanish fleete, whereof Luçon, a Spanyard, was Generall: with him came a Spaniard called Don Martin Henriquez. whom the King of Spain sent to be his viceroy of the Indies. He sent a pinnesse with a flag of truce unto our Generall, to knowe of what countrie those shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaine's port; who sayd they were the Queene of England's ships, which came in there for victuals for their money; wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he shall give me victuals and all other necessaries, and I will goe out on the one side the port, and he shall come in on the other side. The Spanyard returned for answere, that he was a viceroy and had a thousand men, and therefore he would come in. Our Generall

said, If he be a viceroy I represent my Queene's person, and I am a viceroy as well as he: and if he have a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place.

"Then the viceroy, after counsell among themselves, yeelded to our General's demand, swearing by his king and his crowne, by his commission and authority that he had from his king, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were given on both parts.

"Our Generall bearing a godly and Christian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, judged the Spanyards to have done the like, delivered to them five gentlemen, not doubting to have received the like from them; but the faithlesse Spanyardes, in costly apparell gave of the basest of their company, as afterwarde it was well knowen. These things finished, proclamation was made on both sides that on payne of death no occasion should be given whereby any quarrel should grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entered the port with great triumph on both sides.

"The Spanyards presentli brought a great hulke, a ship of five hundred, and moored her by the side of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordinance towards us; in the night they filled the hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboard, as the sequel did shew, which made our Generall doubtful of their dealings; wherefore, for that he could speake the Spanish tongue, he sent Robert Barret aboard the viceroy to know his meaning in those dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded presently to be set in the bilbowes, and forthwith a cornet (for a watch-word among the false Spaniards) was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended treason against our Generall, whom Augustine de Villa Neuva, sitting at dinner with him, should then presently have killed with a poynarde, which hee had privily in his sleeve, which was espyed and prevented by one John Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynarde out of his sleeve. Our Generall hastily rose up, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the steward's roome (and to be kept with two men).

"The faithlesse Spanyards, thinking all things to their desire had been finished, suddenly sounded a trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spanyards entred the Minion; whereat our Generall with a loude and fierce voyce called unto us, saying, 'God and Saint George! upon those traiterous villains, and rescue the Minion; I trust in God the day shall be ours:' and with that the mariners and souldiers leapt out of the Jesus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spaniards; and with a shot out of her fiered the Spaniards' Vice Admirall,* where the most part of 300 Spanyards were spoyled and blowen over-board with powder. Their Admirall* also was on fire halfe an houre.

"We cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them: they came up upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke until it was night. they killed all our men that were on shore in the island saving three, which, by swimming, got aboard the Jesus of Lubeck.

* In those days the two chief ships were so called.

They sunke the Generall's ship called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow. The Spaniards' Admirall had above threescore shot through her: many of his men were spoyled: foure other of their ships were sunke. There were in that fleete and that came from the shore to rescue them, fiftene hundred: we slew of them five hundred and fortie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico.

“ In this fight the Jesus of Lubeck had five shotte through her maynemast; her foremast was strooke in sunder under the hounds, with a chayne shotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with shotte: therefore it was impossible to bring her away. They set two of their owne shippes on fire, intending therewith to have burnt the Jesus of Lubeck, which we prevented by cutting our cables in the halse, and winding off by our sternefast. The Minion was forced to set saile and stand off from us, and come to an anker without shot of the iland.

“ Our Generall courageously cheered up his souldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of beere, who brought it him in a silver cup; and hee, drinking to all men, willed the gunners to stand by their ordinance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand but a demy culverin shot stroke away the cup, and a cooper's plane that stooode by the mainemast, and ranne out on the other side of the ship; which nothing dismayed our Generall, for he ceased not to incourage us, saying, ‘ Feare nothing; for God, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitours and villaines.’ Then Captaine Bland, meaning to have turned out of the port, had his mainemast stroke over boord with a chaine shot that came from the shore; wherefore he ankered, fired his ship, tooke his pinnesse with all his men, and came aboard the Jesus of Lubeck to our Generall, who said unto him that he thought he would not have runne away from him: he answered that he was not minded to have runne away from him, but his intent was to have turned up, and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleete aboard, and fired his ship, in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleete. He said if he had done so he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for safeguard of her masts, to be brought under the Jesus of Lubeck's lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Judith, and to lay the Minion aboard, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out; and so he did.

At night, when the wind came off the shore, we set sayle, and went out in despite of the Spanyards and their shot, where we ankered with two ankers under the island, the wind being northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared every houre to be driven with the lee shore. In the end, when the wind came larger, we waied anker and set saile, seeking the river of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little; and victuals were so scarce that we were driven to eate hides, cats, rats, parrats, munkies, and dogges. Wherefore our Generall was forced to divide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals; and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves amongst the enemies, than to starve on ship-boord.

“ He asked them who would go on shore, and who would tarry on ship-board? Those that would goe on shore, he willed to goe on fore mast, and those that would tarrie, on baft mast: fourescore and sixteene of us were willing to depart.

“ Our Generall gave unto every one of us five yards of Roane cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came unto us, where, friendly embracing every one of us, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him; he counselled us to serve God, and to love one another; and thus courteously he gave us a sorrowfull farewell, and promised if God sent him safe home he would do what he could, that so many of us as lived should by some means be brought into England (and so he did).”

CHAPTER II.

THIRD VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES AND THE SPANISH
MAIN.*

1572—1573.

State of England and Spain—Revised Relation of this Voyage by Drake himself—Arrive at Port Pheasant—Symerons—Transactions at Nombre de Dios—The Treasury and Governor's house—Drake wounded—Return to their ships at the Isle of Pinos—Cartagena—Capture a great ship of Seville—Drake destroys his own ship the Swan—Takes several vessels—Arrives at Port Plenty—Drake leaps on shore at Cartagena—John Drake slain—Sickness in the crew—Death of Joseph Drake—Attempt to reach Panama by land—Disappointment—Drake is led to a great tree—Discovers the South Sea, and makes a solemn vow—Vasco de Balboa—Returns to England—Sir Wm. Davenant's Drama.

THE treacherous and unjust conduct of the Spaniards towards the unfortunate adventurers in the voyage detailed in the preceding chapter, and to other traders to the West Indies and the coasts of the Spanish Main, roused a flame of indignation in England, more especially among the mercantile and seafaring community; and the cry for vengeance and retribution was loudly expressed against these tyrants of the New World. Elizabeth was well disposed to encourage adventurers desirous of sharing in the riches extorted by Spain from Mexico and Peru; nor was she unwilling to chastise Philip, who was employing every means in his power to seduce her subjects from their religion and allegiance; but the circumstances of the times made it inexpedient to commit the nation to anything that could be construed into a direct act of aggression. The two sovereigns were to each other in a state of peaceable animosity, each "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike." Elizabeth was a staunch Protestant; Philip the slave of the Pope and the tool

* So called by Sir F. Drake (the nephew), but it is in fact Drake's *Fifth* Voyage to the West Indies.

of priests, Jesuits, and inquisitors. But it was not the policy of England to risk hostilities at home or abroad. The power of Spain was colossal, and the extent of her dominions both at home and abroad immense. At home, it embraced a sea-coast extending from the Mediterranean to the Netherlands, except that portion which belonged to France; abroad, the West India Islands, and two-thirds of the vast continent of America, were under her control; and her galleons traded even to the East Indies.

The naval and military forces of England were small in comparison with those of Spain; her ships greatly inferior in point of magnitude; and the want of colonies had checked her mercantile marine.

The particulars of Drake's voyage to the West Indies, the great object of which was to visit *Nombre de Dios*, then the storehouse and shipping place for the immense quantities of gold and silver obtained by Spain from Peru and Mexico, have been related by several of the old historians, Camden, Hakluyt, Purchas, Strype, &c.: but the details given in the following pages are chiefly taken from the small quarto volume entitled 'Sir Francis Drake Revived,' published in 1626 by Sir Francis Drake, the nephew of the great admiral. The title and dedication of this volume, which has now become extremely rare, are curious. The title is as follows:—

"SIR FRANCIS DRAKE REVIVED, CALLING UPON THIS DULL OR EFFEMINATE AGE TO FOLOWE HIS NOBLE STEPS FOR GOLDE & SILVER, BY THIS MEMORABLE RELATION OF THE RARE OCCURRANCES (NEVER YET DECLARED TO THE WORLD) IN A THIRD VOYAGE MADE BY HIM INTO THE WEST INDIES, IN THE YEARS 1572 AND 1573. FAITHFULLY TAKEN OUT OF THE REPORTE OF MR. CHRISTOPHER CEELY, ELLIS, HIXON, AND OTHERS, WHO WERE IN THE SAME VOYAGE WITH HIM, BY PHILIP NICHOLS, PREACHER. REVIEWED ALSO BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE HIMSELFE BEFORE HIS DEATH, AND MUCH HOLPEN AND ENLARGED, BY DIVERS NOTES, WITH HIS OWNE HAND, HERE AND THERE INSERTED.

DEDICATION.

"TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY CHARLES THE FIRST OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, KING, ALL THE BLESSINGS OF THIS AND A BETTER LIFE.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

"That this briefe treatise is yours, both by right and by succession, will appeare by the Author's and Actor's ensewing dedication. To praise either

the Mistress or the Servant, might justly incurre the censure of *Quis eos unquam sanus vituperavit*; either's worth having sufficiently blazed their fame. This present loseth nothing by glancing on former actions, and the observation of passed adventures may probably advantage future employments; Cæsar writte his owne Commentaries, and this Doer was partly y^e. Inditor: neither is there wanting living testimony to confirme its trueth; for his sake then cherish what's good and I shall willingly entertaine check for what's amisse: Your favourable acceptance may encourage my collecting of more neglected notes, however, though vertue (as Lands) be not inheritable. yet has he left of his name one that resolves, and therein joyes to approve himself

“ Your most humble

“ And loyall

“ Subject,

“ FRA: DRAKE (nephew).”

Then follows a letter from the admiral to Queen Elizabeth:—

“ TO THE QUEENE'S MOST EXCELLENT MA^{TIE}:

“ MY MOST DREAD SOVERAIGNE,

“ MADAM, Seeing diverse have diverslie reported and written of these voyages and actions, which I have atempted and made, every one endeavour to bring to light whatsoever Incklings or Conjectures they have had, whereby many untruthes have been published, and the certaine trueth concealed, as I have thought it necessary myselfe, as in a Card, to prick the principall points of the Counsaills taken, attempts made, and successe had, during the whole course of my employment in these services against the Spaniard, not as setting saile for maintayning my reputation in men's judgment, but onlie as sitting at Helme, if occasion shall be, for conducting the like actions hereafter: So I have accounted it my dutie to present this discourse to your Ma^{tie} as of right, either for itselpe being the first fruits of your Servants Penne, or for the matter, being service done to your Ma^{tie} by your poor Vassail, against your great Enemy, at such tymes, in such places, and after such sorte, as may seeme strange to those that are not acquainted with the whole cariage thereof, but will be a pleasing remembrance to your highnes, who take th' apparent height of th' Almightyes favour toward you by these events, as truest Instruments, humbly submitting myself to your gracious censure, both in writing and presenting, that Posteritie be not deprived of such helpe as may hapilie be gained thereby, and our present Age at least may be satisfied in the rightfulness of these Actions, which hitherto have bin silenced, and your servants labour not seeme altogether lost, but only in travell by sea and land, but also in writing the Report thereof, a worke to him no lesse troublesome, yet made pleasant and sweete, in that it hath bin, is, and shall be, for your Ma^{ts} content, to whom I have devoted myselfe, live or die.

“ FRA: DRAKE.

“ Jan: I.
“ 1592.”

The narrative commences thus :

“ As there is a general vengeance which secretlie pursueth the doers of wrong, and suffereth them not to prosper, albeit no man of purpose impeach them: Soe there is a particular indignation ingrafted in the bosome of all that are wronged, which ceaseth not seeking by all meanes possible to redresse or remedie the wrong received, in so much that those great and mighty men, in whom their prosperous estate hath bredde such an overweening of themselves that they do not onlie wronge their Inferiours, but despise them, being injured, seeme to take a verie unfitt course for their own safety and farre unfitter for their rest. For as *Æsop* teacheth, Even y^e *FLY* hath her spleene, and the *EMMET* is not without her choller: and both together many tymes finde meanes, whereby though the *EAGLE* lay her Eggs in *JUPITER*'s lappe, yet by one way or other she escapeth not requital of her wrong done to the *EMMET*.

“ AMONG the manifold examples hereof which former ages have committed to memorie, or our tyme yealded to sight, I suppose there hath not bin any more notable then this in hand, either in respect of the greatness of the Person by whom the first Injurie was offered; or the meanenes of him who righteth himself: the one being (in his owne conceit) the mightiest *MONARCH* of all the world; the other an English *CAPTAINE*, a meane subject of her Majesties, who, (besides the wronges received at *RIO DA HACHA* with *Captaine JOHN LOVELL* in the years 65 and 66:) having bin grievously indamaged at *St. JOHN DE ULLOA* in the Bay of *MEXICO* with *CAPTAINE JOHN HAWKINS* in the years 67: and 68: not only in the losse of his goods of some value, but also of his kinsmen and friends, and that by the falsehood of *DON MARTIN HENRIQUEZ* then the Vice Roy of *MEXICO*, and finding that no recompence could be recovred out of Spaine by any of his owne meanes or by her Maiesties letters: he used such help as he might by two severall voyages into the *WEST INDIES*; the first with two ships, the one called the *DRAGON*, the other the *SWANNE*, in the year 70: The other in the *SWANNE* alone, in the year 71: to gaine such intelligence as might further him to get some amende for his losse: And having in those two voyages gotten such certaine notice of the persons and places aymed at, as he thought requisite, and thereupon with good deliberation resolved on a third voyage (the description whereof wee have now in hand), he accordinglie prepared his ships and companie, and then taking the first opportunity of a goode winde had such successe in his proceedings, as now follows further to be declared.

“ On *WHITSON Eve*, being the 24th of May in the yeare 1572, *CAPTAINE DRAKE* in the *PASCHA* of *PLYMOUTH* of 70 Tonnes, his Admirall, with the *SWANNE* of the same Porte of 25 Tonnes, his Vice-Admirall, in which his brother *JOHN DRAKE* was *CAPTAINE*, having in both of them, in men, and boyes, 73: all voluntarilie assembled, of which the eldest man was 50: all the rest under 30; so divided that there were 47 in one ship and 26 in the other, both richlie furnished with victuals and apparel for a whole yeare: and no lesse heedefully provided of all manner of Munitiion, Artillery, stuffe and tooles that were requisite for such a man of *WARRE*, in such an attempte,

but especiaillie having three daintie Pinnaces made in Plimouth, taken asonder all in pieces, and stowed aboard, to be set up (as occasion served), set saile from out of the SOUND of PLYMOUTH with intent to land at NOMBRE DE DIOS."

On the 2nd of July they came in sight of the high land of Santa Martha, and directed their course to Port Pheasant,

"Which," says the narrative, "our Captaine had so named it in his former voyage, by reason of the great store of those goodlie foules, which hee and his companie did then dailie kill and feede on in that place. When we landed here, we found by evident marks that there had been latelie there an Englishman of Plimouth called John Garrett, who had been conducted thither by certaine English Mariners which had been there with our Captain in some of his former voyages, who on a plate of lead, fastened to a very great tree, greater than any foure men joyning hands could fathom about, left these words engraven :

"Captain Drake, If you fortune to come into this port make haste away ; for the Spaniards which you had with you here last year have betrayed this place, and taken away all that you left here. I departed hence this present 7th July, 1572.

"Your very loving friend,

"JOHN GARRET."

Notwithstanding this warning, Captain Drake resolved to put together his pinnaces in this convenient port: this work was finished in seven days.

"Here he fortified himself on a plot of three-quarters of an acre of ground to make some safety for the present, by felling of great trees and bowsing and trailing them together with great pullies and halsers, until they were enclosed to the water, and then letting other fall upon them, until they had raised with trees and boughs thirty foot in height round about, leaving only one gate to issue at, neare the water side, which every night was shut up, with a great tree drawne athwart it.

"The next day after we had arrived, there came also into that bay an English barque of the Isle of Wight, of Sir Edward Horsey's, wherein James Rause was captaine, and John Overy maister, with 30 men, of which some had bin with our captaine in this same place the year before. They brought in with them a Spanish carvell of Seville which he had taken the daie before, also one shallop with oares which he had taken at Cape Blanche. This Captaine Rause, understanding our Captaine's purpose, was desirous to joyne in consort with him, and was received on conditions agreed upon between them.

"22nd July. Drake disposing there of all his companies according as they enclined most, he left the three ships and the Carvell with Cap: Rause, and chose into his four pinnaces (Cap: Rause's shallop made the fourth) besides 53 of his own men, 20 to atchieve what he intended, especially having proportioned, according to his owne purpose, and the men's disposition, their severall armes: namely, 6 Targetts; 6 Fire Pikes; 12 Pikes; 24 Muskets and Callivers; 16 Bowes and 6 Partizans; 2 Drums and 2 Trumpets."

With this force he set out for Nombre de Dios ; and reached the Isles of Pinos on the 22nd of July. Here he met with certain black men who had fled from the Spaniards their masters, and were known by the name of Symerons, who had enrolled themselves under two kings or chiefs. Drake, thinking these people might be of service to him, set them on shore on the main land, that they might make their way to the Isthmus of Darien.

These Symerons were not negroes, but the native Indians of this part of the continent, who had fled from their tyrannical persecutors ; they were not very dissimilar either in manners or character to the maroons of Jamaica ; but in the latter there was a mixture of the negro race.

Drake came silently and by night before Nombre de Dios ; and finding his people were talking of the greatness of the town, and what its strength was, according to the report of the negroes whom they took at the Isle of Pinos, thought it best to put these conceits out of their heads at once, and therefore took the opportunity of the rising moon to persuade his people that it was the dawn of day.

“ By this occasion we were at the towne, a longe hower sooner than was first purposed. For we arrived there by three of the clock after midnight ; at what time it fortun'd that a ship of Spaine of sixtie tunnes, laden with Canary wines and other commodities, which had but lately come into the Bay, and had not yet furled her sprit-sayle, espying our foure Pinnaces, sent away her Gundeloe towards the towne to give warning.”

Drake perceiving this, took his course between her and the town, and forced her to go to the other side of the bay ; by which means they landed without opposition, although they found one gunner upon the platform.

“ On landing on the platform, we found six great pieces of brass ordinance mounted upon their carriages, some demy, some whole Culverins : we presentlie dismounted them, the Gunner fledd, the Towne tooke Alarum, (being verie ready thereto by reason of their often disquieting by their neare neighbours the Symerons,) as we perceived not onelie by the noise and cries of the people, but by the Bell ringing out, and drums runninge up and downe the towne. Our Captaine sent some of our men to stay the ringing of the Alarum bell, which had continued all this while, but the Church being verie strongly built, and faste shutte, they could not without firing (which our Captaine forbad) get into the steeple where the Bell hung.”

In the market-place the Spaniards saluted the party with a

volley of shot: Drake returned the greeting with a flight of arrows, "the best ancient English compliments," says Prince. This drove them away, but he himself received a dangerous wound; which he courageously concealed for a long time, "knowing, if the general's heart stoops, the men's will fail; and that if so bright an opportunity once setteth, it seldom riseth again." He left twelve of his men to keep their pinnaces and secure their retreat, and having strengthened the port, sent the rest to reconnoitre the town. He then commanded his brother and John Oxenham with sixteen men to go above the King's Treasure-house, and enter near the east end of the market-place, he himself designing to march with the rest up the broad street, with trumpets sounding and drums beating, to the market-place, the fire-pikes being divided between ooth companies, which whilst they affrighted the enemy gave light to the English. After a skirmish with the Spaniards, they seized upon two or three, and compelled them to conduct them to the Governor's house; where usually all the mules, which brought the king's treasure from Panama, were unladen, though the silver only was kept there, the gold, pearls, and jewels being carried to the Treasury hard by.

Drake and his party then went to the Governor's house, and found the door open, a fine Spanish horse ready saddled, and a candle lighted on the stairs; by means of this light they saw a vast heap of silver in the lower room, consisting of bars piled up against the wall; as nearly as they could guess, seventy feet in length, ten in breadth, and twelve in height, each bar between thirty-five and forty pounds' weight. If this estimate be correct, the value of the heap must have been about a million sterling. He next proceeded to the King's Treasure-house, telling his people—

"That he had now brought them to the mouth of the Treasury of the World; which if they did not gain, none but themselves were to be blamed."

After this, he ordered his brother, with John Oxenham and their company, to break open the Treasure-house; whilst he with the rest kept possession of the market-place; but as he stepped forward, his strength, and sight, and speech failed him, and he fainted from loss of blood. At this his men were greatly dis-

tressed, and giving him somewhat to drink to revive him, they bound up his wound with his scarf, and urged him to leave the place. On his refusing to do so, they added force to their entreaties, and carried him to his pinnace.

“Divers of his men, besides himself, were wounded, though but one, and he a trumpeter, slain. Many of them got good booty before they left the place. But the wines in a Spanish ship, which they found in the harbour, they took along with them for the relief of their Captain and themselves. They carried off their prize to an island, which they called the Island of Victuals, where they staid two days to cure their wounded men, and refresh themselves in the gardens they found there, abounding with all sorts of roots, fruits, poultry, and other fowls no less strange than delicate.”

During their short stay there, an officer belonging to the garrison came to visit them, protesting that his coming was only to see and admire the courage of those who, with so small a force, had made so incredible an attempt. They had reason, however, for believing that his visit was made by the direction of the governor; for he asked them whether the commander was the same Captain Drake who had been on their coast the two preceding years: he inquired also whether their arrows, with which many of the Spaniards had been wounded, were poisoned, and how the wounds might be cured. Drake made answer,

“That he was the same Drake they meant; that it was never his custom to poison arrows; that their wounds might be cured with ordinary remedies; and that he wanted only some of that excellent commodity, gold and silver, which that country yielded, for himself and his company; and that he was resolved, by the help of God, to reap some of the golden harvest, which they got out of the earth, and then sent into Spain to trouble all the world.

“To this answer, unlooked for, this gentleman replied, ‘If he might without offence move such a question, what should then be the cause of our departure from that town at this time, where there was above 360 tonnes of silver ready for the Fleet, and much more gold in value resting in iron chests in the King’s Treasure House?’

“But when our Captain had showed him the true cause of his unwilling retreat on board, he acknowledged that we had no less reason in departing than courage in attempting.

“Thus with great favour and courteous entertainment, besides such gifts from the Captain as most contented him, after dinner he was in such sort dismissed to make report of that he had seen, that he protested he was never honoured so much of any in his life.”

After a short rest at this place, Drake proceeded to the Isle of Pinos, where he had left his ships under the charge of Captain

Rawse; who, being unwilling to continue the enterprise, now that they had been discovered by the enemy, was remunerated by Drake for his services; and they parted on the 7th of August.

The General now dispatched his brother and Ellis Hixon to examine the River Chagre, where he had been the year before, but of which he wished to have some further knowledge. On their return, he departed with his two ships and three pinnaces for Cartagena, where he arrived on the 13th; and the same day took two Spanish ships, one of 240 tons.

Here he came to anchor in seven fathoms water, between the Island of Caresha and St. Barnard's. He led the three pinnaces round the island into the harbour of Cartagena, where, at the very entrance, he found a frigate at anchor, with only one man on board, the rest of the crew having gone ashore to fight about some fair lady. This man inadvertently revealed to Drake that, two hours before, there had passed by them a pinnace, with sail set, and rowing as fast as they could; that the men on board asked them whether there had been any English or French there lately? and upon being told that none had been seen, they bid them look to themselves.

From this account, combined with other circumstances, Drake perceived that he was discovered: but as he learned from the same man that there was a large ship from Seville which was preparing to sail on the morrow for St. Domingo, he resolved to capture it; and this he did with little difficulty. As the presence of his ships was now known at two of the most important places on the coast, Drake abandoned his intended attack in this quarter; and turned his attention to opening a communication with the Symérons: but perceiving that the success of all his future efforts must depend on the efficient state of his pinnaces, and that he had not a sufficient number of sailors to man them fully, in addition to the crews necessary for his two ships, he came to the bold determination of destroying one of the two, the Swan. But knowing the affection of the men for their ships, he was aware that some artifice must be used to accomplish this. He therefore sent for Thomas Moone, the carpenter of the Swan, and taking him into his cabin, and speaking to him privately, ordered him, in the middle of the second watch, to go down secretly into the well of the ship, and with a large spike-gimlet to bore three

holes, as near to the keel as he could, laying something against them, that the rushing of the water might not be heard.

Thomas Moone, although not without much dismay and unwillingness, consented to do so, and kept his promise.

The next morning, August 15, Drake went out early in his pinnace fishing; and, after inviting his brother to accompany him, inquired with a careless air, "Why their ship was so deep in the water?" Upon this the steward, going hastily down, found himself at once up to the waist in water; and in great alarm cried out that "the ship was sinking!"

Immediate recourse was had to the pumps; but, of course, to no purpose: and, after many hours' labour, the crew willingly acceded to Drake's proposal, set the poor Swan on fire, and went on board the pinnace.

The next day they resolved to seek out a place in the Sound of Darien where they might leave their ship at anchor, concealed and safe; and by thus leading the Spaniards to believe that they had quitted the coast, might the better prosecute their design with the pinnaces.

Accordingly, having reached the Sound in five days, Drake selected a convenient spot; and, having cleared away the trees and bushes, and erected huts, they remained here fifteen days; cleaned their vessels, and took in stores of provisions, which were plentiful. To fill up the time, one half the men were allowed to amuse themselves alternate days with shooting at the butt, quoits, and other sports, whilst the rest worked.

On the 5th of September, Drake, leaving the ship and one of the pinnaces with his brother, proceeded with the other two pinnaces to the Rio Grande. Here, cruising about between Cartagena and Tolon, he took six frigates laden with hogs, hams, and maize; and at the end of three days, having arrived at Port Plenty, in the Island of Pinos, he resolved to go with three pinnaces to Cartagena, leaving the rest of the men under the command of his brother, John Drake, who had succeeded in establishing a communication with the Symérons.

On the 16th October he anchored within sight of Cartagena; but deemed it not prudent to land: and, on the 20th, the Spaniards sent out two frigates without any cargo in them, evidently in the hope that Drake would take and man them, and thus weaken

his small force by dividing it : however, he was not to be thus entrapped ; but burnt one of them and sunk the other, in sight of two full-manned frigates, which came out, but were soon forced to retire. He now sprung on shore from one of his pinnaces, in the face of all the troops, which were assembled on the hills and hovering in the woods, but were afraid to come within range of the shot of his pinnaces.

“ To leap upon an enemy’s coast,” says Johnson, “ in sight of a superior force, only to show how little they were feared, was an act that would in these times meet with little applause ; nor can the general be seriously commended, or rationally vindicated, who exposes his person to destruction, and, by consequence, his expedition to miscarriage, only for the pleasure of an idle insult, an insignificant bravado. All that can be urged in his defence is, that perhaps it might contribute to heighten the esteem of his followers ; as few men, especially of that class, are philosophical enough to state the exact limits of prudery and bravery ; or not to be dazzled with an intrepidity, how improperly soever exerted. It may be added, that perhaps the Spaniards, whose notions of courage are sufficiently romantic, might look upon him as a more formidable enemy, and yield more easily to a hero of whose fortitude they had so high an idea.”

On the 27th of November they returned in their pinnaces to the ships, where they found everything in good order, but received the heavy news of the death of John Drake, and another young man called Richard Allen, who were both slain in attempting to board a Spanish vessel.

“ The manner of their death was this. When they saw the frigate at sea, the company were very importunate on John Drake to give chase and set upon this frigate, which they deemed had been a fit booty for them, but he told them that they wanted weapons to assail : they knew not how the frigate was provided ; they had their boat laden with planks to finish what his brother had commanded. But this would not satisfy them : they still urged him with words and supposals ; ‘ If ye will needs (said he) adventure, it shall never be said that I will be hindmost, neither shall you report to my brother that you lost your voyage by any cowardice you found in me.’

“ Thereupon every man shifted as he might for the time, and heaving the planks overboard, they took such few weapons as they had : namely, a broken-pointed rapier, one old fisgee, and a rusty calliver : John Drake took the rapier, and made a gauntlet of his pillow : Richard Allen took the fisgee, both standing at the head of their pinnace, called the Lion : Robert Cluich took the calliver, and so boarded. But they found the frigate armed round about with a close fight of hides, full of pikes and callivers, which were discharged in their faces, and deadly wounded those that were in the foreship : John Drake in his belly, and Richard Allen in his head. But notwithstanding their wounds, they, with care, shifted off the pinnace and got clear of the

frigate, and with all haste recovered their ship; where, within an hour after this, this young man of great hope ended his days, greatly lamented of all the company."

Early in January, six of the company fell sick, and died within two or three days; and at this time there were thirty men ill of a calenture, occasioned by a sudden change from cold to heat, or from the salt or brackish water procured at the mouth of the river, the seamen having been too lazy to go farther up.

"Among the rest, Joseph Drake, another of our Captain's brothers, died in our Captain's arms of the same disease, of which that the cause might be the better discerned, and consequently remedied to the relief of others, by our Captain's appointment he was ript open by the surgeon, who found his liver swollen, his heart as it were sodden, and his gutts all fair. This was the first and last experiment that our Captain made of anatomy in this voyage.

"The surgeon that cut him up overlived him not past four days, although he were not toucht with that sickness of which he had been recovered a month before, but only of an overbold practice which he must needs make upon himself, by receiving an over-strong purgation of his own device, after which, once taken, he never spake; nor did his boy recover the health which he lost by tasting it till he saw England. Altogether twenty-eight of our men died here."

Drake now made his arrangements for proceeding by land to Panama. They set out on Shrove Tuesday the 3rd of February, leaving only a few sound men to secure the ships and tend the prisoners. They were in all forty-eight, being eighteen English, and the rest Symerons. In a few days they reached Venta Cruz.

The King, or Chief of these people, dwelt in a city sixteen leagues south-east of Panama, and was able to raise seventeen hundred fighting men. The towns consisted of about sixty families; in which, to use Prince's words, "the people lived cleanly and civilly."

Drake, having been informed by the Symerons that numerous *recoes* conveying treasure would now be coming across the isthmus from Panama, or from Venta Cruz to Nombre de Dios, set out for the purpose of waylaying them on their route. He arrived, on the 11th of February, at the top of a very high hill; on the very summit of which grew a tree of great size, from which both the North and South Seas could be seen. Here one of the chief Symerons, taking Drake by the hand, desired him to ascend "that goodlie and great high tree," as the manuscript

terms it. Having done so by means of steps cut out in the trunk, he found that in the midst of the branches they had constructed a convenient arbour, in which twelve men might sit; and from thence he clearly discerned both the north and south Atlantic Oceans.

Drake having taken a full view of that sea, of which he had heard such 'golden reports,' with great solemnity besought God "to give him life, and leave, once to sail an English ship in those seas;" and, adds the historian, "he was heard in what he asked, as will hereafter appear." Camden gives the following account of this discovery:—

"Drake," he says, "roving for a time up and down in the parts adjoining, discerned from the mountains the South Sea. Hereupon the man, being influenced with ambition of glory and hopes of wealth, was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, that falling down there upon his knees, he implored the Divine assistance that he might, at some time or other, sail thither and make a perfect discovery of the same; and hereunto he bound himself with a vow. From that time forward, his mind was pricked on continually night and day to perform his vow."

This, however, was not the first discovery of the great South Sea. In the year 1513, six years previous to the voyage of Magelhaens, Vasco Nunnez de Balboa, a Spanish commander of Darien, to verify the intelligence he had received, marched with a body of Spaniards and Indian guides across the isthmus. He was opposed on the passage by the natives. They demanded who the bearded strangers were, what they sought after, and **whither** they were going? The Spaniards answered, "They were Christians; that their errand was to preach a new religion, and to seek gold; and that they were going to the Southern Sea." This answer not giving satisfaction, Balboa made his way by force. On arriving at the foot of a mountain, from the top of which he was informed that the sea he so anxiously wished to discover was visible, he ordered his men to halt, and he himself ascended alone. As soon as he had attained the summit, he fell on his knees; and, with uplifted hands, returned thanks to heaven for having bestowed on him the honour of being the first European that beheld the sea beyond America. Afterwards, descending to the sea-shore, in the presence of his followers and of many Indians, he walked up to his middle in the water, with his sword and target; and called upon them to bear testimony that *he took*

possession of the South Sea, and all which appertained to it, for the King of Castile and Leon.

A similar account of Balboa's discovery is given by Southey, but in a more solemn and impressive manner :

“ Falling prostrate on the ground, and raising himself again upon his knees, as the manner of the Christians is to pray, lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, and directing his face towards the new-found South Sea, he poured forth his humble and devout prayers before Almighty God, as a spiritual sacrifice with thanksgiving, that it pleased his Divine Majesty to reserve unto that day the victory and praise of so great a thing unto him, being but a man of small wit and knowledge, of little experience, and base parentage. And having beckoned his companions to come to him, he again fell to his prayers as before, desiring Almighty God and the blessed Virgin to favour his beginning, and to give him good success to subdue those lands to the glory of his Holy name, and increase of his true religion ; all his companions did likewise, and praised God with loud voices for joy. Then Vasco, with no less manly courage than Hannibal of Carthage showed his soldiers Italy from the promontories of the Alps, exhorted his men to lift up their hearts, and to behold the land even now under their feet, and the sea before their eyes, which should be unto them a full and just reward of their great labours and travails now overpast. When he had said these words, he commanded them to raise certain heaps of stones in the stead of altars, for a token of possession.”*

Ramusio says that Vasco, after returning thanks to God and all the saints of heaven, addressed himself to the sea itself, exclaiming “ *O mare del sur, Rege gli altri mari, fá che placido et quieto riceva la mià venuta !*”

When arrived within view of Panama, Drake and his party quitted the frequented path, and secreted themselves in a wood near the road between Panama and Nombre de Dios. Thence Drake sent one of the Symerons, in the dress of a native of Panama, to ascertain on what night the *recoes* were expected. These *recoes* consist of fifty, sixty, or seventy mules laden with treasure, and are guarded by a considerable number of armed men. The spy soon returned with the information that the treasurer of Lima was on his route to Europe, and would pass by that very night with eight mules laden with gold, and one with jewels.

On the receipt of this information they immediately marched towards Venta Cruz ; and Drake, selecting a convenient spot,

* Southey, from *Eden's translation of Peter Martyr.*

ordered his men to lie down in some high grass, half on one side of the road and half on the other ; but the one party somewhat in advance of the other, so that the first and last of the string of mules, all of which are tied together, might be seized at the same instant.

When they had lain thus in ambush for at least an hour, they heard the tinkling of the mules' bells, and the rich prize seemed to be within their grasp : but one of the soldiers, heated by liquor, in direct disobedience of Drake's order that no one should stir until the signal was given, would needs signalise himself by anticipating the victory ; and by so doing alarmed one of the Spanish gentlemen who was attending the party, and who immediately apprised the treasurer of the danger. The gold and jewels were sent back, and the whole country was soon up in arms against the English.

This disappointment was great, and the danger still greater ; nor can any situation be imagined more calculated to try the temper, courage, and judgment of a leader. Drake proved himself fully equal to the emergency. Two courses were before him : to retreat by the road on which he had advanced, or to proceed onward, and force his passage to Venta Cruz. To march back would be to confess his own weakness, and to encourage the Spaniards to pursue him : boldly to advance would give his own men confidence, and daunt his enemies. Drake at once resolved to adopt the latter course. He explained his intention to Pedro, the leader of the Symerons, and demanded of him whether he was prepared to follow him. Having received his strong assurance of support, he advanced to the spot where the Spaniards were posted. Their leader called upon the little band to surrender. Drake, with bold pride, defied him. He had commanded his men to receive the first volley of the enemy without returning it, and no one was to fire until he sounded his whistle. They obeyed his directions ; and one man only fell by the volley which the Spaniards fired. The General then gave the signal ; and the English, after discharging their arrows and shot, pressed gallantly forward. The boldness of their bearing appears to have daunted the Spaniards, who attempted no further resistance, but fled into the city ; and were pursued not only by the English, but by the Symerons also ; who, as soon as they

had recovered from the consternation into which the discharge of the fire-arms had thrown them, recalled their courage, animated each other with their war-cries, and fully redeemed the pledge which their leader had given.

On this occasion Drake evinced his accustomed humanity and forbearance. Not only did he treat the inhabitants with clemency, but he himself went to the Spanish ladies, and assured them that every respect should be paid to them. Taking into consideration the mere handful of English by whom this exploit was performed, and all the circumstances attending it, few bolder things have ever been achieved. Its success was complete: the Spaniards appear to have been absolutely paralysed; and Drake pursued his march to his ships without any opposition, or even the fear of any. When within five leagues of their vessels they found some huts which, during their absence, a party of the Symerons had built expressly for their accommodation. Here Drake consented to halt, his men being spent with travel: but being very anxious to ascertain the condition of the men who had remained with the vessels, he sent one of the Symerons to the ships with a gold toothpick as a token. The officer who was in charge knew it; but would not consent to obey the instructions which the Symeron brought him; the General having expressly ordered him not to credit any messenger unless he brought with him his handwriting. At length he perceived that Drake had scratched his name upon it with the point of his knife: on which he immediately sent a pinnace up the river to meet them; and on the 23rd of February the entire company were reunited; and Drake, with his usual piety, celebrated their meeting by thanksgiving to God.

He now turned his thoughts to new enterprises: and although he failed to capture a vessel which was lying in the harbour at Veragua, and which was reported to contain a million in gold, yet ultimately, between Rio Francesco and Nombre de Dios, the English and Symerons, together with a party of Frenchmen under the command of a Captain Teton, who had joined Drake at Cattivas, obtained a rich booty; three recoes, consisting altogether of 109 mules, each carrying 300 pounds' weight of silver, being captured by them with little difficulty, and without the loss of a single man. As they could only carry away a small

portion of this weight of silver, they hid the remainder in holes and shallow pools. But their labour was fruitless, for when at a later period they returned to the place, they found that the Spaniards had discovered nearly all their hiding-places, and recovered their lost treasure.

With that portion, however, of the silver which they were able to take with them, they reached Rio Francesco on the 3rd of April. There, to their great surprise, and to the consternation and alarm of many of their band, instead of finding their own pinnaces, they beheld seven Spanish shallops, well manned and armed, and evidently on the look-out for them. The belief was general that their own ships had been discovered and taken. But here again Drake evinced not only his penetration and judgment, but also his indomitable resolution. Whatever he himself might think of the real circumstances in which they were placed, he showed so much confidence and alacrity, and used such arguments, that he imparted new life and courage into every one around him. His great anxiety was to rejoin his pinnaces before the Spaniards should have completed their arrangements for attacking them: but not only was it a matter of doubt where his vessels were stationed; but the nature of the country (high mountains covered with woods, and intersected by deep rivers) rendered it impossible to seek them by land; and they had not a single boat. In this emergency he ordered a raft to be constructed of the fallen trees which the river had brought down to its mouth; and with no other sail than a biscuit-sack, and no other rudder than a young tree rudely shaped into an oar, he with three others, who volunteered to accompany him, put out to sea. Having sailed upon this raft for six hours, and for a distance of more than three leagues, he and his companions sitting up to their middle in water, and at every wave up to their arm-pits, they at length had the great joy of seeing their pinnaces coming towards them: but soon afterwards, the men on board not perceiving the raft, in consequence of the wind and the approach of night, altered their course, and ran for shelter behind a point of land. Drake, rightly judging that they would anchor there, ran his raft ashore, and walking over land to the other side of the point, found his vessels just where he expected. Great, of course, was the joy on both sides. Proceeding from this place to Rio

Francesco, he took in the rest of his company, with that part of the treasure which they had been able to carry with them through the woods; and then making the utmost expedition, they soon rejoined their other vessels, where Drake divided equally between the English and the French all the gold and silver which had been taken. He now also dismissed the Symerons, who had proved themselves such useful allies. That they might not go away unrewarded, he broke up his pinnaces and gave them the iron—to them by far the most valuable of metals. But he was anxious to give their leader, Pedro, some special token of regard. He desired him therefore to go through the ship, and select whatever object he best liked. It was soon evident that Pedro had taken a great fancy to a rich cimeter which had been given to Drake by the French Captain Teton; but was too modest to ask for it; and fearful also lest Drake should so value it as to be unwilling to part with it. As soon as the General learnt this, he at once presented it to him. Pedro was overwhelmed with joy; and, anxious to show his gratitude, entreated Drake to accept from him, in return, four wedges of gold, as a pledge of his friendship. Drake was unwilling to take them, but the grateful Indian insisted on his doing so. The General, having received them with all courtesy, threw them into the common stock, observing, “That it was only just that those who bore part of the charge with him in setting him to sea, should likewise enjoy their full proportion of the advantage at his return.”

Having now resolved to return to England, and being fully prepared, they set sail, and steered a direct course home; and proceeded with so prosperous a gale that in twenty-three days they passed from Cape Florida to the Isles of Scilly; and arrived at Plymouth on Sunday, the 9th of August, 1573, during sermon time. The news of Drake's return being carried into the church, few of the congregation remained with the preacher: “All,” says the narrative, “hastening to see the evidence of God's love and blessing towards our gracious Queene and countrey, by the fruite of our Captaine's labour and successe.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.”

This voyage occupied fourteen months and some odd days. It not only excited intense interest at the time, but a hundred years afterwards Sir William Davenant, poet-laureate to

Charles II., took it as the subject of one of his dramas, which he entitled ‘The History of Sir Francis Drake, expressed by instrumental and vocal music, and by art of Perspective in Scenes, &c.’

In this drama the incidents of the voyage are pretty correctly told in rhyme; accompanied with appropriate scenery, songs, dances, and choruses by the mariners and the Symerons, Pedro performing a principal part. The first scene is laid at Port Pheasant; the men are busied setting up the pinnaces, &c.; and the arrival of Captain Rause is announced by the Boatswain:—

Boatswain. The Lion Rause is landed here,
I'll run to meet him at the pier.
A ton of yellow gold,
Conceal'd within our hold,
For half my share I scorn to take,
When he is joined with Dragon Drake.

In the fourth “Entry,” with “hills, a wood, and a tree of extraordinary compass and height,” we have the following dialogue:—

Drake. Is this that most renown'd of Western trees,
On whose main-top
Thou gav'st me hope
To view the North and South *Atlantick* Seas?
Pedro. It is; therefore, with speed,
Thither, my chief, proceed:
And when you, climbing, have attained the height,
Report will grow authentick, by your sight.
Drake. When from these lofty branches, I
The South *Atlantick* spy,
My vows shall higher fly,
'Till they with highest heav'n prevail,
That, as I see it, I may on it sail.
Drake, Jun. No English keel hath yet that Ocean plowed.
Pedro. If prophecie from me may be allow'd,
Renown'd Drake, Heaven does decree
That happy enterprize to thee:
For thou of all the Britons art the first
That boldly durst
This Western World invade:
And as thou now art made
The first to whom that Ocean will be shown,
So to thy Isle thou first shall make it known.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1577—1580.

Preliminary observations—Drake's Services in Ireland—He is patronised by the Queen—Expensive preparations for the Voyage—Secrecy as to its destination—The cause of a rival enterprise—Oxenham's disastrous voyage and death—Drake's squadron—Captures made by it—Misconduct of Doughty—Patagonians—Arrival at St. Julian—Trial and execution of Doughty—Passage through the Strait of Magelhaens—Driven down to Cape Horn—Passage up the North Pacific—Numerous captures of Treasure.

“FIVE years,” says Camden, “after his return from a former voyage, to wit, in the year 1572, when Drake had gotten a pretty store of money, by playing the seaman and the pirate, he, to lick himself whole of the damage he had received from the Spaniards (which a divine belonging to the fleet had easily persuaded him to be lawful), set sail again for America.”

There can be little doubt that his late voyage had been greatly profitable to Drake; although the amount gained by him is nowhere stated: and it was not likely that a person of his active and vigorous mind would sit down quietly, and lapse into a state of listless indolence; but would rather be on the look out for some fresh employment congenial with his enterprising disposition. He betrayed no haste, however, to embark on a new voyage. Previous to the last he had made the acquaintance of the Earl of Essex; who had been appointed Governor of the province of Ulster, for the purpose of quelling the rebels, more particularly in the district of Clondeboy, by means of volunteer adventurers, who were to be raised by himself, and to be rewarded by grants of land.

Drake, thinking he might be of material assistance to the Earl, and perhaps with a view to his own interest, “furnished,” says Stow, “at his own proper expense, three frigates with men

and munition, and served voluntary in Ireland under Walter, Earl of Essex; where he did excellent service both by sea and land, at the winning of divers strong forts." We are not, however, to suppose that a frigate in those days had any resemblance to the ships now so termed. A *fregata* was a small pinnace moved by sails and oars, of five, ten, or fifteen tons measurement, in use mostly in the Mediterranean. In those days there was no vessel in our navy denominated a frigate.

The Irish project, however, failed. We learn from Rapin that, "in 1573, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had leave to go to Ireland, to conquer the country of Clandeboy, at his own expense. But his enterprise was not crowned with success; because he was privately hindered by the Earl of Leicester, his enemy." The Irish historian, M^c Skimmin, gives us somewhat more precise information.

"In 1573," he says, "came the Right Hon. the Earl of Essex into this land, as Captain-General and Governor of Ulster, and was, at this time, the chief of a band of military adventurers. He drove the Scots out of Clandeboy, and took the Castle of Lifford from Con. O'Donnell: but making little progress, and receiving many angry messages from court, at the instigations of Lord Leicester, who was his greatest enemy, he resigned his command, and retired to Dublin, where he died of a broken heart, in September, 1576, at the early age of 36"

Drake's exertions, however, on this occasion undoubtedly led to the establishment of his future reputation, by the introduction it procured for him to Sir Christopher Hatton, then Vice-Chamberlain, and through him to the Queen; who, being apprised of his adventurous and successful expedition against her bitterest enemy the Spaniard, gave him a most flattering reception, and encouraged him to follow up his brave and successful attacks upon the Indian colonies of Spain: nay, it is asserted by some historians, that she actually gave him a commission to make reprisals. As this would have been equivalent to a declaration of war, it is not credible: and still less can we believe that she should have said to him at his first audience, as the old chroniclers mostly have it, "I account that he who striketh thee, Drake, striketh me." Such an expression might, perhaps, have escaped the royal lips at a later period, and after his return from his voyage of circumnavigation, when she condescended to visit the "Golden Hind" at Deptford; and when Drake "*had*

been stricken" by certain of his own countrymen: she might then have sought, by an expression of such kindness, to soothe the pain that envy had inflicted; but certain it is that she showed him such a degree of favour as at once to raise his fortune and reputation.

The enterprise, which we are now about to relate, produced a great sensation at the time: nor has it ever ceased to be considered as one of the boldest undertakings which the naval history of England—rich as it is in deeds of courage and energy—has to record. In many respects, indeed, this voyage is memorable: a sea, hitherto unknown, was passed over; a powerful enemy's territory was attacked, with means so scanty and inadequate as to render the attempt apparently one of hopeless peril. Yet was the attack successful, and added new glories to England: and, to crown all, the globe was circumnavigated, a thing never but once performed before: and all this was accomplished by a fleet of five insignificant sized vessels, the largest being only of 100 tons burden; and 164 seamen the complement of the whole.*

From the splendid manner in which Drake fitted out his own ship, it may be concluded that there was no want of funds:—

"He did not omit," says Prince, "to make provision for ornament and delight; carrying to this purpose with him expert musicians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging to the cook-room, being of pure silver) with divers shows of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, among all nations whither he should come, be the more admired."

As Drake is known to have been a man of plain and simple habits, there can be no doubt that this display of wealth and taste was made, not from vanity, but from sound motives of policy; and probably he had in view the similar conduct of the Portuguese in their first expedition to the East.

The account of this voyage was published by Sir Francis Drake (nephew of the Admiral), under the title of 'The World Encompassed,' carefully collected, as the preface tells us,

* The Pelican, 100 tons, Captain Drake; the Elizabeth, 80 tons, Captain John Winter; the Marygold, 30 ditto, Captain John Thomas; the Swan, Flyboat, 50 ditto, Captain John Chester; the Christopher, pinuace, 15 ditto, Captain Thomas Moone.

“Out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this employment, and divers others his followers in the same: Offered now, at last, to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of heroick spirits, to benefit their cuntry, and eternize their names by like noble attempts.”

He begins by informing his readers that

“The main ocean by right is the Lord’s alone, and by nature left free for all men to deal withall, as very sufficient for all men’s use, and large enough for all men’s industry. And therefore that valiant enterprize, accompanied with happy success, which that right rare and thrice worthy Captaine, Francis Drake, achieved, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, doth not only overmatch the ancient Argonauts, but also outreacheth in many respects that noble mariner Magelhaens, and by farre surpasseth his crowned victory. But hereof let posterity judge.”

It is said that such secrecy was observed by Drake in making preparations for this voyage, that its destination was concealed even from his most intimate friends; and that, when his little squadron put to sea, it was given out that it was bound for Alexandria. It was, probably, in part owing to this concealment that the voyage to Nombre de Dios, and the other places about the isthmus of Darien, was anticipated by another adventurer, John Oxenham; who in the late voyage served under Drake as a soldier, sailor, and cook, and was actively and usefully employed by him on various occasions. This man was so attached to Drake, that he declared his readiness to go with him on any future voyage, and to any part of the world: but having waited above two years, and not knowing of Drake’s intentions, he, with some others, scraped together money enough to fit out a ship of 140 tons, with a crew of twenty seamen, and fifty other men; with which they sailed, in the year 1575, for the isthmus of Darien. On arriving at Porto Bello, Oxenham learned from the Indians that a convoy of muleteers was expected to come to that place from Panama: he therefore marched with his company to meet them, having only two small guns and some muskets, with six Indians for their guides; and proceeded about twelve leagues over the mountains, to a small river that falls into the South Sea. Here he built a pinnace; and dropped down in her into the Bay of Panama, and thence to the Pearl Islands, near which place the plate ships from Peru usually pass in their voyage to Panama. Before long a small bark from Quic

arrived at the island; of which Oxenham took possession, and found in her sixty pounds' weight of gold, and a large supply of provisions. At the end of six days he took another bark from Lima, in which he found a hundred pounds' weight of silver in bars. He then went in search of pearls on the island; found a few, and returning to his pinnace, re-entered the river; first, however, dismissing his two prizes.

The delay on Pearl Island was the cause of all his misfortunes. The Indians of the island went, the very night he left them, to Panama, to give intelligence of what had happened: and a Spanish captain named Ortega was dispatched with four barks and 100 soldiers in search of him. In his way to Pearl Island he fell in with the two liberated prizes; from the crews of which he learned that Oxenham had gone up a certain river. This river had three branches; and Ortega was doubtful which of them to take: but having observed a quantity of fowl feathers swimming down one of the streams, he took that branch; and, after four days' rowing, discovered Oxenham's pinnace upon the sands, with only six men in her, of whom his men killed one, but the other five escaped. In the pinnace, however, they found nothing but provisions. Ortega, therefore, left twenty of his men to guard her and his own barks; and, with the other eighty, set out to explore the country. They had not proceeded more than half a league before they discovered a hut, made of boughs, in which they found all the Englishmen's goods, together with their booty of gold, pearls, and silver. Satisfied with having recovered the treasure, Ortega was about to depart, when Oxenham came down upon him with his men and about 200 Symerons; and attacked the Spaniards with great fury: but the latter got the better of the English party; killed eleven of them, together with five Indians, and took seven prisoners; having only two of their own men killed and five wounded. Oxenham escaped, and made the best of his way to his ship.

Information having been sent from Panama, over the isthmus, to Nombre de Dios, of all that had passed, four barks were fitted out: these soon found Oxenham's ship, and carried her back to their port.—In the meantime the Viceroy of Peru had ordered 150 men to scour the mountains in search of the English. When discovered, as they speedily were, some of them were sick,

and were easily made prisoners : the rest fled : but, being betrayed by the Indians, they were soon taken and conveyed to Panama. Here Oxenham was examined as to what authority he had from the Queen : and being unable to produce any power or commission, he and his comrades were sentenced to suffer death, as pirates and common enemies of mankind ; and were accordingly executed ; with the exception of Oxenham, who, with his master, pilot, and five boys, were carried to Lima ; where he and the other two men likewise suffered death ; but the boys were pardoned. And thus terminated the ill-conducted and unfortunate adventure of this young man, who deserved a better fate. His old commander Drake had the highest opinion of him ; and he was beloved by the whole crew.*

Drake, of course, knew nothing of these events, which occurred while he was employed in fitting out his little squadron for the same scene of action ; and with which he left Plymouth on the 15th of November, 1577 ; but a violent storm overtook them, which obliged them to put into Falmouth ; and thence return to Plymouth to have their damages repaired. As soon as they were refitted, Drake set sail from Plymouth, a second time, on the 13th of December. On the 27th they called at Mogador, on the coast of Barbary, for supplies ; and here he set up one of his pinnaces which he had carried with him in frame. The inhabitants showed signs of friendship, and promised to bring them, on the following day, sheep, fowls, and other provisions : and accordingly they came down with camels laden with various articles, not only of provisions, but merchandise. But as they approached the coast an unlucky accident occurred. One of the boat's crew, John Fry, leaped hastily on shore, intending to give some of them a hearty shake of the hand : this so surprised and alarmed the Moors that they seized him ; and, to prevent his making any resistance, held a dagger to his throat, laid him across a horse,

* Prince says there is a family of considerable standing of the name of Oxenham at South Tawton, near Oakhampton, "of which this strange and wonderful thing is recorded : that at the death of any of them, a bird with a white breast is seen for a while fluttering about their beds, and then suddenly to vanish away ;" and Howel quotes the inscription on a tombstone, giving the names of several of the family to whom the bird had appeared—to the mother, a son, two sisters, and some others. "To all these," says Howell, "there be divers witnesses, both squires and ladies, whose names are engraven upon the stone."

and carried him off. The number of Moors was so great that his companions dared not attempt his rescue. It afterwards appeared, however, that their object, in this act of violence, was only to ascertain to whom the ships belonged; and whether they were Portuguese, with whom they were then at war. When the chief, before whom the man was brought, was informed they were English, he immediately sent him back with presents to the captain; but the ships had unfortunately departed before his return. He was afterwards sent home to England by the Moors in a merchant vessel.

In the meantime the little squadron, proceeding along the coast, fell in with three Spanish fishing-craft called *caunters*, which they took, and after that with three caravels at Cape Blanco. Drake restored two of their boats to the fishermen; the third, of about 40 tons, he kept; but gave the owner the *Christopher* in exchange. Here he remained four days, taking in water and provisions, and mustering and exercising his men.

The squadron next proceeded to the Cape de Verde Islands; and calling at Mayo, they landed, and found a town not far from the water's side, consisting of a great number of desolate and ruinous houses, with a poor naked chapel or oratory. Having here taken in fruits and refreshments, they next stood in for Porto Praya, in the island of St. Jago; but, from distrust of the inhabitants, did not anchor. Here they fell in with two Portuguese vessels; one of which they captured, laden with wine and other valuable articles. She had also several passengers on board, who requested to remain in her, on learning that the squadron was bound for the Brazils: but he dismissed the crew, and put twenty-eight of his own men into her, retaining the master, Nuno de Silva, in order to make use of him as a pilot on the Brazil coast: and he appointed Mr. Doughty, a friend of his own and a volunteer on the expedition, to the command of this Portuguese prize. To his great mortification, however, a complaint was shortly afterwards preferred against Doughty; of which the General lost no time in making an investigation. Fletcher gives the following account of this transaction:—

“Into this Shipp the Generall sent one Tho: Doubty, Gentleman, to be Captain; there, not long after his entering into his charge, he was charged and accused by John Brewer, Edward Bright, and some others of their

friends, to have purloined, to his proper use, to deceive the voyage from things of great value, and therefore was not to be put in trust any longer, least he might rob the voyage and deprive the company of their hope, and her Majesty and other adventurers, of their benefit, to enrich himself and make himself greater to the overthrow of all others. In regard whereof, the General speedily went on board the Prize to examine the matter, who finding certain pairs of Portugal Gloves, some few pieces of money of a strange coin, and a small Ring, all which one of the Portugals gave him out of his chest in hope of favour, all of them being not worth the speaking of. These things being found with him, not purloined but only given him, received in the sight of all men, the General, in his discession, deposed him from his place, and yet sent him in his own stead to the Admiral (meaning the ship) as commander of that company for the tyme, in his absence; and placed Thomas Drake, his brother, in the Prize, Captain in the room of Thomas Doubty, yet remained there himself till he had discharged the Portugals.

“ In the mean time the said Thomas Doubty, being aboard the Admirall, was thought to be too peremptory and exceeded his authority, taking upon him too great a command, by reason whereof such as had him in dislike tok advantage agaynst him to complain a second tyme, which were heard with expedition to their own contentation; for the Portugals, being set in one pinnace with necessary provisions of victuai, whereof they rejoiced that they scaped with their lives, thinking Ships and Goods, as they said, well bestowed, to arrive where they would. The General came aboard the Admiral, and upon the second complaint, removed the said Doubty a prisoner into the flyboat with utter disgrace.”*

They next passed by the island of Fuego, the volcano on which was throwing up flames; and then the island of Brava, where the sea was 120 fathoms deep close to the shore. This island, however, is described as a sweet and pleasant abode; the trees abundant and always green; figs always ripe, and cocos, plantains, oranges, and lemons in abundance; silver streams of sweet and wholesome water, where boats may easily take in water. On the 17th of February they passed the equator; previous to which, Drake, who was always careful of his men's health, had blooded every one of them with his own hand.

Here the ships were becalmed; they had much thunder and lightning; and made little or no progress for the space of three weeks; an occurrence not unfrequent, not only at the time in question, but for two centuries afterwards, owing to the practice then invariably pursued of trying to make a direct and straight course across the line, instead of, as is now done, cross-

* Sloane MSS. in British Museum.

ing it between the 20° and 24° of west longitude, where ships are very rarely becalmed. The consequence was, that Drake saw no land for fifty-five days; at the end of which period he reached the coast of Brazil.

Drake here did little more than look into the great river La Plata; as the object of his voyage did not lie in that quarter. He saw in it multitudes of seals; of which they killed many, and found them good, both as food for present use and as a supply of provisions for the future. Standing to the southward, they anchored in a bay in 47° S. lat.; all but the Swan and the Portuguese prize (now named the Mary), which had separated. Some natives were seen, to whom they made a signal by hoisting a white cloth; which they answered by gestures and speech, but kept at a distance.

Near the rocks were places constructed for the purpose of drying fowls for food; and in these they found above fifty ostriches (cassowaries); the thighs of which were equal in size "to reasonable legs of mutton." Leaving this port, they found a better, somewhat less than a degree to the southward. The General sent the Elizabeth, Capt. Winter, with the steward, to look for the missing ships, the Swan and Mary. Winter met with the former, and brought her in. Here they trafficked with the natives. These people had no other covering than a skin, which, when sitting or lying in the cold, was thrown over their shoulders; but which, when in motion, was bound round their loins. They painted themselves all over; some had one shoulder painted white and the other black: and similar contrasts were exhibited on their sides and legs; in the black parts white moons were painted, and in the white parts black suns.

"Magelhaens," says the 'World Encompassed,' "was not altogether deceived in naming them giants, for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bigness, and strength of body, as also in the hideousness of their voice; but yet they are nothing so monstrous or giant-like as they were reported, there being some Englishmen as tall as the highest of any that we could see; but, peradventure, the Spaniards did not think that ever any Englishman could come thither to reprove them; and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie: the name *Pentagones*, five cubits, namely 7½ feet, describing the full height (if not somewhat more) of the highest of them."

Modern voyagers have described these people as a strong and

powerful race, but by no means exceeding the ordinary size of Europeans.

It is not a little curious to find how differently people view the same objects: Cliffe (the writer of *Winter's Voyage*) says:—

“The people were of mean stature, well limbed, but very sly. One of them, as the General stooped, snatched off his hat, which was of scarlet, with a gold band, and ran away with it. The General would not suffer his people to hurt any of them by way of resenting the injury.”

Mr. Fletcher, on the contrary, says that these people were of large stature; that the hat was a gift from the General; and that the Indian, proud of the gift, wore it every day: that they were well made, handsome, and strong; their dispositions cheerful, and much addicted to merriment. Commodore Byron calls one of these Patagonians a “frightful colossus,” not less than seven feet. Mr. Cummings, who was 6 feet 2 inches high, he calls by comparison a pigmy among giants, for “indeed,” says he, “they may more properly be called giants than tall men.” But Cook and Sir Joseph Banks decided the question, by ascertaining that the average height was from 5 feet 4 to 5 feet 8 inches.

Leaving Seal Bay, as it was called, on the 3rd of June, they anchored in another on the 12th; where they unloaded the little fishing skiff, and turned her adrift. On the 20th, their whole force being united, they anchored in Port St. Julian. Here, in a foolish trial of skill with bows and arrows, Drake lost two of his most valuable men. Robert Winter, partly in sport, and partly to show English skill, pulling the string of his bow with over-violence, broke it; and while he was busy fixing it again, some natives shot their arrows at him, and wounded him in the shoulder and lungs. On this the gunner, Oliver, took aim at them with his musket; but it missed fire, and he was slain outright by an arrow. It is probable that none of the party would have escaped, had it not been for the coolness and presence of mind of Drake. He animated their courage, and directed their movements; ordering them, by perpetually changing their place, to elude as much as they could the aim of their enemies: and not only to defend their bodies with their targets, but to pick up and break the arrows as they fell; he himself setting

them the example: and this they did with so much diligence, that the Indians soon became short of arrows,

“Which,” says Fletcher. “the General perceiving, he then took the fowling-piece in hand, and priming it anew, made a shot at him which first began the quarrel, and striking him in the pancy with hail shot, sent his guts abroad with great torment, as it seemed by his cry, which was so hideous and terrible a roar, as if ten bulls had joined together in roaring.”

This seems to have dispersed the giants. On recovering the dead body of Oliver, Fletcher says—

“When our men came to him, the enemies had thrust into one of his eyes one of our arrows as deep as they could. A sermon was preached, and the bodies, for Robert Winter died at the end of two days, were buried with such honours as in such case martial men used to have when they are dead; being both laid in one grave, as they both were partakers of one manner of death, and ended their lives together by one and the self-same kind of accident.”

One of the first objects that caught their attention at this place was a gibbet; which had been set up, as was supposed, seventy years before, by Magelhaens, for the execution of certain mutineers. No one, who then viewed it, could have anticipated that a similar occurrence was about to take place in their own fleet, and within the same port. It has already been mentioned that Mr. Doughty, one of the gentlemen volunteers, had been removed from the Portuguese prize for malversation: he now fell under the imputation of much deeper crimes. The melancholy history of this man has been told by all the narrators of Drake's voyages; and various degrees of guilt have been attributed to him. It is now, perhaps, impossible to arrive at the exact truth: but as some versions of the story would seem to leave a blot on Drake's justice and humanity, it is right to repeat what the several writers have told us of the circumstances of this transaction. Camden, the oldest and most respectable of all Drake's historians, says—

“In this very place John Doughty, an industrious and stout man, and the next unto Drake, was called to his trial for raising a mutiny in the fleet, found guilty by twelve men, after the English manner, and condemned to death, which he suffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having first received the holy communion with Drake. And, indeed, the most impartial persons in the fleet were of opinion that he had acted seditiously; and that Drake

cut him off as an emulator of his glory, and one that regarded not so much who he himself excelled in commendations for sea matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not some, who, pretending to understand things better than others, gave out that Drake had in charge from Leicester to take off Doughty, upon any pretence whatsoever, because he had reported abroad that the Earl of Essex was made away by the cunning practices of Leicester."

The next most ancient and authentic authority is that of Hakluyt, who says—

"In this port (St. Julian) our General began to inquire diligently of the actions of Mr. Thomas Doughty, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention of mutiny, or some other disorder, whereby (without redress) the success of the voyage might greatly have been hazarded; whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by Mr. Doughty's own confession, and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true: which, when our General saw, although his private affection to Mr. Doughty (as he then in presence of all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majestie, and of the honour of his countrie, did more touch him (as indeed it ought) than the private respect of one man; so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order, as neere as might be to the course of our laws in England, it was concluded that Mr. Doughty should receive punishment according to the qualitie of the offence. And he, seeing no remedie but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the communion, which he did at the hands of Mr. Fletcher, the minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that holy action; which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he, having embraced our General, and taken his leave of all the companie, with prayer for the Queen's Majestie and our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life."

In speaking of the evil disposition of the people of St. Julian, which is ascribed to the cruelties of the Spaniards, who had visited this place, the narrator, in the 'World Encompassed,' says—

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

"This plot was laid before the departure of the expedition from England, and which was made known to the General at Plymouth, who would not

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

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

“The admiration and astonishment hereat, in all the hearers, even those which were his nearest friends, and most affected him, was great, yea, in those which, for many benefits received from him, had good cause to love him: but yet the General was most of all distracted; and therefore withdrew himself, as not able to conceal his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter to give their judgments, as they would another day answer it unto their prince, and unto Almighty God, judge of all the earth.

“They all, after duly weighing the evidence, above forty in number, the chiefest in place and judgment in the whole fleet, with their own hand, under seal, adjudged that he had deserved death; and that it stood by no means with their safety to let him live; and therefore they remitted the manner thereof, with the rest of the circumstances, to the General. Therefore they then proposed to him this choice: Whether he would take to be executed in this island? or to be set upon land on the main? or return into England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of her Majesty’s Council? He most humbly thanked the General for his clemency extended towards him in such ample sort; and craving some respite, to consult thereon and so make his choice advisedly; the next day he returned answer that, ‘Albeit he had yielded in his heart to entertain so great a sin, as whereof he was now

* Throughout the whole of this account in the ‘World Encompassed,’ particular care has been taken to avoid stating the name of the guilty individual.

justly condemned; yet he had a care, and that excelling all other cares, to die a Christian man, and therefore besought the General most earnestly he would not counsel him to endanger his soul by consenting to be left among savage infidels; and as for returning to England, he must first have a ship, and men to conduct it, with sufficient victuals, if any men could be found to accompany him on so disgraceful an errand; yet the shame of return would be more grievous than death; and therefore he preferred that, with all his heart, he did embrace the first branch of the General's offer, desiring only this favour, that they might once again receive the holy Communion together before his death, and that he might not die other than a gentleman's death.'

"No reasons could persuade him to alter his choice: seeing he remained resolute in his determination, his last requests were granted; and the next convenient day a Communion was celebrated by Mr. Francis Fletcher, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The General himself communicated in this sacred ordinance with this condemned penitent gentleman, who shewed great tokens of a contrite and repentant heart. After this holy repast they dined also at the same table together, as cheerfully in sobriety, as ever in their lives they had done aforesaid, each cheering up the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey only had been in hand.

"After dinner, all things being ready prepared by the provost-marshal, Mr. Doughtie, without any dallying or delaying the time, came forth, and kneeled down, preparing at once his neck for the axe, and his spirit for heaven, which having done, without long ceremony, as one who had before digested this whole tragedy, he desired all the rest to pray for him, and willed the executioner to do his office, not to fear nor spare."

Such is the account given of this transaction by Mr. Thomas Drake, who is believed to have been the chief compiler or, at least, reviser of the 'Voyage Round the World,' although it was published by his son, Sir Francis; but there is a strong testimony against a very essential part of the story. The account given in Fletcher's MS. differs materially from it, and is wholly omitted in the printed history of the voyage. In the MS. nothing appears as to any choice being given to Mr. Doughty, between death and life, upon any terms.

But it is best to give Mr. Fletcher's account of this melancholy event in his exact words, and from his own manuscript, or, to speak more correctly, from the certified manuscript copy of it contained in the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum.

After narrating the conflict with the Patagonians, in which Robert Winter and Oliver were killed, he says:—

"This bloody Tragedie being ended, another more grievous ensueth. I call it more grievous because it was among ourselves begun, contrived, and

ended ; for now, Thomas Doubty, our countryman, is called in question, not by giants but by Christians, even ourselves. The original of dislike against him you may read in the storye off the Iland of Cape Verde, upon the coast of Affrick, at the taking of the Portugal prize, by whom he was accused—and for what? But now more dangerous matter, and of greater weight, is layed to his charge, and that by the same persons, namely, for words spoken by him to them, being in England, in the General's garden in Plymouth, long before our departure thence, which had been their parts and duties to have discovered them at that tyme, and not to have consealed them for a tyme and place not so fitting ; but how true it was wherewith they charged him upon their oathe, I know not ; but he utterly denied it upon his salvation, at the hour of communicating the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, at the hour and moment of his death, affirming that he was innocent of such things whereof he was accused, judged, and suffered death for. Of whom I must needs testifye the truth for the good things of God I found in him, in the tyme we were conversant, and especially in the time of his afflictions and trouble, till he yielded up the spirit to God—I doubt not, to immortality : he feared God, he loved his word, and was always desirous to edify others, and conforme himselfe in the faith of Christ. For his qualities, in a man of his tyme, they were rare, and his gifts very excellent for his age: a sweet orator, a pregnant philosopher, a good gift for the Greek tongue, and a reasonable taste of Hebrew ; a sufficient secretary to a noble personage of great place, and in Zealand an aproved soldier, and not behind many in the study of the law for his tyme ; and that with it a sufficient argument to prove a good Christian, and of all other things, a most manifest witness of a child of God to men, that he was delighted in the study, hearing, and practice of the word of God ; daily exercising himselfe therein by reading, meditating to himselfe, conferring with others, instructing of the ignorant, as if he had been a minister of Christ, wherein he profitted so much, that long before his death he seemed to be mortified, and to be ravished with the desire of God's kingdom, yea to be dissolved and to be with Christ, in whose death so many vertues were cutt off as dropps of blood new shedd,—who being dead was buried neer the sepulchre of those which went before him, upon whose graves I set up a stone, whereon I engraved their names, the day of their buriall, and the month and the yeare, for a monument to them which shall fall with that place in tyme to come.

“ These thinges, with dropps of blood from the hartes of some, thus ended, wee went about our other business and necessarie affaires.”

It is evident that Fletcher speaks of Mr. Doughty in terms of more than common regard ; and describes him as a man of extraordinary virtue and endowments. It seems most improbable that such a man should attempt the crime attributed to him ; and supposing him to have succeeded, what next could he have done ? He does not appear to have had any confederates in the ship nor in the squadron ; and Drake was beloved by the whole crew ; all

that he could possibly have expected after such a deed, would have been to be instantly torn in pieces by the crew. On this transaction Dr. Johnson has made the following reflections:—

“How far it is probable that Drake, after having been acquainted with this man’s designs, should admit him into his fleet, and afterwards caress, respect, and trust him; or that Doughtie, who is represented as a man of eminent abilities, should engage in so long and hazardous a voyage, with no other view than that of defeating it, is left to the determination of the reader. What designs he could have formed with any hope of success, or to what actions worthy of death he could have proceeded without accomplices, for none are mentioned, is equally difficult to imagine. Nor, on the other hand, though the obscurity of the account, and the remote place chosen for the discovery of this wicked project, seem to give some reason for suspicion, does there appear any temptation from either hope, fear, or interest, that might induce Drake, or any commander in his state, to put to death an innocent man upon false pretences.”

Blame has been attached to the mode of proceeding; but it should be recollected that no court of martial-law existed in Queen Elizabeth’s time, nor was there any court established for the trial of high criminal offences committed at sea; the existing court dates no further back than the 13th year of the reign of Charles II., when an Act was passed “for establishing Articles and Orders for the Regulating and better Government of His Majesty’s Navies, Ships of War, and Forces by Sea,” on which the “Articles of War” are grounded. In ancient times great power must have rested with the captain of every ship; and it is to be presumed, therefore, that he would take care, as a principal point of his naval education, to obtain a competent knowledge of the law or custom of the sea. The crew had to look to him only for their protection; but to protect them he must have the power to keep them in order; and to effect this, he must also have the power of punishment.

“The seaman is willing,” says Sir William Monson, in his ‘Naval Tracts,’ “to give or receive punishment deservedly, according to the laws of the sea, and not otherwise, according to the fury or passion of a boisterous, blasphemous, swearing commander:”

and he adds, what has only been recently ordained in our Navy—

“Punishment is fittest to be executed in cold blood, the *next day* after the offence is committed and discovered.”

Sir William moreover specifies what the ordinary punishments were in his time:—

“A captain,” he says, “is allowed to punish according to the offence committed; to put men in the bilbows during pleasure; keep them fasting; duck them at the yard-arm; or haul them from yard-arm to yard-arm, under the ship’s keel; or make them fast to the capstan, and whip them there; or at the capstan or main-mast, hang weights about their necks till their hearts and backs be ready to break; or to gag or scrape their tongues for blaspheming or swearing. This will tame the most rude and savage people in the world.”

These are indeed most brutal punishments, and such as would not be tolerated at the present day: and though they were in use in Drake’s time, we have no reason to suppose that they were ever practised by him, or in any ship that he commanded. He was a mild, indulgent, and humane man, universally beloved by the seamen; in all his expeditions volunteers crowded to join under his command. Some imperious necessity must therefore have governed his conduct in the case of Doughty.

But it has been said that his putting him to death was a great stretch of his authority. In mutiny this has at all times been lawful. Sir William Monson, the highest naval authority for the time to whom we can appeal, tells us, that

“a Captain under a General has lawful authority to punish offences committed within his ship; or if his company grow mutinous or stubborn, he may have recourse to the General, who will inflict more severe punishment, as *death*, if they deserve it, which no private captain can do.”

Kindness and benevolence, we repeat, were the characteristics of Drake’s disposition; and it is utterly impossible to believe that he would basely sacrifice a friend, for whom he took the very earliest opportunity on the voyage to show his esteem, by appointing him to the command of the very first prize they took. It is far more probable that Doughty, from a feeling of pique and resentment at his removal from this command, and at the disgrace of being sent back to his former ship, may have contemplated the crime of which he was accused. It is also a strong circumstance in Drake’s favour that there was not any public feeling manifested against him or in favour of the deceased, either on the spot or on the return of the ship to England. Still some degree of mystery hangs over the whole proceeding, against

which can only be set Drake's unimpeachable character in all the other transactions of his life.

In concluding the account of this event the Narrative says—

“ In the island, as we digged to bury this gentleman, we found a great grinding-stone, broken in two parts, which we took and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at the feet, building up the middle space with other stones, and turfs of earth; and engraved on the stones the names of the parties buried there, with a memorial of our General's name in Latin, that it might the better be understood of all that should come after us.”

At Port St. Julian the Portuguese prize, the *Mary*, being leaky, was unloaded and broken up, and the fleet reduced to three, the *Pelican*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Marigold*; and, on the 20th of August, Drake came to the mouth of the Strait of Magelhaens, being an inland sea thick set with islands, and enclosed with high cliffs and mountains, which in that latitude render the air extremely cold, the summits being covered with snow. At the Cape forming the entrance,

“ Our General,” says the Narrative, “ caused his fleet, in homage to our sovereign Lady the Queen's Majestie, to strike their topsails upon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad mind, to shew his dutiful obedience to her highness, whom he acknowledged to have full interest and right in that new discovery; and withal in remembrance of his honourable friend and favourer, Sir Christopher Hatton, he changed the name of the ship, which himself went in, from the *Pelican* to be called the ‘Golden Hind.’ Which ceremonies being ended, with a sermon and prayers of thanksgiving, they entered the narrow strait with much wind, frequent turnings, and many dangers. They observed on one side an island like Fogo, burning aloft in the air in a wonderful sort without intermission.”

The passage of this strait was a memorable event; Drake having been the second person who accomplished it.

Crooked and narrow in many places, with creeks and rivers branching off in all directions, the tides irregular and rapid, the shores steep and rocky, a burning island, like Fuego, on their left, flaming without intermission, peaks of snow on all sides, no chart to guide them in the right direction, the tide rising and falling thirty feet, and running like a rapid torrent,—such were the formidable obstacles they had to contend with; and it is a remarkable fact that they passed through, in sixteen days, this most intricate and troublesome navigation, which, on an average, requires a fortnight for one of our square-rigged vessels to accom-

plish, with all the advantages of modern knowledge, improvements in ships, nautical instruments, and the theory of navigation.

Observing, near the western outlet, a cluster of three islands that appeared large and fruitful, the General, with some of his people, went on shore, and called the island they landed on Elizabetha, and took possession of it in the Queen's name. The crew amused themselves with taking penguins, of which they killed three thousand in one day. They observed "many fruitful valleys, full of grass, and herds of very strange creatures feeding there. The trees were green, and the air temperate, the water pleasant, and the soil agreeable for any of our country grain; and nothing wanting to make an happy region but the people's knowing and worshipping the true God." Among the anomalies of creation, in this wild and desolate region, surmounted with ice and snow, were found valleys full of evergreens; of these we may mention the evergreen beech-tree, and the winter bark; and above all other curiosities, in such a situation, thousands of little humming-birds.

On the 6th of September (that is, in sixteen days), having passed the strait, they entered into the open South Sea, which, despite its name of Pacific, they found extremely rough and turbulent; and a terrible tempest carried the fleet about a hundred leagues westward, and separated them. Here it is noticed, that an eclipse of the moon happened on the 15th of September, at six o'clock in the afternoon, "which," says Camden, "I note for the mathematicians' sakes."

"It was observed also," he adds, "contrary to what some had written, that that part of the heaven next to the southern pole was bedecked with but few stars, and those of a smaller magnitude; and that there were but only three of any remarkable bigness to be seen in that hemisphere, which England hath not beheld. But two small clouds were noticed, of the same colour with the *Via lactea*, and far distant from the pole, which the men called Magelhaens's clouds."

The General now finding the health of some of the men impaired, had resolved at once to hasten towards the line and the warm sun; but a terrific tempest arose, and the ships were driven to the south of Cape Horn, and thus Drake saw the union of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. On trying to regain their lost

ground, the wind still blowing strong, the *Marigold*, Captain John Thomas, parted and was no more heard of; in fact, she was lost, and all on board must have perished.

On the 7th of October, the *Admiral* and the *Elizabeth* under slow sail stood into a bay near the western entrance of the strait, where they hoped to have found shelter from the bad weather; but in a few hours after coming to an anchor, the cable of the *Admiral* parted, and she drove out to sea, and was thus separated from the *Elizabeth*, which remained in the port without making any attempt to follow her. The account given by Cliffe, one of the crew of the *Elizabeth*, is that Winter, the next day, after having been in great danger among the rocks, re-entered the strait, and, anchoring in an open bay, made great fires on the shore in the hope that Drake might see them; that he remained there ten days, then went further, and stayed for three weeks in a sound which he named "The Port of Health;" and that then, being in despair both as to Drake's existence and as to favourable winds for Peru, he "gave over the voyage, full sore against the mariners' minds." Winter arrived safe in England, but he was censured by many for having abandoned his commander.

The *General* being now left with only the little pinnace, was driven back once more into the latitude of 55° south, in which he got among some islands, perhaps some of those to the north of Terra del Fuego; where the ship was anchored, and the crew were refreshed with wholesome herbs and good water. After two days, however, they were driven from their anchorage, and the little shallop or pinnace lost sight of the ship, nor did it ever again rejoin her. There were eight men in her, who had provisions only for one day; they, however, reached the shore, procured water and roots, and in the course of a fortnight entered the Strait of Magelhaens. Here they salted and dried penguins, and proceeded to Port Julian, and thence to Rio de la Plata. There six of the party went into the woods to seek for food. A party of Indians met them, wounded them all with their arrows, and took four of them prisoners; the other two escaped to their companions who had remained in the boat. They moved to an island two or three leagues from the shore, where the two wounded men died: the shallop was dashed in pieces against the rocks. The remaining two, Peter Curder and William Pitcher, stayed

on this island two months, subsisting on small crabs, eels, and a fruit like an orange, but they had no water. The misery they endured for want of this indispensable necessary of life induced them to endeavour, by means of a plank and a couple of paddles, to reach the mainland. This they accomplished in three days and two nights, and found a rivulet of sweet water—

“where,” says Curder, “Pitcher, my only comfort and companion, (although I endeavoured to dissuade him,) being pinched with extreme thirst, over-drunk himself; and, to my unspeakable grief, died within half an hour, whom I buried as well as I could in the sand.”

Curder, the only survivor of the party, was kindly treated by some Indians, and at the end of nine years returned to England.

The Golden Hind was now left completely alone, and with a reduced crew. Another storm arose, and the vessel was driven to the very southern extremity of the American continent, and thus Drake was the first to discover Cape Horn.

On the 30th of October the storm abated, and enabled Drake to proceed to the northward, towards the place he had appointed for the rendezvous of his squadron, namely in 30° south; but every search for them was unavailing. He fell in with two islands well stocked with fowls, of which he laid in a quantity for the crew, and thence coasted along till he came to 38°; and finding no traces of his companions, nor any convenient place to anchor in, he proceeded to the island Macho. This island was inhabited by native Indians of the same race as the Patagonians of St. Julian's, whom the cruelties of the Spaniards had driven from the mainland. Here he intended to water his ship, and entered into friendly communication with the natives, treating them with small presents such as he thought might best please them. In return they presented him with fruits, and two sheep, and pointed out a place where he would obtain fresh water.

The next morning, according to agreement, the men landed with their water-casks, and sent a couple of the crew forward towards the place. These two men were suddenly attacked by the Indians, and immediately slain; and all the other persons in the boat were in great danger, as four or five hundred men, springing up from behind the rocks, discharged a volley of arrows into the boat, and wounded every man in her before they could get ready

their weapons; Drake himself was shot in the face by an arrow, under his right eye, which pierced him almost to the brain, and he received another wound in the head. None of the men died of their wounds, although the only surgeon was a mere boy, the chief surgeon being dead, and the other in Winter's ship. The only reason which can be assigned for this treacherous conduct on the part of the natives was, that one of the crew having made use of the word *aqua*, they mistook them for Spaniards, against whom, in consequence of their cruelty and injustice, they entertained an inveterate hatred, and rejoiced in every opportunity of taking revenge.

On the 30th of November Drake dropped anchor in a bay called St. Philip, when a boat's crew having landed, brought away an Indian they had fallen in with. He was clothed in a long white gown, and his manners were exceedingly mild and gentle. Drake treated him kindly, and, dismissing him with presents, ordered his boat to set him safe on shore. This man gave his countrymen so flattering a description of the reception he had received, that within a few hours they came down to the boat with fowls, eggs, and a hog; and one of them, who was a man of consequence among them, desired to be conveyed on board the English ship. This chief lamented that he was unable to furnish the English with such supplies as they stood in need of; but volunteered to pilot the ship to a port a little to the southward, where they could procure all that they wanted. Drake assented to this, and the man accordingly took the ship to a place named by the Spaniards Volpariza, where the English obtained everything they needed, stores, provisions, and wine; and also seized a Spanish ship, richly laden, which they rifled of a great quantity of gold and other valuables. After spending three days in taking on board the necessary supplies, Drake landed the Indian where he first came on board, after rewarding him amply for his good services.

On the 19th of December Drake entered a bay near a town named Cyppo, where, as soon as he was discovered, there came down above one hundred Spaniards well mounted, and two hundred Indians "running as dogs at their heels, all naked, and in most miserable bondage." The English retreated to their boat, with the exception of one man, who, in a spirit of foolish daring, refusing to retire with the rest, was shot by the Spaniards, and

was drawn by them in brutal triumph to the shore, his carcass placed in full sight of his companions, his head and hands cut off, the heart torn out; and then the Indians were ordered to shoot their arrows into every part of the body.

Proceeding thence, a little further to the north, Drake found a convenient and quiet harbour, where he caused a pinnace to be set up, to enable him to search the creeks for his missing ships. They next landed at Tarapaca, in about 20° S. lat.; where, whilst seeking for water, they found a Spaniard asleep, with a bundle consisting of thirteen silver bars lying by his side, to the value of about four thousand ducats. Drake would not suffer any violence to be done to the man, but allowed his people quietly to carry away the treasure. In another place a Spaniard was found driving eight Peruvian sheep, or lamas, each laden with a hundred pounds' weight of silver: these lamas they seized, and drove down to their boats. Further on was a small Spanish town, where the Spaniards agreed to traffic with Drake, and supplied him with provisions of different kinds.

Coasting along, still in the hope of meeting with his friends, Drake arrived, on the 7th of February, before Arica, where he took two barks, on board of one of which was about eight hundred-weight of silver. On the 15th he arrived at Callao, the port of Lima, and entered the harbour without resistance, though about thirty ships were lying there, seventeen of which were prepared for their voyage. Whether these ships were manned and armed, or what was their size, is not stated; but it appears most strange that Drake, with his single ship, should have been able to strike such dismay into the Spaniards, that they suffered the plunder of their seventeen loaded ships to be carried on without the least attempt at resistance.

In one of these ships they found fifteen hundred bars of silver; in another, a large chest of coined money; and valuable lading in the rest, from all of which they leisurely selected what they pleased; and, had they been so disposed, they might have set fire to the whole of the ships; but Drake was satisfied in obtaining booty for himself and his crew, in compensation for the former wrongs he had received from the Spanish people.

The General, however, in order to secure himself against an immediate pursuit, ordered the cables of the ships to be cut, and

let them drive. He had here received intelligence of a very rich ship, that was laden with gold and silver, and had sailed from hence just before his arrival, bound for Panama. Her name was the Cacafuego, and she was termed 'the great glory of the South Sea.' As he was in full chace of this vessel he fell in with and boarded a brigantine, out of which he took eighty pounds' weight of gold, a crucifix of the same metal, and some emeralds. In a few days after, near Cape St. Francis, in 1° lat., he got sight of the Cacafuego, about one hundred and fifty leagues from Panama. On coming up with her, a shot or two carried away one of her masts, when she was boarded and easily carried. Besides a large quantity of pearls and precious stones, they took out of her eighty pounds' weight of gold, thirteen chests of coined silver, and rough silver enough to ballast a ship. Having transferred all this to the Golden Hind, the total amount of which was calculated at three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of eight, or nearly ninety thousand pounds, they let the Cacafuego go.

Standing out to the westward to avoid Panama, where probably they considered that they were too well known, they fell in with another ship, from which they obtained some linen, cloth, porcelain dishes, and silk. The owner of this ship, a Spanish gentleman, was on board her, from whom Drake is said to have received a falcon, wrought in pure gold, with a large emerald set in its breast; but whether by seizure, by purchase, or as a present, is not mentioned. After taking out the pilot for his own service, he suffered the ship to proceed on her voyage.

He now continued his course; and keeping close to the coast of North America, on the 15th of April came to the port of Aguapulca, in latitude about $15^{\circ} 30'$ N. Having here taken in some bread and other provisions, he prepared to depart northwards; but, as the Narrative says,

"Not forgetting, before we got a shipboard, to take with us also a certain pot (of about a bushell in bignesse) full of ryalls of plate, which we found in the towne, together with a chaine of gold, and some other jewels, which we entreated a gentleman Spaniard to leave behind him, as he was flying out of the towne."

At this place the Admiral set on shore Nuna de Silva, the Portuguese pilot, whom he had taken from the Cape de Verde

Islands, and who, on his arrival at Mexico, gave to the governor a narrative of all the circumstances that had happened on the voyage, which was correct in most particulars ; and it was published by Hakluyt. There was here a ship proceeding to the southward, and Drake, ever anxious and mindful about his missing ships, earnestly requested the captain to search for them, and to take charge of a letter he had written, of which the following is a copy :—

“ MASTER WINTER, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meete with the ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you use him well, according to my word and promise given unto them ; and if you want any thing that is in this ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt ; and what composition or agreement we have made, at my return into England, I will by God’s helpe performe ; although I am in doubt that this letter will never come to your hauds : notwithstanding, I am the man I have promised to be, beseeching God, the Saviour of all the world, to have us in his keeping, to whome only I give all honour, praise, and glory.

“ What I have written is not only to you, Master Winter, but also to M. Thomas, M. Charles, M. Caube, and M. Anthonie, with all our other good friends, whom I commit to the tuition of him that, with his blood, redeemed us, and am in good hope that we shall be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe us in adversitie, desiring you, for the passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of God’s mercy, for he will defend you and preserve you from all danger, and bring us to our desired haven, to whom be all honour, glory, and praise, for ever and ever. Amen.

“ Your sorrowfull captain, whose heart is heavy for you,

“ FRANCIS DRAKE.”

CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1577—1580.

Drake proceeds to the Northward—A North-East Passage round America suggested—Intense cold—Interview with the natives of the west coast of North America—Drake takes possession of New Albion in the Queen's name—Crosses the Pacific to the Moluccas—Calls at Java—Voyage home.

WHILE Drake's little bark of 100 tons, which had sustained so many perils, was undergoing a complete refit at Aguapulca, he was anxiously revolving in his mind what course it would best behove him to pursue. His ship was already nearly laden with treasure alone. In addition to this, he was about to take in stores and provisions for a voyage of uncertain duration, but which in its extent, whatever track he might pursue, was nearly equal to half the circumference of the globe. If he returned by the way he had advanced, he would have to re-pass Magelhaens' Strait; for Cape Horn, which is now the usual route, had never yet been doubled; and the Spaniards had industriously given it out that a return by the strait from the westward was next to impossible. Little did he then suppose that one of his own inferior ships had actually re-passed it. Besides, he wisely considered that his voyage, and the fame of his exploits, must have reached Spain, or at all events be well known throughout her Indian colonies; and that the natural consequence would be the sending a fleet to guard the entrance of the Strait, preparations for which purpose were indeed actually made.

What then was to be done? The people began to manifest signs of uneasiness: they had lost all hopes of finding their associates, and having become rich beyond their expectations, it was natural they should begin to desire ease and pleasure, and be anxious speedily to return home. Drake did not require much time to make up his mind. He had seen the two great oceans

united at the southern extremity of America: why then should they not be also united at the northern?

This conjecture was supported by the opinion of some of the most learned cosmographers of the day, who had written to prove that a communication existed between the Northern Atlantic and the Pacific; and Martin Frobisher, the friend, and subsequently the colleague, of Drake, had actually attempted the voyage, and returned at the end of 1576, a whole year before Drake left England—

“highly commended,” says the historian of his voyage, “of all men for his greate and notable attempt, but specially famous for the greate hope he brought of the passage to Cathaia.”

Drake boldly resolved to try whether he could not reach home by proceeding in a contrary direction—that is to say, by the North-East. He failed in the attempt, as did Cook, or rather the survivors of Cook, in after times; nevertheless his anticipations may sooner or later be realized.

It has now been proved, beyond a doubt, that there is a clear water communication between the Northern Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, with the partial intervention of patches of ice in some parts of the mid-sea, and perhaps not much there. The openings at the two extremitities in Baffin’s Bay and Behring’s Strait have been passed; and the remaining parts consist, there is every reason to believe, of sea unbroken by any land.

It is probable that the attention of Drake, even before he set sail from England, had been directed to the question of an eastern passage from the northern part of the Pacific, by which his return voyage would be greatly shortened. But even if the existence of such a communication had been actually ascertained, the attempt, under his circumstances, would have been a bold and daring undertaking. With a single small vessel, a diminished and feeble crew, destitute of medical aid, and cut off from all communication with civilized countries, and that ship too containing a mine of wealth, such an attempt must be considered as one of the most daring and courageous undertakings in the records of navigation: the more so as, up to that time, it appears never to have been contemplated that such a passage should be searched for *on that side* of America, though it is most likely that by taking that course it may be found. Now

that we know that a sure and certain open passage exists through Lancaster Sound into Baffin's Bay, the attempt would be justifiable; but without such knowledge it would have been madness to have entered Behring's Strait, without knowing what course to steer, or whether there was any opening at all, and in what quarter, to the eastward. But that it will be done from one side or the other may still be confidently hoped; and among many individuals in the British navy well qualified for the task, there is one whose long-continued and most meritorious exertions in these regions would especially point him out as the fittest explorer of the North-West Passage.

The endeavour which Drake made to effect this object was singularly thwarted by the unexpected and very unusual severity of the weather at a comparatively low latitude. Fletcher's account of this is as follows:—

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

“Neither did this happen for the time only, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemed indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heat of the sun prevails not; for it came to that extremity, in sailing but two degrees further to the northward in our course, that though seamen lack not good stomachs, yet it seemed a question to many amongst us, whether their hands should feed their mouths, or rather keep themselves within coverts from the pinching cold that did benumb them.

“Neither could we impute it to the tenderness of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremity of heat, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold, insomuch that the dead and senseless creatures were as well affected with it as ourselves. Our meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen up; and our ropes and tacklings in a few days were grown to that stiffness, that what three men before were able with them to perform, now six men, with their best strength, and utmost endeavours, were hardly able to accomplish;

whereby a sudden and great discouragement seized upon the minds of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way : yet would not our General be discouraged ; but as well by comfortable speeches of the Divine Providence, and of God's loving care over his children, out of the scriptures, as also by other good and profitable persuasions, adding thereto his own cheerful example, he so stirred them up to put on a good courage, and to acquit themselves like men, to endure some short extremity to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtain the greater glory ; that every man was thoroughly armed with willingness and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

“ The land in that part of America bearing farther out into the west than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware, and yet the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did seize upon us. The 5th day of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best road we could for the present meet with, where we were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us ; which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thick, and stinking fogs, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

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

“ From the height of 48° , in which now we were, to 38° , we found the land, by coasting it, to be but low and reasonably plain ; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none very high), though it were in June, and the sun in the nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow.”

“ The inhabitants of this place,” [he is speaking of a harbour in $38^{\circ} 30'$ latitude,] “ who had never been acquainted with warmer climates, in whom custom of cold was as it were a second nature, used to come shivering in their warm furs, crowding close together, body to body, to receive heat one from another, and to shelter themselves under lee banks ; and afterwards (when they became more familiar with the English) they endeavoured, as often as they could, to shroud themselves for warmth under the garments of the Englishmen.”

This account is the more extraordinary, as all our navigators, from Cook and Vancouver downwards, speak of the mildness of the Californian climate.

All the accounts of Drake's voyage state that the natives of the north-west shores of America regarded him and his people as gods.

“They returned our presents,” says the ‘World Encompassed,’ “because they thought themselves sufficiently enriched and happy that they had found so free access to see us. They stood as men ravished with admiration at the sight of such things as they had never before heard of, nor seen, seeming rather to reverence us as deities than mortal men.”

Drake having been driven to the southward, and finding a convenient harbour on the 17th of June, in lat. 38° 30' north—the land inhabited, and the houses of the natives close to the water's side—decided on remaining there to put his ship to rights, and to refresh his crew. At the moment of their arrival, numbers of the natives had been seen on shore, and one man came off to the ship in a canoe. On approaching, he made a long oration; and having finished his harangue, with great show of reverence, returned to the shore. The ship had sprung a leak on her passage, which made it necessary to lighten her, and bring her as close to the shore as could be done with safety. Tents were landed for the men, and something like a fort erected for the protection of the stores and the crew.

The people of the country looked on for a time: when they saw that the strangers were establishing themselves, they came down in great numbers; but on approaching within a small distance, remained perfectly quiet, looking attentively at what was going on, and, though armed, manifested not the least symptom of hostile intentions. Signs were made to them to lay down their bows and arrows, which they at once did. The General, with the view of securing their good will, distributed little presents among them; and they, in return, presented him with feathers, net-work, and skins. In the evening they returned quietly to their village, near a mile distant, where they kept up a loud clamour for some time, the women shrieking fearfully.

“For two days,” says the Narrative, “after the night mostly spent in lamentations, none of them came near the tents; but on the third day, a much more numerous assemblage than before appeared on the summit of the hill, which was nearest to the English fort. Here one of them made a loud and long oration, at the end of which they all laid down their bows and arrows, which they left upon the hill, and came down to the tents. The women, however, remained on the hill, ‘tormenting themselves lamentably, tearing the flesh from their cheeks, whereby we perceived they were about a sacrifice.’ In the meantime our General with his companie went to prayer, and the reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentive, and seemed to be greatly affected with it: but when they were come unto us,

they restored again unto us those things which before we bestowed upon them.

“ Presently came down from the country a great multitude, and among them a man of goodly stature, and comely personage, who was the King himself, accompanied by many tall and warlike men. Before his majesty advanced, two ambassadors presented themselves to the General to announce his approach, but continued speaking for about an hour ; at the end of which the Hioh or King, making as princely a show as he possibly could, with all his train, came forward ; in the course of which they cried continually, after a singing manner, with a lusty courage. As they drew nearer and nearer towards us, so did they more and more strive to behave themselves with a certain comeliness and gravity in all their actions.”

Indeed, they appear to have been a harmless and inoffensive people, the Chief and all the other men joining in a song, and moving in a kind of dance. The harmless manner of their approach took from the General all suspicion ; and he gave directions for their being admitted within the enclosure of the tents without interruption, and they entered the fort singing and dancing. Amid this festivity, the King or Chief placed a feathered cap of net-work on the General’s head, and a chain around his neck, and saluted him by the name of *Hioh*. By this act Drake not unreasonably supposed it was meant to convey the whole country and themselves to the new-comers ; and he gave them to understand, in the best way he was able, that he accepted them in the name, and for the use of, the Queen of England.

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

Admiral Burney seems to have some doubt, and well he may, whether this ceremony was so clearly understood as to warrant the interpretation put upon it by the writer of the Narrative:—

“The invariable custom,” he observes, “adopted by Europeans, of claiming and taking formal possession of every new land they meet with, whether it is inhabited or uninhabited, never entering into the consideration, no doubt disposed Drake to credit (if it is true that he did credit it) that these people simply and for no cause, value received, or other consideration, made a voluntary gift of themselves and their country to him, a perfect stranger. Such is stated to have been the fact; and against allegations of fact incredulity is no proof.

“The English were certainly regarded by the natives here with an uncommon degree of favour, for which two very natural reasons may be assigned. This part of the American continent had been visited by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, and by no other European. His interview with the natives was of the most friendly kind. No intervening circumstance could have occurred to change the nature of the impressions left by Cabrillo; and this disposition, so favourable to Europeans, the conduct of Drake, friendly and humane towards them, confirmed.”*

The men were naked, but their bodies painted with different colours. They are thus described in the ‘World Encompassed:’

“They are a people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery. Their bows and arrows would do no great harm, being weak, and fitter for children than for men; and yet the men were so strong of body, that what two or three of our people could scarcely bear, one of them would take upon his back, and, without grudging, carry it up hill and down hill, an English mile together. The women were very obedient and serviceable to their husbands.

“Before we went from hence, our General caused a post to be set up on shore, a monument of our being there; as also of her Majesty’s and successor’s right and title to that kingdom, namely, a plate of brass, fast nailed to a great and firm post; whereon is engraven her Grace’s name, and the day and year of our arrival there, and of the free giving up of the province and kingdom, both by the king and people, into her Majesty’s hands; together with her Highness’s picture and arms in a piece of sixpence, current English money, showing itself by a hole made of purpose through the plate: underneath was likewise engraven the name of our General, &c.”

To show respect to his own country, and because white cliffs were observed on the coast, Drake gave to all the land he had seen in this part of America the name of *New Albion*. They remained thirty-six days in port; and when the time approached

* Burney’s ‘South Sea Discoveries.’

for their departure the friendly natives appeared to be deeply affected, and to wish for their speedy return; and the separation was accompanied with every token of mutual good will towards each other.

“There is reason,” says Burney, “to conclude that the *Port of Drake* was that which is now known by the name of *Port San Francisco*, the latitude of which is $37^{\circ} 48\frac{1}{2}'$ N. For, as the latitude given in the *Famous Voyage* is 38° N., and in the ‘*World Encompassed*’ $38^{\circ} 30'$, and the latitude of *Port San Francisco* is $37^{\circ} 48\frac{1}{4}'$ N.; there can be little doubt they are one and the same.” Burney adds in a note—“Allowing them to be the same, it is remarkable that both the most northern and the most southern ports at which Drake anchored in the course of his voyage, should afterwards by the Spaniards, doubtless without any intended reference to the name of *Francis Drake*, be named *San Francisco*.”

Thus we may observe that this portion of the west coast of America was indeed discovered, and taken possession of in the usual manner, by an Englishman, in the name of his sovereign, full two hundred years before the United States of America had any existence; and yet they have the modesty to lay claim to it on the assumption that an American discovered it some few years ago. But discovery, or prescription, as Queen Elizabeth justly said, “is little worth without actual possession.” If it were not so, what indeed would become of our title to Australia and Van Diemen’s Land, where a host of Dutch names stare us in the face?

On the 23rd of July the *Golden Hind* left the western coast of America, and, as long as she was in sight of it, the kind natives kept up fires on the hills. Whatever the original intention of Drake had been in attempting an eastern passage round the northern part of America, if no other motive induced him to abandon it, the advanced season of the year, and the extreme degree of cold they had already experienced in so low a latitude as 48° , no doubt determined him to cross the Pacific, which however was a long ocean voyage, as unknown to him as the passage of the Strait of Magelhaens had been. Fortunately, however, he had obtained from the master of a trading ship from Panama to the Philippine Islands, “a sea-card” (no doubt a chart of the route), and therefore the best they could do was to direct their course for the Philippines.

They continued their course, without sight of any land, for

the space of sixty-eight days; and on the 30th of September fell in with certain islands lying in about 8 degrees to the northward of the line. The natives came off in their canoes, each hollowed out of a single tree, bringing cocoa-nuts, fruits, and fish. The first that came appeared to be well disposed; but others acted dishonestly, carrying off whatever articles were once put into their hands. The English therefore would have nothing to do with them in the way of trade; on which, to manifest their resentment, they began to attack the ship with stones, with which they had provided themselves. A gun was fired over their heads, the noise of which frightened them; but none being hurt they returned, and were more insolent than before. The patience of Drake was now exhausted, and he ordered some muskets to be fired at them; for they could not be got rid of till they were made to feel some smart as well as terror. Drake gave these islands the name of the *Islands of Thieves*. Admiral Burney thinks, from the description of the natives, the time of the passage to them, and the latitude, that they are the islands which in our time have been called the Pellew Islands.

Leaving these islands, they sailed westerly, from the 3rd to the 16th of October, without seeing any land till they made the Philippine Islands, and coasted them until the 21st, when they anchored and watered the ship at the largest of the group, called Mindanao; and sailing thence about eight leagues, they passed between two islands south of Mindanao, and on the 3rd of November had sight of the Moluccas, and steered for Tidore; but having received information that the Portuguese had been driven out of Ternate, and had taken up their quarters at Tidore, Drake determined to proceed to the former place.

On anchoring at this city, the capital of the Moluccas, Drake sent a messenger with a velvet cloak to the King, with a request to be supplied with provisions, and allowed to purchase various kinds of spices. The King himself came off to the ship, preceded by three large and magnificent canoes, each having eighty rowers, who paddled to the sound of brass cymbals. On each side of these canoes was a row of soldiers, every one having a sword, dagger, and target; and in each there was also a small piece of ordnance, mounted on a stock. Drake received the King in great state, himself and all his officers being dressed in their

richest clothes, guns firing, and trumpets sounding. The King was a tall, corpulent man, with a good countenance. His attendants showed him great respect, speaking to him only in a kneeling posture.

On taking leave, he promised to visit the General on the following day, and that the ship should be supplied with provisions. Abundance of rice, fruits, and poultry were sent off, together with a small quantity of cloves. The King, however, instead of visiting them as he had promised, sent his brother with an excuse and an invitation to the General to land. This Drake declined, but some of his officers waited on the King, the brother being detained on board as a pledge for their safety. The King, who was covered with a profusion of gold ornaments and jewels, received them with much parade.

“The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60 grave personages, all of which were said to be of the king’s counsel. There were besides 4 grave persons, apparalled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keep continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also 2 Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in guarded with 12 launces covered over with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their captaines called Moro, rising to meet him, he graciously did welcome and entertaine them. He was attired after the manner of the country, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste down to the ground, was all clothe of golde, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feet were a paire of shooes, made of Cordouan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had sixe very faire jewels, and sitting in his chair of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the king. The fanne was in length two foote, and in breadth one foote, set with 8 saphyres, richly embroidered, and knit to a staffe 3 foote in length. by the which the page did hold, and moove it. Our gentlemen having delivered their message, and received order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the king’s counsell.”

Drake appears to have gained by his conduct golden opinions from all he had to deal with here. The son of this King of Ternate, after the death of his father, wrote to King James, soliciting his friendship and aid, and said—

“Hearing of the good report of your Majesty by the coming of the

great Captain, Francis Drake, in the time of my father, which was about some fifty years past; by the which Captain my predecessor did send a ring unto the Queen of England, as a token of remembrance between us; which, if the aforesaid Drake had been living, he could have informed your Majesty of the great love and friendship of either side; he in behalf of the Queen, my father for him and his successors; since which time of the departure of the foresaid Captain, we have daily expected his return, my father living many years after, and daily expecting his return; and I, after the death of my father, have lived in the same hope, 'til I was father of eleven children; in which time I have been informed that the English were men of so bad disposition, that they came not as peaceable merchants, but to dispossess us of our country; which, by the coming of the bearer hereof, (Captain Middleton,) we have found to the contrary, which greatly we rejoice at, &c."*

He then goes on to say that, as the English failed them, they were obliged to call in the Dutch to expel their enemies the Portuguese out of the forts they held at Amboyna and Tidore—a bad exchange for English aid, we may add, when the horrible massacres by the Dutch at Amboyna are called to recollection.

What the King states in his letter, concerning the promises of Drake, is probably true; for we find from Hakluyt that the General received many offers of friendship from the King, who proposed, if he would enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with him, that the trade of Ternate should be reserved exclusively for England. It was in fact this sovereign who dispossessed the Portuguese of the dominion they had so long enjoyed at Ternate.

Drake having furnished his ship with provisions, and procured a large supply of cloves, on the 9th of November sailed from the capital of the Moluccas; and on the 11th anchored at a small island near the eastern part of Celebes, where he repaired his ship. The island was uninhabited, and they remained there for some weeks undisturbed, erected tents, and set up a forge on shore. The island was one continued forest; and most of the trees were large, lofty, and straight, without a branch till near the top. No fresh water was found on the island, but they obtained a supply from an adjoining one.

“Among the trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselves an infinite swarm of fiery wormes flying through the ayre, whos

* Purchas—East India Voyage.

bodies being no bigger than our common English flies, make such a shew and light, as if every twigge or tree had been a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderful store of bats, as bigge as large hennes; of cray-fishes also heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for four hungry stomachs at a dinner, being also very good and restoring meate, whereof we had experience; and they dig themselves holes in the earth like conies."

They left this island on the 12th of December, and steered westward; but on their course they got so entangled among the small islands and shoals of the Celebes, that in order to extricate themselves they stood off to the southward, where there appeared to be a more clear sea. On the night of the 9th of January, 1580, whilst running under all sail set, and the wind blowing moderately fresh, the Golden Hind all at once struck on a rocky shoal, and stuck fast.

Here the ship remained firmly fixed all night. At daybreak every exertion was made to get her off. The water was of such a great depth on every side of the shoal as to make it impossible to heave her off by getting out an anchor. In this state of distress the whole ship's company was summoned to prayers—

"commending ourselves into the merciful hands of our most gracious God: for this purpose we presently fell prostrate, and with joined prayers sent up to the throne of grace, humbly besought Almighty God to extend his mercy unto us in his son Christ Jesus; and so preparing, as it were, our necks unto the block, we every minute expected the final stroke to be given unto us."

That duty performed, it was determined to lighten the ship of part of her lading. Three tons of cloves, eight of the guns, and a quantity of meal and beans, were thrown overboard, but without effect; but although the danger was so imminent, the idea of lightening the ship by throwing out any of the treasure on board, which was the heaviest part of their cargo, appears never to have been entertained. Fortunately at low water, as the ship fell over on one side, she slipped off from the ledge of the rock, and floated into deep water.*

* Fuller gives a different account; on what authority does not appear: but the passage is too characteristic and too striking to be omitted:—"The ship struck twice on a dangerous shoal, knocking twice at the door of death, which no doubt had opened the third time. Here they struck, having ground too much, and yet too little to land on; and water too much, and yet

On the 14th of March they arrived at some port at the south side of Java, where they remained till the 26th, and procured every kind of supply they stood in need of. Their time was here passed in feasting and friendly intercourse with the native chiefs, who then were not fettered by any Dutch masters.

From Java they put to sea for the Cape of Good Hope, which they passed without stopping, though it was the first land they fell in with.

On the 22nd of July they reached Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa, where they stopped two days to take in water, and obtained there oysters and fruit. On the 24th they again put to sea; and on the 26th of September, 1580,

“which,” says the Narrative, “was Monday in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home, in one place or country, (but in our computation was the Lord’s day or Sunday,) we safely, with joyful minds and thankful hearts to God, arrived at Plimouth, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent two years, ten months, and some odd days beside, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discerning so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange adventures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so many difficulties, in this our encompassing of this nether globe, and passing round about the world, which we have related.

Soli rerum maximarum Effectori,
Soli totius mundi Gubernatori,
Soli suorum Conservatori,
Soli Deo sit semper gloria.”

too little to sail in. Had God, who, as the wise man saith, holdeth the winds in his fist, but opened his little finger, and let out the smallest blast, they had undoubtedly been cast away: but there blew not any wind all the while. Then they, conceiving aright that the best way to lighten the ship was first to ease it of the burden of their sins by true repentance, humbled themselves by fasting under the hand of God: afterwards they received the communion, dining on Christ in the sacrament, expecting no other than to sup with him in heaven. Then they cast out of their ship six great pieces of ordnance: threw overboard as much wealth as would break the heart of a miser to think on ’t; with much sugar and packs of spices, making a caudle of the sea round about. Then they betook themselves to their prayers, the best lever at such a dead lift indeed; and it pleased God that the wind, formerly their mortal enemy, became their friend.”—*Holy State*, 127.

CHAPTER V.

DRAKE IN ENGLAND.

1580—1585.

Drake is well received at Plymouth—Neglected in London; and at the Court—Restored to the favour of the Queen, who visits his ship at Deptford—Confers Knighthood on him—Honours paid to the ship—Amount of Treasure brought home.

As soon as Drake's arrival with his single ship at Plymouth was known, the inhabitants hastened in crowds to the shore to welcome their old friend. On landing he was received by the Mayor and civic authorities, the bells of St. Andrew's church ringing a merry peal, which was prolonged during the whole day. The general joy was extreme, for after the arrival of Captain John Winter, who was always considered as having deserted him, a strong impression had arisen that some fatal disaster had befallen Drake. The day was spent in feasting and rejoicing. On the morrow his first visit was to his native village near Tavistock; for this brave and right-minded man considered it an act of pious devotion to visit the residence of his old parents, in which most probably he first drew his breath, and from which those parents had been driven by religious persecution.

Having been fêted for some days by the authorities of Plymouth and the neighbouring gentry, he rejoined his little bark, the Golden Hind, which had borne him through so many perils and adventures, and with which, as one of the old writers observes, "he had ploughed up a furrow round the world," and in her set sail for Deptford. The report of his return had of course preceded his appearance in London; where not only his adventures were the topic of conversation, but the most exaggerated accounts were circulated as to the immense wealth he had brought

back, and various were the opinions as to whether it had been lawfully and honestly acquired. But that which must have the most annoyed him, was the total inattention of the Court, where, before his departure, he had been so cordially received, and where his projected enterprise had met with such flattering encouragement. No intimation was now given that his appearance there would be acceptable; and although the first Englishman, and the second man of any country, who had circumnavigated the globe, he was not considered worthy of his sovereign's special notice. It is said, indeed, that even in less dignified circles the cool reception that Drake met with was too marked to be misunderstood; and that some were squeamish enough to refuse the acceptance of any trifling curiosity at his hands, lest it might not have been honestly come by. Stow's account of the matter is not uninteresting. He says, in his Chronicles—

“The newes of this his great wealth so far fetcht, was miraculous strange, and of all men held impossible and incredible, but both proving true, it fortun'd that many misliked it and reproach'd him: besides all this there were others that devised and divulged all possible disgraces against Drake and his followers, deaming him the master thiefe of the unknowne world, yet neverthesse, the people generally, with exceeding admiration, applauded his wonderful long adventures and rich prize, chiefly for some such reasons following.

“The Queene, not yet persuaded to accept and approve his unknowne purchase, paused a while and heard every opinion, which at that time were many; the principal points whereof were, that if this action of Drake should be justified, it would call in question the late piracy of Captayne Christmasse: the staying of the Spanish king's treasure by Martine Frobisher: hinder commerce: break the league: raise reproach: breede warre with the house of Burgundy: and cause imbargo of the English shippes and goodes in Spayne. Whereunto answer was made, that it was neither prize, nor piracy, nor civill policy, to cast so much treasure out of their possession: neither could any prince or private subject rightly challenge it: nor by it any offence committed, or intended to any christian prince or state.

“And that it was very necessary to retaigne it, as well for further triall of the Spanish malice, shewed to the English merchants in Spayne; as for the descrying of secret enemies at home, against both which, it would prove a present remedy: as also that if warres ensued, which the Spanyards long threatened, then the same treasure of itself would fully defray the charge of seaven yeares warres, prevent and save the common subject from taxes, loanes, privy seals, subsidies and fifteenes, and give them good advantage against a daring adversary: the which said opinion strongly prevayled.

“Yet Captaine Drake, all this while, being therewithal, and by his friends

much encouraged, rested doubtful of the event, untill the day that the Queen's Majesty came aborde his weather-beaten barke; where being as highly graced as his heart coulde wish, with knightly honors, princely commendations and encouragements, he forthwith visited his friendes in courte, towne and countrey, his name and fame became admirable in all places, the people swarming dayly in the streets to beholde him, vowing hatred to all that durst mislike him. Books, pictures and ballades were published in his prayse, his opinion and judgment concerning marine affayres stode currant."

It must be noticed, however, that Drake had for five months been held in suspense, as to the view which the Queen would take of the business, upon which, of course, his future fame would mainly depend. He was now, however, to be highly honoured and amply gratified.

"They came home into England," continues Stow, "in the year 1580; and in the year next following, to wit, 1581, on the 4th of April, her Majesty dining at Deptford, after dinner entered the ship which Captain Drake had so happily guided round about the world, and being there, a bridge which her Majesty had passed over, brake, being upon the same more than two hundred persons, and no man hurt by the fall; and there she did make Captain Drake knight, in the same ship, for reward of his service; his armes were given him, a ship on the world, which ship, by her Majestie's commandment, is lodged in a dock at Deptford, for a monument to all posterity, of that famous and worthie exploite, whereof a worshipfull gentleman, Maister William Borough, in his preface to a book entitled 'A discourse of the variation of the compasse or magnetical needle,' hath these words: 'So now at length (saith he) our countrieman Sir Francis Drake, for valorous attempt, prudent proceeding, and fortunate performing his voyage about the world, is not only become equal to any of them that live, but in fame farr surpassing.'"

The Queen, it appears, commanded that the Golden Hind should be preserved, as a striking monument of Drake's services and his country's glory; and for a long series of years it remained in Deptford dock-yard as an object of curiosity and admiration. When it was too far decayed to receive repairs, a sufficient quantity of sound wood was selected out of it, and converted into a chair, which was presented to the University of Oxford, with the following appropriate verses written by the celebrated Cowley:—

"To this great ship which round the globe has run,
And match'd in race the chariot of the sun;
This Pythagorean ship, (for it may claim,
Without presumption, so deserv'd a name,)

By knowledge once, and transformation now,
 In her new shape, this sacred port allow.
 Drake and his ship could not have wish'd from fate
 An happier station or more blest estate.
 For lo! a seat of endless rest is given
 To her in Oxford, and to him in heaven."

Among other verses in praise of the circumnavigator the following, said to be written by some of the scholars of Winchester School, were set up upon the main-mast of the Golden Hind:—

"Plus ultra, Herculeis inscribas, Drace, columnis,
 Et magno dicas Hercule major ero.
 Drace, pererrati novit quem terminus orbis,
 Quemque semel mundi vidit uterque Polus,
 Si taceant homines, facient te sidera notum;
 Sol nescit Comitibus non memor esse sui.
 Digna ratis quæ stet radiantibus inclyta stellis;
 Supremo cæli vertice digna ratis."

"But these things," says Camden, "may seem too light, and to proceed from an idle brain, and not beseeeming the gravity of an historian."

This *grave* historian, however, deals in queer stories occasionally. Speaking, in his 'Britannia,' of the shire of Buchan, in Scotland, he says—

"It is hardly worth while to mention the *clayks*, a sort of geese, which are believed by some, with great admiration, to grow upon trees on this coast, and in other places; and, when they are ripe, to fall down into the sea, because neither their nests nor eggs can anywhere be found. But they who saw the ship in which Sir Francis Drake sailed round the world, when it was laid up in the river Thames, could testify that little birds bred in the old rotten keels of ships, since a great number of such, without life and feathers, stuck close to the outside of the keel of that ship. Yet I should think that the generation of these birds was not from the logs of wood, but from the sea, termed by the poets, 'the parent of all things.'"

Camden evidently was not acquainted with the fact of there being a barnacle *shell*, as well as barnacle *goose*.

It would appear that after a time the Golden Hind became a resort of holiday people, the cabin being converted into a sort of banqueting-house.

Among the indiscriminate captures that Drake had made there was a considerable amount of property belonging to private individuals, and he could not doubt that, as soon as it should be

discovered he had returned home, these individuals personally, or through their agents, would attack him for indemnification; and such very shortly was the case. The Spanish Ambassador, Don Barnardin de Mendoza, was instructed by his Government to make representations to Queen Elizabeth regarding the enormities committed by Drake in his late voyage, and the depredations on the inhabitants of the territories in America, which belonged exclusively to his nation; and to demand, in the name of his Sovereign, full restitution for the property so seized, and punishment of the offender. Mendoza carried his insolent demand to such a length, as to imply that the English had no right to navigate the Indian Ocean. To whom the Queen returned this spirited reply:—

“That the Spaniards, by their ill treatment of her subjects, to whom they had prohibited commerce, contrary to the law of nations, had drawn these mischiefs upon themselves. That Drake should be forthcoming to answer according to law, if he were convicted by good evidence and testimony to have committed anything against law and right. That the goods in question were purposely laid by, that satisfaction might be made to the Spaniards, though the Queen had spent a greater sum of money than Drake had brought in, against those rebels whom the Spaniards had raised and encouraged against her, both in Ireland and England. Moreover, she understood not why her, or any other Prince’s, subjects should be debarred from the Indies, which she could not persuade herself the Spaniards had any just title to, by the Bishop of Rome’s donation (in whom she acknowledged no prerogative, much less authority, in such cases, so as to lay any tie upon Princes which owed him no obedience or observance, or, as it were, to infeoffe the Spaniard in that new world, and invest him with the possession thereof), nor yet by any other claim, than as they had touched here and there upon the coasts, built cottages, and given names to a river or a cape; which things cannot entitle them to a propriety. So that this donation of that which is another man’s, which is of no validity in law, and this imaginary propriety, cannot hinder other princes from trading into those countries, and, without breach of the law of nations, from transporting colonies into those parts thereof where the Spaniards inhabit not (forasmuch as prescription without possession is little worth), neither from freely navigating that vast ocean, seeing the use of the sea and air is common to all. Neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people, or private persons: forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitted any possession thereof.”

A certain sum of money was however ordered to be paid by Drake to a person of the name of Pedro Lebura, whom the Ambassador presented as an accredited agent for certain individuals, who had made good their claims on account of private property.

This money, it afterwards turned out, was never paid to the proper owners; but was, by order of the King, employed against Elizabeth in paying the Spaniards serving in the Netherlands.

What the sum was does not appear; but there is a minute of the Lord High Treasurer of certain sums of money paid by Sir Francis Drake into the Royal Mint, of which the following is a copy extracted from the State Papers of Lord Burleigh:—

“ A Briefe Note of all such Silver Bullion as was brought into the Tower by Sir Fras. Drake, Knight, and laid in the Vaute under the Jewel-House, as also what hath been taken out, and what remaineth, (viz.) 26 Dec., 1585:—

	Weight.		lb.	oz.
	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.
In ingotts of silver, being fine and coarse } by tale, 650, which waieth in gross weight }	22,899	5	23,411	11
More in small pieces called corento, } which is coarse silver that hath been ga- } thered in the mines without refining and } melting thereof, weighing in gross weight }	512	6		
There hath been coyned, as by her Ma- } jesty's Warrant appeareth, for the Right } Hon. Sir Christopher Hatton, knight, to the } sum of }	£. 2,300	s. 0	£.	s. 0
<i>Item,</i> As by another Warrant of her } Majesty, there hath been coyned for the } Right Hon. Sir Fras. Walsingham, knight, } to the sum of }	4,000	0 0	39,925	15 9
<i>Item,</i> by another of her Majesty's War- } rants there hath been coyned for the Right } Hon. the Earl of Leicester, to the sum of . }	4,000	0 0		
<i>Item,</i> there is refined and molten of the } said silver into clean ingotts to the sum of }	29,625	15 9		
Total Sum taken out of the vaute is				
More in gold bullion brought in by the said Sir Fras. } Drake, knight, in cakes and ingotts of severall fines, weigh- } ing 101 lb. 1 oz., which said gold is refined, molten and } coyned into 30s. and 15s. pieces, the charges being deducted } to the sum of }			£. 205	s. 0
There remaineth in coarse ingotts of silver in the vaute } under the Jewel-House, by tale, 243, which are to be refined } and molten, weighing in gross weight }			lb. 8544	oz. 11½
More remaineth in the said vaute, the small pieces called } corento, which is coarse silver as above said, weighing in } gross weight * }			512	6

* Burleigh's State Papers.

The following passage occurs in Purchas :—

“ Captain Drake carried from the coast of Peru, eight hundred sixtie-six thousand pieces of silver, which is eight hundred sixty-six kintals, at a hundred pound waight the kintal, and every kintal is worth twelve hundred duckets of Spaine, which is a million, thirty-nine thousand and two hundred duckets. Besides this, he carried away a hundred thousand pieces of gold, which is ten kintals, and every kintal is worth fifteen hundred duckets of Spain, which amounteth to a hundred and fiftie thousand duckets, besides that which he had in the ship that was not customed, which I do not know of; as well pearls, precious stones, and other things of great value, besides the money he had in coine.”

Whether the money mentioned by Purchas be any part of the bullion adverted to in the preceding account would probably be shown by the inaccessible documents of the Lord Treasurer at Hatfield House. We see by this account in what manner something above 10,000*l.* was disposed of, but there is no statement showing how the balance of 29,625*l.* was accounted for, nor of the additional gold and silver brought in by Drake, amounting to about 27,160*l.*, and which, taken together, amounts to the sum of 56,800*l.*, or thereabouts. It is not clear, however, that any part of this was appropriated to meet the claim of the Spanish agent, who nevertheless did, from some fund or other, receive and misapply a certain sum of money; nor does it appear that all or any part of it was restored to Drake.

There is, however, an old volume, ‘The Merchant’s Mappe of Commerce, by Lewes Roberts,’ printed in 1638; and now very little known, but highly esteemed at the time, which states the amount of profit obtained by the adventurers who assisted in fitting out and joining Drake’s expedition. The volume is dedicated to Sir Maurice Abbot, Governor of the East India Company, and Mr. Alderman Garraway, Governor of the Levant Company; of both which Companies Mr. Roberts was a member. He says—

“ This voyage made profit to himself (Drake) and merchants of London, his partners and fellow-adventurers, according to an account made up at his return, all charges paid and discharged, which I have seen, subscribed under his own hand, 47*l.* for 1*l.*; so that he who adventured with him in this voyage 100*l.*, had 4700*l.* for the same, by which may be gathered the benefit that redounded thereby; though accompanied with many rubbes, delaies and dangers.”*

* Communicated by Mr. Bolton Corney, from whom much valuable information has been received by the Author.

It does not appear that any inquiry was made, after Drake's arrival in England, regarding the extraordinary trial and execution of Doughty at Port St. Julian. The whole affair must have been well known at home from the report of Captain Winter and his ship's crew; and if, during the five months that Drake was excluded, as it were, from the Court, and various attempts were made to disparage his fame, no case was got up against him on the score of this transaction, we may consider him to have been fully acquitted in public opinion of any impropriety in the proceedings regarding this unfortunate business.

Prince, in his 'Worthies of Devon,' gives the following story, which, although it appears to be unsupported by any evidence, and is highly improbable, has obtained so great a degree of credit that we do not deem it right to pass it by unnoticed:—

"It was about this time," says Prince, "that there fell out a contest between Sir Bernard Drake, and the immortal Sir Fras. Drake: chiefly occasioned by Sir Francis his assuming Sir Bernard's coat of arms, not being able to make out his descent from his family; a matter in those days, when the court of honour was in more honour, not so easily digested. The feud hereupon increased to that degree that Sir Bernard, being a person of a high spirit, gave Sir Francis a box on the ear; and that within the verge of the court. For which offence he incurred her Majesty's displeasure; and most probably it proved the occasion of the Queen's bestowing upon Sir Fras. Drake a new coat of everlasting honour to himself and posterity for ever; which hath relation to that glorious action of his, the circumnavigating the world, which is thus emblazoned by Guillim:

"Diamond, a fess wavy, between the two pole-stars, arctic and antarctic, pearl; as before.

"And what is more, his crest is a ship on a globe under ruff, held by a cable rope with a hand out of the clouds; in the rigging whereof is hung up by the heels a wivern gules, Sir Bernard's arms; but in no great honour, we may think, to that knight, though so designed to Sir Francis. Unto all which Sir Bernard boldly replied: 'That though her Majesty could give him a nobler, yet she could not give an antienter coat than his.'

"This relation, I had from Sir John Drake, of Trill, knight and baronet, my honourable godfather."

This story is as absurd as it is improbable. Sir Francis Drake was not the man to be struck with impunity, nor was Elizabeth the woman to have rewarded him had he done so. Drake's arms were given to him immediately after his knighthood in 1581: over the globe was the motto *Auxilio divino*, and underneath the words *Sic parvis magna*. The fact probably was, that Sir Francis

Drake, being ignorant of the family arms, asked his relation Sir Bernard for such information as the Heralds' College required.

Some time after Drake's return from his circumnavigation voyage, he received the following letter from Davis, the celebrated Arctic voyager:—

“ Right honourable, most dutifully craving pardon for this my rash boldness, I am hereby, according to my duty, to signify unto your honor that the north-west passage is a matter nothing doubtful; but at any time almost to be passed by a sea navigable, void of ice; the ice tolerable, the waters very deep. I have also found an isle of very great quantity, not in any globe or maps discovered, yielding a sufficient trade of furs and leather. Although this passage hath been supposed very improbable, yet, through God's mercy, I am in experience an eye witness to the contrary; yea, in the most desperate climates, which, by God's help, I will very shortly more at large reveal unto your honor, so soon as I can possibly take order for my mariners and shipping. Thus depending upon your honor's good favour, I most humbly commit you to God. This 3rd October.

“ Your honor's for ever

“ Most dutiful,

(Signed) “ JOHN DAVIS.”

Strype, in introducing this letter, says—

“ I have one note more to make of one Davys, a mariner, sometime belonging to Sir Francis Drake, who being employed to find out a north-west passage into those seas in that part of the world, came back this year (in 1585), and upon his return, in a letter, acquainted the said Drake with some account of those seas, and how navigable they were. The letter shewing the first discovery of that passage, and wrote to so eminent a seaman, may deserve to be preserved, and is, as I take it from the original, to this tenor.”

From this statement it is probable that Davis had served under Drake, and perhaps on the circumnavigation voyage, when the latter contemplated a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic; which was at the time, and has been since, so vigorously attempted in a contrary direction by Frobisher, Davis, Baffin, Gilbert, and many others—“ men,” as old Purchas describes them, “ of heroike courage, marine worthies, beyond all names of worthinesse.” The Straits which Davis discovered still bear his name.

Drake was always kind to his followers, and ever ready to assist them. The following letter, among many others, affords proof of this:—

“ Good Mr. Doctor Cæsar,

“ This bearer, Roger Roffe, is like to have some cawse in question before you: it is supposed that he hath wronge, therefore I presume the rather to intreat your favour towards him, prayinge that for my sake you will shew yt in his behalf, being willinge, in that he will becom one of my companie to steed him in any honest cawse. And so with my right hertie commendations do bid you farewell.

“ From your father’s howse in Chepside, this 24 June, 1585.

“ Your assured friend,

“ FRA: DRAKE.*

“ To the Worshipful my very

“ lovinge friend, Mr. Doctor Cæsar,

“ Judge of the Admiraultie.

“ With speede.”

Sir Francis remained on shore for the next four or five years, but not without active employment. In 1582 he was mayor of Plymouth; but the records of that place contain no entries of any transactions during his mayoralty beyond the ordinary routine of business, unless his “having caused the compass to be put upon the Hoe,” and having put in execution the order for wearing scarlet gowns, be considered such.

* Lansdowne MSS., British Museum.

CHAPTER VI.

DRAKE'S VOYAGE TO THE WEST INDIES

1585—1586.

Drake receives command of a Squadron—Sir Philip Sydney—The squadron and troops employed—Land on the island of St. Jago—Attack on St. Domingo—And on Cartagena—Sickness in the fleet—The intention of taking Nombre de Dios and entering the Isthmus abandoned—Destroy St. Augustine—Return homewards—Call at Virginia—Bring away the Governor and Colonists, who abandon the Colony—Introduction of Tobacco.

THE complete success of the circumnavigation voyage gave an additional spur to the military spirit of England,—eager to humble the arrogant pretensions of Spain, and punish the authors of the cruelties inflicted on our countrymen in her Indian possessions. Her Majesty, who had been greatly pleased with the result of that voyage, now, as a proof of her good opinion, advanced Sir Francis Drake to the rank of Admiral; and signified her pleasure that he should take the command of a fleet, which she destined for the West Indies. She had strong motives for adopting this measure: she was well aware that the treaty she had just concluded with the United Netherlands would be considered by the King of Spain as little short of a declaration of war, and that she ought to be prepared accordingly. He had, in fact, already laid an embargo upon all the English ships, goods, and men found within his territories, which was in itself a hostile measure, and the first step towards a declaration of war. The Queen was moreover fully aware what little chance there was of restitution, or of obtaining any satisfaction for her subjects whose property had been seized, unless she adopted hostile measures; and therefore she wisely resolved to attack the King of Spain in the West Indies, from whence his chief supplies were derived.

“The Queen and kingdom,” says Strype, “had the greatest apprehensions from abroad of the King of Spain: with whom she could obtain no good understanding: and of whom especially it concerned her to beware, considering his power, which at that time was formidable; and thus set forth by our historian (Camden:) ‘All the Princes of Italy were at his beck: the bishop of Rome was wholly addicted and engaged to him; the Cardinals were, as it were, his vassals; all the ablest persons, for matters both of war and peace, were his pensioners. In Germany, the house of Austria, a house extending and branching far and wide, and other houses allied unto the same by marriages, did, as it were, attend upon him and his service. His wealth also and his strength were so much increased, both by sea and land, since the late addition of Portugal and East India, that he was far more powerful and formidable than ever his father Charles V. was. And if he should once reduce the Netherlands under his power, there was nothing to hinder, but that the rest of the princes of Christendom must of necessity stoop to his greatness, unless it were prevented.’

“This powerful prince then the Queen had to deal with. It was judged therefore the best course to favour the Netherlanders, with whom he was now at war, and towards whom he had exercised great barbarities. It was now under deliberation concerning the doing of this weighty matter. The lord-treasurer had consulted with Hawkins, a brave seaman and treasurer of the Navy, upon this affair; and what means might be used in this undertaking, requiring to know his thoughts thereof. He soon after showed that statesman, in writing, the means to offend that king, and the reasons to maintain that faction.”

The King of Spain's hostility to England was avowed, and he had, as it were, thrown down the gauntlet. The Queen therefore saw plainly that nothing was left to meet this insolence but to authorize all such of her subjects as had suffered from the measures taken by Spain, and all others who might feel disposed to resent the hostile proceedings of that nation, to be furnished with letters of marque and reprisal, with power to seize all ships and merchandise, wherever found, belonging to the subjects of the King of Spain. At the same time she ordered a powerful fleet of her own ships to be equipped. The whole of this armament was to be employed under the command of Sir Francis Drake, whom, from his experience and success in naval matters, she considered as the fittest officer in her dominions to strike a blow against Spain.

On this occasion a volunteer presented himself, whose offer Drake could neither well reject nor prudently accept. This was no less a person than the gallant and most accomplished Sir Philip Sydney, the friend and favourite of Queen Elizabeth, of

whom one about the Court said, when he was about to leave her on another occasion, "that she was afraid to lose the jewel of her times." In a life of this celebrated man, written by his friend Sir Fulke Grevil (Lord Brooke), it is stated that this expedition was of Sir Philip's own projecting—

"Wherein he fashioned the whole body with purpose to become the head of it himself.—I mean the last employment but one, of Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies, which journey, as the scope of it was mixt both of sea and land service, so had it accordingly distinct officers and commanders, chosen by Sir Philip out of the ablest governors of those martial times."

He then tells us that it was arranged between themselves, that he and Sir Francis should be equal commanders when they had left England; that the preparations should be made in the name of Sir Francis, and that everything should be abundantly supplied by the credit of Sir Philip. All this, however, was to be kept secret, as Sir Philip well knew it would be next to impossible to obtain the Queen's consent to his taking an employment so remote and of so hazardous a nature; but when once it was ready, he presumed "the success would put envy and all her agents to silence." And Sir Francis, on his part, "found that Sir Philip's friends, with the influence of his excellent inward powers, would add both weight and fashion to his ambition; and consequently, either with or without Sir Philip's company, yield unexpected ease and honour to him on this voyage."

The preparations went on: everything that Drake required was at once procured. He repaired to Plymouth, and waited only the arrival of Sir Philip to put to sea. At length the gallant knight arrived at Plymouth, and was feasted the first night by Sir Francis, with a great deal of pomp and compliment.

"Yet, I," says Lord Brooke, "being his [Sydney's] loving and beloved Achates in this journey, observing the countenance of this gallant mariner, more than Sir Philip's leisure served him to do, acquainted him with my observation of the discountenance and depression which appeared in Sir Francis; as if our coming were both beyond his expectation and desire."

Lord Brooke's conjecture might probably have been correct. Drake might not much relish such high company, and might in fact be playing a game assigned to him.

"For," says Lord Brooke, "within a few days after, a post steals up to the court, upon whose arrival an alarm is presently taken: messengers sent

away to stay us, and, if we refused, to stay the whole fleet. The Queen in her affection, conveyed her royal mandate by a peer of the realm, carrying with it in the one hand, grace, and in the other, thunder."

How Drake contrived to settle this ticklish affair does not appear. It is not improbable that he was all the while in communication with Sir Francis Walsingham, or some other person at Court; and that he was desired to indulge the scheme of the romantic knight until the expedition should be ready to depart. Everything in fact had been already settled as to the officers and men, and the preparations were completed. The fleet consisted of twenty-one sail of ships (some say twenty-five sail) and pinnaces, and had on board two thousand seamen and soldiers.

The principal officers were—

Sir Francis Drake, Admiral or General.	}	Elizabeth Bonaventura.
Thos. Fenner, his Captain.		
Martin Frobisher, Vice-Admiral.	}	Primrose.
Francis Knollis, Rear-Admiral.		
	}	Gallion, Leicester.

To whom were added—

Lieutenant-General Carleill, Tyger.

(This officer had the command of the troops, with one major, three corporals of the field, and ten captains under him.)

The other ships were probably taken up as transports. Although Drake was the chief, or General, of the expedition, yet the military part of the operations, of course, devolved upon Lieutenant-General Carleill; and in point of fact the whole account of their proceedings, as given in Hakluyt, is taken from the narrative drawn up partly by Captain Walter Biggs, who died on the voyage, and completed by Lieutenant Cripps, who gave it to Lieutenant Cates, to be prepared by him for publication—all three being officers of the army serving in the Lieutenant-General's company.

On the 14th of September, 1585, the expedition left Plymouth; and near the coast of Spain fell in with several French ships of small burthen, mostly laden with salt; one of which, having no person in her, the General took for the use of the fleet. To this bark he gave the name of Drake, and on his return paid her

value to the owners. A few days after this they fell in with a stout Spanish ship, having on board a great quantity of dry Newfoundland fish, which the sailors called "*Poor John*," that was of great use during the voyage.

Coming before Bayonne, a message was sent to the Governor to ask if there was war between Spain and England, and why our merchants were embargoed and arrested? Being satisfied on these points, and receiving from the Governor a present of bread, wine, oil, apples, grapes, and marmalade, they took their leave, but had scarcely returned to their ships before a storm arose which scattered the fleet.

Being again collected, they sent their pinnaces to see what might be done above the harbour of Vigo; where they succeeded in taking several boats and caravels laden with things of small value. One, however, had on board it "stuff of the high church or cathedral of Vigo, among which was a cross of silver doubly gilt, having cost a great mass of money."

The Spaniards declared that the property taken here amounted in value to thirty thousand ducats.

At Palma, in the Canary Islands, "by the naughtinesse of the landing place, well furnished with great ordnance, we thought fit to depart with the receipt of many of their cannon shot, some into our ships, and some of them besides being in very deed full cannon high."* But their calling first at Bayonne was imprudent, as it had enabled the Governor of that place to send a dispatch to their several possessions, to warn them of the approach of the English force, the strength of which he greatly exaggerated.

At Ferro they found the inhabitants so poor that they spared them; and proceeding to the Cape de Verde Islands, anchored near Porta Praya (which is called Playa by Cates), where they put on shore a thousand men. Here they dallied for fourteen days, between the towns of St. Jago and Porta Praya, two wretched Portuguese villages. The Governor, the Bishop, and the better sort, all ran away into the mountains; and the only booty obtained was two pieces of ordnance, one of iron and one of brass. The inhabitants met with one of the English boys straggling, whom they killed, and mangled in a brutal manner;

* Cates.

in revenge of which the expedition consumed with fire all the houses, as well in the country as in the town of St. Jago, the hospital excepted, which was left uninjured.

The Portuguese had their revenge: for before the fleet was many days at sea a fatal sickness broke out among the people, occasioned doubtless by the long stay at that most unhealthy place St. Jago, and between two and three hundred men died. They are described as having been marked with small spots like those which appear in the plague. They next proceeded to Dominica, which they reached in eighteen days. The island was at this time inhabited by a savage people (the Caribs), who were naked, having their skins painted: they were well made, handsome and strong, very civil, and ready to assist in watering the ships. That being done, the fleet made sail for St. Christopher's, where they refreshed the men with what they could find, and spent their Christmas; but saw no inhabitants, and had reason to believe there were none on the island.

A council being held, it was decided they should next proceed to the great island of Hispaniola, being allured thither by the fame of the city of St. Domingo, the most ancient and chief place in all that region. On arriving there, they were informed that the Spaniards were in great force in that quarter, particularly at St. Domingo. On new year's day, by the advice of a pilot whom they had captured in a frigate, they landed twelve hundred men at a convenient spot, about ten or twelve miles from the city. The General, after seeing all the men safely landed, returned to the fleet, "bequeathing them to God and the good conduct of Maister Carleill."

On approaching the town, about a hundred and fifty horsemen came out to oppose them; but were received by the invaders so gallantly, with pikes and small shot, that they retreated hastily within the two seaward gates, both of which were manned and planted with ordnance, and other troops were placed in ambuscade by the road side. Carleill divided his force into two parties, giving Captain Powell the command of one division. It was settled that they were to enter at both gates at the same time, the General swearing to Powell "that with God's good favour they would not rest till they met in the market-place." Powell with his company pushed through one of the gates, and the

General through the other; and after some fighting they both gained the market-place, or square, in which was the great church. Here they quartered themselves; and by making trenches and planting ordnance, held the town for the space of a month without loss. One day, however, the General had occasion to send a message to the Spaniards by a negro boy carrying a flag of truce: an officer of the King of Spain's galley meeting the boy, struck him through the body with a staff, and the poor fellow, having crawled back to the General, and told him what had happened, died on the spot.

"The General," says Cates, "being greatly passioned, commanded the provost martial to cause a couple of Fryars, who were among his prisoners, to be carried to the same place where the boy was stricken, accompanied with a sufficient guard of our soldiers, and there presently to be both hanged, despatching at the instant another poor Spanish prisoner, with the reason wherefore this execution was done; and with this message further, that until the party, who had thus murdered the General's messenger, were delivered into our hands, to receive condign punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed, which were in our hands."

The murderer of the boy was delivered up the next day, and the General compelled the Spaniards to execute him with their own hands.

The English demanded a ransom for the city; and as the inhabitants were very slow in coming to terms, every morning, for several successive days, the suburbs were set on fire.

"But the invaders," says Cates, "found it no small travail to ruin them, being very magnificently built of stone, with high lofts. Two hundred sailors from daybreak till nine o'clock, when the next began, did nothing but labour to fire these houses; yet we did not consume so much as one-third part of the town; and so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, we were glad to take, and they at length agreed to pay, a ransom of five and twenty thousand ducats. In the gallery of their King's house, there was painted, on a very large escutcheon, the arms of the King of Spain, and in the lower part of the 'scutcheon a terrestrial globe, containing upon it the whole circuit of the sea, and the earth, whereon is a horse standing on his hind legs as in the act of leaping from it, with a scroll proceeding from his mouth, whereon was written, '*Non sufficit Orbis.*' We looked upon this as a very notable mark and token of the unsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and nation, and did not refrain from pointing it out to the Spaniards, who were sent to negotiate with us; nor from sarcastically enquiring what was meant by such a device? at which they would

shake their heads and turn aside their faces, in some smiling sort, without answering any thing, as if ashamed thereof."

Having amply supplied themselves with strong wine, sweet oil, vinegar, olives, and other provisions, together with woollen, linen, and silk cloths (of plate or silver they found but little), they put to sea, and stood over to the mainland, keeping along the northern coast till they came in sight of Cartagena; and entered the harbour about three miles westward of the town. To enter the town it was necessary for the troops to pass along a narrow isthmus not above fifty paces wide, having the sea on one side and the harbour on the other; and at the extremity was a stone wall built across it, with an opening just wide enough for the horsemen or a carriage to pass. This was barricadoed with wine-butts filled with earth, and placed on end. Against this part the assault was made.

"We soon," says Cates, "found out the barricadoes of pipes or butts to be the meetest place for our assault, which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was, without staying, attempted by us: down went the butts of earth, and pell-mell came our swords and pikes together after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemy's nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer than their's, and our bodies better armed, with which advantage our swords and pikes grew too hard for them, and they were driven to give place. In this furious entrée, the Lieutenant-General slue with his owne hands the chief ensigne-bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his live's end."

They rushed together into the town, and gave the enemy no time to breathe until they got to the market-place, when they were suffered to remain quietly, and lodge in the town—the inhabitants going into the country to their wives. During the fight the Indians made use of poisoned arrows, the least scratch of the skin with which caused death.

They kept possession of Cartagena for six weeks, and pursued the same course to obtain a ransom as they had done at St. Domingo;

"and though," continues Cates, "upon discontentments and for want of agreeing in the first negociations for a ransom, they touched the town in its outposts, and consumed much with fire, yet the other miseries of war were suspended; and there passed divers courtesies between us and the Spaniards, as feasting and using them with all kindness and favour. The Governor, the Bishop, and many other gentlemen of the better sort, visiting the General and Lieutenant General."

The only loss the English sustained from the enemy, during their stay here was that of Captain Varney and Captain Moon, and five or six other persons, who were killed by the discharge of some muskets from the bushes, when standing on the deck of a vessel they had boarded.

But the disease which they had brought with them from the Cape de Verde Islands never left them: they suffered much from sickness, which carried off a great number of men, and of those who survived very few ever recovered their strength; they lost their memory, and became imbecile in mind. The name given to the disorder was the calenture, which is "a verie burning and pestilent ague." The continuance of this disease, which was doubtless what is now called the yellow fever, and the great mortality resulting from it, obliged them to give up their intended enterprise against Nombre de Dios, and from thence overland to Panama, where the blow was to have been struck for the treasure. Their first resolution to return homewards was taken at Cartagena; but after "a little firing of the town," in consequence of some disagreement touching the ransom, it was concluded that one hundred and ten thousand ducats should be paid.

At a consultation respecting this ransom it was stated that they might at first have demanded a great deal more; but now the above-mentioned sum was deemed sufficient—

"Inasmuch," says Cates, "as we have taken our full pleasure, both in the uttermost sacking and spoiling of all their household goods and merchandise, as also in that we have consumed and ruined a great part of their town with fire. And whereas we had in the expedition a great number of poor men who had ventured their lives, suffered much from sickness, wasted their clothing, and what little provision their slender means had enabled them to lay in, with the best intention of punishing the Spaniard, our greatest and most dangerous enemy, we cannot but have an inward regard to help toward their satisfaction of this their expectation; and, by procuring them some little benefit, to encourage them, and to nourish this ready and willing disposition both in them and in others, by their example, against any other time of like occasion."

The officers did still more for their men. In the official document drawn up on the occasion they state—

"But because it may be supposed that therein we forgot not the private benefit of ourselves, and are thereby the rather moved to incline ourselves to this composition, we declare hereby, that what part or portion soever it be of this ransom for Cartagena, which should come unto us, we do freely give and bestow the same wholly upon the poor men who have remained with us

in the voyage, meaning as well the sailor as the soldier, and wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much, as might seem a sufficient reward for their peaceful endeavour."

On the 1st of March the expedition left Cartagena, and on the 27th of April reached Cape St. Antonio, the westernmost part of Cuba. Finding no fresh water there, they made for Matanzas; but the weather being boisterous, were driven back to Cape St. Antonio, where their water was exhausted; and, after much search, they found only some pits of rain-water.

"Here," says Cates, "I do wrong if I should forget the good example of the General, who, to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of water aboard, took no less pains than the meanest. Throughout the expedition, indeed, he had everywhere shown so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his fleet, accompanied with such wonderful travail of body, that doubtless, had he been the meanest person, as he was the chiefest, he had deserved the first place of honour. And no less happy do we account him for being associated with Master Carleill his lieutenant-general, by whose experience, prudent counsel and gallant performance, he achieved so many and happy enterprises, and by whom also he was very greatly assisted, in setting down the needful orders, laws and course of justice, and the due administration of the same upon all occasions."

From hence they continued their course for the coast of Florida, keeping the shore in sight. On the 28th of May they discovered a scaffold raised upon four high masts, as a look-out station towards the sea. Upon this, Drake manned the pinnaces and landed, to see what place of strength the enemy held there, no one in the armament having any knowledge of it. Having gone up the river St. Augustine, they came to the fort of St. Juan de Pinos, newly erected by the Spaniards, and not yet completed. On their approach the engineers took the alarm, and, abandoning the work, made the best of their way to the city of St. Augustine, where there was a garrison of 150 men. When the English landed the next day to storm this fort, they found nobody there. There were fourteen great pieces of brass ordnance placed on a platform, which was constructed of large pine-trees laid across one on another, with some little earth between. The garrison, which, as they learned from a French fifer, who was a prisoner in the fort, consisted of 150 men, had retired in such haste that they left behind them the treasure-chest, containing about 2000*l*.

In like manner, on the English marching to the city of St. Augustine, the Spaniards, after they had fired a few shot at

them, all ran away. Anthony Powell, the sergeant-major, leapt upon one of the horses they had left behind, and pursued them; but having advanced rashly beyond his company, over ground covered with long grass, a Spaniard, laying wait for him, shot him through the head; and before any of the party could come to rescue his body, it had been pierced with many wounds. The Governor had withdrawn to St. Matheo, and all the inhabitants had deserted the city. It was considered as wearing the appearance of being a prosperous settlement, having its council-house, church, and other edifices, and gardens all round about. All the public buildings were burnt, and the gardens laid waste by the invaders, in revenge for the death of Captain Powell. It was intended, on leaving this place, to visit another Spanish settlement, about twelve leagues farther on, called St. Helena, and attack and destroy it also; but they found the shoals too dangerous for them to attempt an entrance without a pilot, and under unfavourable circumstances of wind and weather. Abandoning therefore this design, they continued coasting along, proceeding in sight of the shore, in search of Sir Walter Raleigh's recently planted colony in Virginia, which, by her Majesty's command, Sir Francis Drake was directed to inspect, and to afford it any assistance and encouragement he might be enabled to do. Finding the shore, like that of St. Helena, inaccessible to their ships, on account of the shoalness of the water, they were constrained to anchor, in an exposed situation, two miles from the shore; from whence the General sent a message to Mr. Ralph Lane, the Governor, who was then at his fort at Roanoak, to offer him such supplies as his squadron would afford.

Mr. Lane, with some of his company, waited on the General, and requested him to grant his little colony a reinforcement of men and a supply of provisions, and also a small vessel and boats, in order that, should they be put to distress for want of supplies from home, they might have the means at hand to embark for England. This request was immediately complied with: a ship was selected for the use of the colony, and orders were given for it to be fitted up and plentifully furnished with all manner of stores for a considerable period. While this, however, was in preparation, a storm arose which continued three days, and drove the ship that had been selected, and some others, from their

anchors to sea. These vessels were never seen again till Drake's arrival in England, whither all of them had directed their course, instead of facing the storm.

Sir Francis then proposed to give the settlers another of his ships; but the late accident, and the previous hardships which Mr. Lane and his fellow-colonists had undergone, had so depressed their spirits, that they concluded Providence was not favourable to their design of establishing themselves on the shores of America; and considering, moreover, that the promised supplies from England had failed them, they, after some consultation, petitioned Sir Francis to take them home with him. The number that embarked was 103, five of the 108 who had originally landed having died. Mr. Lane is reported to have been the first to introduce tobacco into England, that detestable weed having been so called from the island on which it was first found—*Tobago*.

“These men,” says Camden, “who were thus brought back were the first that I know of that brought into England that Indian plant which they call tabacca and nicotia, or tobacco, which they used against crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward, it began to grow into great request, and to be sold at an high rate, which, in a short time, many men everywhere, some for wantonness, some for health sake, with insatiable desire and greediness, sucked in the stinking smoke thereof through an earthen pipe, which presently they blew out again at their nostrils: insomuch that tobacco-shops are now as ordinary in most towns, as tap-houses and taverns. So that the Englishmen's bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this plant, seem as 'twere to be degenerated into the nature of barbarians, since they are delighted, and think they may be cured, with the same things which the barbarians use.”

Still more energetic were the feelings which King James expressed respecting this abominable herb when he wrote the ‘Counterblast to Tobacco;’ and such, it may be added, are the feelings of many people regarding the practice, every day increasing, of blowing out “*stinking smoke*” in public places; until Richmond Hill, and every other rural scene about London, have all the effluvium of a cigar-shop; and the entire Continent has become one vast “smoking divan.”

Thus ended this expedition, very inferior in profit, and in the interest of the transactions, to Drake's two former enterprises. The booty brought home was valued at 60,000*l.*; and 240 pieces

of cannon were taken, of which 200 were of brass. The loss of men was about 750; almost all of them died of calenture. Of these, four were captains of the army, two of the navy, four lieutenants of the army, and six masters of merchant ships. Of the money brought home, 20,000*l.*, as they had resolved in council, were divided among the soldiers and sailors, being about 6*l.* per man. They arrived at Portsmouth on the 28th of July, 1586.

Sir William Monson, speaking of this expedition, says—

“ This fleet was the greatest of any nation but the Spaniards, that had ever been seen in those seas since the first discovery of them. And if it had been as well considered of, before their going from home, as it was happily performed by the valour of the undertakers, it had more annoyed the King of Spain than all other actions that ensued during the time of the war.

“ But it seems our long peace made us incapable of advice in war; for had we kept and defended these places, when in our possession, and provided to have been relieved and succoured out of England, we had diverted the war from this part of Europe; for at that time there was no comparison betwixt the strength of Spain and England by sea, by means whereof we might have better defended them, and with more ease encroached upon the rest of the Indies, than the king of Spain could have aided or succoured them.

“ But now we see, and find by experience, that those places which were then weak and unfortified, are since so fortified that it is to no purpose to us to annoy the king of Spain in his West Indies. And though this voyage proved both fortunate and victorious, yet considering it was rather an *awakening* than a *weakening* of him, it had been far better to have wholly declined than to have undertaken it upon such slender grounds, and with so inconsiderable forces.”

To this it might have been replied, ‘ If we could not support the little colony of Virginia, unmolested by an enemy of any description, how should we have been able to support three or four populous districts, every inhabitant of which was in bitter hostility against us, and not merely national and political hostility, but religious also—regarding us, from the highest to the lowest, with a hatred incapable of conciliation?’

Queen Elizabeth’s policy was of a higher order, we conceive, than Sir William Monson’s. She said to her Parliament—

“ It may be thought simplicity in me, that, all this time of my reign, I have not sought to advance my territories, and enlarge my dominions; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect; but though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I

doubted how to keep the things so obtained : and I must say, my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any ; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just princess."

The real causes of failure appear to have been the unfortunate and ill-judged landing of 1000 men at St. Jago, the delay there of fourteen days, the fever they caught at that most unhealthy and miserable place, and the subsequent delay at Dominica and St. Christopher, making it full thirteen weeks before they reached St. Domingo, owing to which the Spaniards had ample time to prepare for them, and were accordingly on their guard at Nombre de Dios, Panama, and other places, where the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico are usually deposited.

CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITION TO CADIZ.

1587.

Designs of Philip—Insolence of the Spanish Ambassador—Drake appointed to command an expedition—Letter of Sir F. Drake—Arrives at Cadiz; burns, sinks, and carries away about 100 sail of ships—Dispatches Capt. Crosse with letters—Leaves Cadiz—Destroys a number of ships in the Tagus—Drake stands over to Terceira and captures a large and rich carrack—Case of Capt. Burroughs.

IN the course of the year 1587, the intentions of Spain with regard to England could no longer be concealed. Philip, while affecting an earnest desire to come to an amicable adjustment of the differences that had so long existed between the two nations, was secretly preparing to invade England with an overwhelming force. In the mean time Catholic priests were employed as spies, both in Great Britain and on the Continent, to learn the feelings of the Queen and her ministers on the question of war; and also to ascertain the extent and efficiency of the warlike preparations in England. They had besides what they termed seminary priests in England, whose business it was to seduce the people from their allegiance to the Queen and the established religion, and to entice them into the body of the Catholic church. The Queen, on her part, was well informed of all the designs of Spain, and vigorous measures were taken to counteract them. The intention to invade England is said to have been first discovered in consequence of a letter written by Philip to the Pope, asking the blessing of his Holiness on the intended project; a copy of which letter Mr. Secretary Walsingham procured from a Venetian priest, whom he retained at Rome as a spy. The original letter was stolen from the Pope's cabinet by a gentleman of his bed-chamber, who took the keys out of the

pocket of his Holiness while he slept, and furnished the priest with a copy.

One favourite object of Philip was to get possession of the person of Queen Elizabeth, and to deliver her into the hands of the Pope; in the hope, no doubt, that he would consign her to the Inquisition. This he conceived would give a death-blow to heresy in England; and as Elizabeth was the chief safeguard of the Protestants, he hoped, by subduing that princess, to acquire the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the Roman communion. It is said that the King of Spain gave special charge to the commander of the Expedition and to all the captains that in no wise they should harm the person of the Queen; but, upon taking her, show all reverence towards her, looking well, however, to her safe custody; and further, that order should be taken as speedily as possible for the conveyance of her person to Rome, that his Holiness the Pope might dispose of her as it should please him.

An English papist priest, of the name of Allen, traitorously circulated the Pope's bull excommunicating the Queen, de-throning her, and absolving her subjects from allegiance, and granting plenary indulgence for her murder. He even went to the Duke of Parma, and preached to him the meritorious doctrine of putting to death heretical sovereigns; but the Duke gave him no encouragement, and openly declared his respect for Elizabeth.

It appears that Philip was fully persuaded by his priests and courtiers of the certain success of the invasion of Great Britain. He was led to believe that England, by a long peace, had lost all military discipline and experience both in the army and navy; that the papist population, which was numerous, would be ready to a man to join his forces on their landing; and that one battle by sea, and one on land, would decide her fate. In the mean time, however, the ambassador of Spain affected to express a strong desire on the part of his sovereign to maintain a state of peace. But when he discovered that their plans were detected, and that England was also preparing her forces, he assumed a more haughty tone, and put forward such demands, in the name of Philip, as he well knew never would be complied with. He required that the Queen should withdraw her protection from the Netherlands, replace the ships and treasure seized unlaw-

fully by Drake, restore the abbeys and monasteries destroyed by Henry VIII., and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope.

Acquiescence in these demands was of course never for an instant thought of by the lion-hearted Queen or her brave subjects: one spirit animated the whole nation: but the emergency was great, and strenuous measures were to be adopted. The first steps to be taken were to ascertain, by the personal inspection of some able officer, the actual state of the enemy's preparations in the ports of Spain and Portugal; to intercept any supplies of men, stores, or ammunition, that the Duke of Parma might dispatch from the Low Countries; also to lay waste the enemy's harbours on the western coast; and not only destroy all the shipping that could be met with at sea conveying stores and provisions, but even to attack them in port. For services such as these no one was considered so fit as Drake. He was sent for; and, always ready to undertake any duty which the Queen might command, he did not hesitate a moment to accept the appointment, and immediately busied himself in the preparation of a fleet suitable to the occasion. The Queen told him he should have four of her best ships, and she doubted not her good city of London would cheerfully furnish the rest. The Queen's ships were—the Elizabeth Bonaventure, Commander Sir Francis Drake; Golden Lyon, Capt. Wm. Burroughs; Rainbow, Capt. Bellingham; Dreadnought, Capt. Thos. Fenner. These ships, together with twenty others, supplied chiefly by the Londoners—some accounts say twenty-four—were ordered by Drake to assemble at Plymouth, to which port he repaired to hasten their equipment. The chief adventurers in this voyage were, as the Queen had anticipated, her good citizens of London, who however are said to have sought their own private gain more than the advancement of the service; nor were they deceived in their expectation. Lord Charles Howard, Earl of Effingham, who had been appointed Lord High Admiral of England in 1585, put himself in communication with Drake, whose movements are detailed in the following letter:—

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

RIGHTE HONORABLE,

April 2d, 1587.

THIS last nyght past came unto us the Ryall Marchant, with 4 of the rest of the London flett, the wynd would permitt them no sooner. We have

since ther comyng agreed upon all condycyons between us and them, and have found them so well affected, and so willing in all our good proceedings, as we all persuad ourselves there was never more lykely in any flett, or a more loving agreement, then we hope the one of the other. I thanck God I fynd no man but as all members of one body, to stand for our gracyous Quene and country agaynst anty-Christ and his members.

I thanck God these gentellmen of great place, as Captayne Burrowghes,* Captayne Vennard, and Captayne Bellengham, which are partakers with mee in this servis, I fynd very dyscret, honest, and most suffycient.

Yf your honor did now see the flett under sayell, and knew with what resollucyon men's myndes dow enter into this accyon, as your Honor would rejoyce to see them, so you would judge a small fforce would not devyde them.

I assure your honor upon my credytt ther are manye suffycient men in this accyon, yeat ther hath dyvers start from us within this tow dayes past, and we all thinck by some practys of some adversaryes to the accyon, by letters written; they are most maryners, we have soldyers in ther place.

I have written to the Justysse for the sending of som of those that are ronne awaye in our countries, to send them to the gayell, and ther to be punyshed by the dyscresyon of the judges which are now in the Serqwett here with us.

I have written more largely to my Lord Admerall in this matter, for yf ther should be no punyshment in so greate a matter, in this so dangerous a tyme, it may dow mych hurt to her Majestie's servis.

I assure your Honor here hath byne no tyme lost, nether with the grace of God shall be in any other place. I have upon my owne credytt supplied such vittuall as we have spent, and augmented as moch as I could gett, for that we are very unwylling to retorne arrantlesse.

Lett me beseche your honor to hold a good opynyon, not of myself only, but of all the reste servytors in this accyon, as we stand nothing doubtfull of your honor, but yf ther be any yll affected, as ther hath not wanted in other accyons, and it is lykely this will not go free, that by your honorable good meanes, whether it be to her Majestie or unto your Honor, that the partyes may be knowen. Yf we deserve yll, lett us be punyshed; yf we dyscharge our dutyes in doing our best yt is a hard measure to be reported yll by those which will ether keep their fynger out of the fyer, or too well affect to the alteratyon of our Government, which I hope in God they shall never live to see.

The wynd commaunds me away, our shipe is under sayell, God graunt we may so live in his feare, as the enemy may have cawse to say that God doth fight for her Majestie as well abrod as at home, and geve her long and happye lyfe, and ever victory agaynst God's enemyes and her Majestie's.

God geve your honor perfect helth in bodye, and all yours, and let me

* He had great cause to alter his opinion of this officer, as will presently be shown.

beseche your honor to pray unto God for us that he will direct us the right way, then shall we not doubt our enemyes, for they are the sonnes of men. Haste, from about her Majesty's good shipe the Ellyzabethe Bonaventure, this 2th. Aprell, 1587.

By hym that will allwayes be commanded by you, and never leave to pray to God for you and all yours,

FRA: DRAKE.*

To the Right Honourable

Sir ffrancis Walsingham, Knight,

Principall Secretary to Her Majestie and of Her Majestie's

Moste Honorable Pryvie Counsell at the Courte.

With speede.



Drake accordingly left Plymouth on the day his letter was written, and on the 16th of the same month, in the latitude of 40°, fell in with two ships of Middleburgh, which had come from Cadiz, and by them was informed that there was a great quantity of military stores at Cadiz, which they were busily employed in embarking, and which were to be conveyed to Lisbon as soon as possible. Upon this information, the General, with all possible speed, directed his course to Cadiz with the view of destroying these supplies and shipping before they could get out of the port. On the 19th of April he entered the harbour; and when opposite the town was assailed by five galleys, which, after a short conflict, he compelled to retire under the guns of the Castle.

There were lying in the road sixty ships and many smaller vessels, under the protection of the fortress; there were also about twenty French ships and some small Spanish vessels; but the latter, being able to pass the shoals, made the best of their way into Porto Real. Drake's squadron, on coming in, sunk with their shot a large ship of Ragusa, of about 1000 tons, furnished with forty pieces of brass cannon, and very richly laden. Two other galleys came out from St. Maryport, and two from Porto Real; they fired some guns at the General's ships; but with little effect, and were compelled to retreat, well beaten for their pains.

Before night Drake had taken, burnt, and destroyed about a hundred sail of ships, and become complete master of the road; the large galleys so vaunted by the Spaniards being unable to

* MS. State Paper Office.

withstand him. There remained at Porto Real, and in sight of the squadron, about forty ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

The squadron were much harassed during the time they remained before Cadiz, by the continual firing kept up by the galleys, which were under the protection of the fortress, and from the guns which were planted on every point of the shore. The English were much annoyed also by the number of the Spanish ships, which, when they could no longer defend themselves, the enemy set on fire, and sent adrift into the squadron. On the turn of the tide, it required great exertion to keep clear of these.

“This, nevertheless,” says one of the narrators, “was a pleasant sight for us to behold, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay upon us day and night, in discharging the victuals and other provisions of the enemye. Thus by the assistance of the Almightye, and the invincible courage and industry of our General, this strange and happy enterprize was achieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spain’s officers, and bred such a chagrin in the heart of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the High Admiral of Spain, that he never enjoyed a good day after, but within five months died (as may justly be supposed) of extreme griefe and sorrow.

“Thus having performed this notable piece of service, the General with his squadron came out of the road of Cadiz, on Friday morning the 21st of the said month of April, with very small loss on his side, so small as not worth the mentioning.

“After his departure, ten of the great galleys that were in the road came out, as it were in pretence of making some exercise with their ordnance, at which time the wind grew scant; whereupon the English cast about again and stood in with the shore, and came to an anchor within a league of the town; where the said galleys, for all their former bragging, at length suffered the squadron to ride quietly.”

The English had already had some little experience of these galleys, the favourite ships of the Spaniards, who were accustomed to place their chief reliance upon them; but Drake assures us that the four ships only of her Majesty which he then commanded, would have made “very little account of the galleys,” if they had been alone and not busied in taking care of the others that were attached to them. On this occasion the galleys, although they had every advantage on their side, were soon forced by the English to retire.

The General dispatched Captain Crosse to England with letters, giving him also in charge to declare personally unto her Majesty all the particulars of this enterprise.

One of the letters was addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham. It is here copied from the original in the State Paper Office:—

SIR F. DRAKE TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

27th April, 1587.

THEISE are to geive to understande that on the seconde of this moneth we departede out of the Sound of Plymouth. We had sighte of the Cape Venester the 5th. We were encountrede with a violente storme, duringe the space of five daies, by which meanes our fleete was putt a sonder and a greate leake sprange uppon the Dreadnoughte: the 16th we mette all together at the Rocke, & the 19th we arrivede into the roade of Cales (Cadiz) in Spaigne, where we founde sondrie greate shippes, some laden, some halfe laden, and some readie to be laden with the King's provisions for Englande. We staid there untill the 21st, in which meane tyme we sanke a Biskanie of 12 C (1200) tonnes, burnt a shippe of the Marques of Santa Cruse of 15 C (1500) tonnes and 31 shippes more, of 1000 : 800 : 600 : 400, to 200 tonnes the peice, and carried awaie fower with us laden with provision, and departede thence at our pleasure with as moch honor as we coulde wishe, notwithstanding that duringe the tyme of our aboade there we were bothe oftentimes foughte withall by 12 of the Kinges gallies (of whome we sanke two) and allwaies repulsed the reste, and were (without ceassing) vehementlie shotte at from the shoare, but to our little hurte, God be thanked. Yeat at our departure we were curteouslie written unto by one Don Pedro, generall of those gallies. I assure your Honor the like preparacion was never hearde of, nor knowen, as the Kinge of Spaigne hathe and dailie makethe to invade Englande. He is allied with mightie Prynces and Dukes in the Straits, of whome (besides the forces in his owne domynyons) he is to have greate aide shortlie: and his provisions of breade and wynes are so greate as will suffice 40,000 men a wholle yeere, which if they be not ympeached before they joyne, will be verie perillous. Oure intente therefore is (by God's helpe) to intercepte their meetinges by all possible meanes we maye, which I hope shall have such goode successe as shall tende to the advauncement of God's glorie, the savetie of her Highnes' royall person, the quyett of her countrie, and the annoyance of the enemye. This service which by God's sufferance we have done, will (without doubte) breade some alteracyon of their pretences, howbeit all possible preparacions for defence are verie expediente to be made. Thus moch touchinge our proceedinges, and farther entente in this actyon, I have thoughte meete to signifie unto your Honor, & would also more larger discourse, but that wante of leisure causeth me to leave the same to the reporte of this bearer. And so in verie greate haste, with remembrance of my humble duetie, doe take my leave of your Honor. From

aboarde her Highnes' good shippe the Elizabeth Bonaventure, the 27th of April 1587.

Your Honor's
redye allwayes
to be commaunded,

FRA : DRAKE.

I leave the report of dyvers partycullers to the bearer hereof, and pray pardon for not writtyng with my owne hand. I am overcome with busynesses.

Your Honor's ever redy,

FRA : DRAKE.*

The Right Hon.
Sir Fras. Walsingham.

The General next shaped his course towards Cape Sacre (Sagres), and in the way thither captured and burnt nearly a hundred ships, barks, and caravels, laden with warlike stores. On arriving at Cape Sacre (Sagres) the troops were landed, and the castle and three other strongholds assaulted; all of which were either taken by force or surrendered.

Hence the squadron proceeded towards Lisbon, and anchored near Cascais, where the Marquis of Santa Cruz was then lying with his galleys. The marquis appears to have looked on very quietly whilst the English were destroying the shipping; and ultimately to have run away without exchanging a single shot with them.

The following letter from Drake, which, like the former, is copied from the original in the State Paper Office, is both characteristic and interesting:—

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

17 May, 1587.

SENCE the departyng of Captayne Crosse, Right Honorable, ther hath happened betweene the Spanyards, Portyngalls, and ourselves, dyvers combatts, in the which it hath pleased God that we have taken forty shipes, barks, carvelles, and dyvers other vesselles, more than a hundreth, most laden; som with oorse for gallyes, planke, and tymber, for shippes and penaces, howpes and pype-staves for casks, with many other provytions for this great army. I assuer your honor the howpes and pype-staves were above 16 or 17 C tonn (1600 or 1700) in wayght, which cannott be lesse than 25 or 30 thousand tonn if it had bynn made in caske redy for lyqwyer; all which I comaunded to be consumed into smoke and asshes by fyer, which

* MS. State Paper Office.

will be unto the King no small waste of his provycyons, besyds the want of his barks. The netts which we have consumed will cause the people to curse ther governours to ther fface.

The Porttyngalles I have allwayes comaunded to be used well, and sent them ashore without the wantyng of any ther apparrell, and have mad them to know that it was unto me a great greffe that I was dryven to hurtt of these to the vallew of one ryall of platt, but that I found them employed for the Spanyards servesses which we hold to be our morttall enemyes, and gave som Porttyngallers som mony in their purses, and put them aland in dyvers places, upon which usage, yf we staye here any tyme, the Spanyards which are here in Porttyngall, yf they com under our hands, will become all Porttyngalles, and play as Petter dyd, forswear ther master, rather then to be sold as slaves. I asshure your honor this hath breed a great fear in the Spaynard.

I spake with the Marquyes of Santa Cruse, at Cast Calles (Cascayes) nere Lysbona, by messenger, wher he was abourd his gallyes, to know whether he would redeme any of his Master's subjectts, which I had som fear of, for suche of my Mystryes' people as he had under his government. The Marqwes sent me word, that as he was a gentleman he had nonne, and that I should asshuer myselfe that yf he had had any he would shurly have sent them me; which I knew was not so, for that I had trew entellegence by Ynglyshemen and Porttyngalles that the Marquyes had dyvers Ynglyshemen bothe in his gallyes and prysons; but in trewth I thinck the Marquyes durst not release our Ynglyshmen before he have order from his King, and lyberttye from the persecutting clergy.

I sent lykwyse to the Generall of the K. gallyes at Calles, and to all such Governours as I convenyently myght for the redemyng of ther Spaniards—they all aunsered me kyndly, but som had bowght a plow of oxen, others had taken a farme, and the rest had maryed wyffes; the former prayed to be held excused, and the latter could send us no Ynglyshmen,—whereupon it is agreed by us all, her Majestie's captaynes and masters, that all such Spaniards, as yt shall please God to send under our hands, that they shall be sold unto the Mowres, and the mony reserved for the redemyng of such of our contryemen as may be redemed therwith.

For the reveng of these things, what forces the contry is abell to make, we shall be suer to have browght upon us, as ffar as they may, with all the devyces and trappes they cann devyse; I thancke them much they have stayed so long, and when they com they shall be but the sonnes of morttall men, and for the most part enemyes to the truthe and upholders of balles to Dagon's imag, which hath alrebye ffallen before the arke of our God, with his hands, armes, and head stroken of.

As long as it shall please God to geve us provycyons to eat and drincke, and that our shipes and wynd and wether will permitt us, you shall surly hyer of us nere this Cape of St. Vencent; wher we dow and will exspecte daylly what her Majestie and your honors will farther comaund.

God make us all thanckfull that her Majestie sent out these ffewe shipes in tyme.

If ther were here six more of her Majestie's good shippes of the second sort, we should be the better abell to kepe ther forces from joynyng, and happelly take or impeache his fletts from all places in the next monthe, and so after which is the chefest terms of their retornes home, which I judge in my power opynyon will bring this great monarchye to those condycyons which ar meett.

There must be a begynnyng of any great matter, but the contenewing unto the end untill it be thoroughly ffynshed yeldes the t'rew glory. Yf Hanybull had ffollowed his victoryes, it is thought of many he had never byne taken by Sepyo.

God mak us all thanckfull agayne and agayne that we have, althowghe it be lettell, mad a begennyng upon the cost of Spayne. If we can thoroughly beleve that this which we dow is in the defence of our relygyon and contrye, no doubt but our mercyfull God for his Christ, our Savyour's sake, is abell, and will geve us victory, althowghe our sennes be reed. God geve us grace we may feare hym, and daylly to call upon hym, so shall nether Sattan, nor his menesters prevayell agaynst us; although God permitt yow to be towched in body, yeat the Lord will hold his mynd pure. Lett me be pardoned of your honor agayne and agayne for my over myche boldnes, it is the conffe-cyon of my owne concyence, my dutty in all humbellnes to your honor, my good lady your yocke partener and all yours, beseching you all to pray unto God hartelly for us, as we dow daylly for all you. Hast, from her Majestie's good shipe the Ellyzabethe Bonaventure, now rydyng at Cape Saker, this 17th May, 1587.

Your honor's most redy to be comanded,

FRA: DRAKE.

The Right Hon :

Sir Fras. Walsingham.

With all speede.

Most of the historians of this voyage state, that the General sent a message to the marquis to say that he was there ready to exchange shot with him, and that the marquis refused the challenge, returning for answer, that he was not at that time ready to meet him, nor had any such commission to do so from his king. The letter just given disproves this statement.

One of the narrators of this expedition states —

“ Our General, seeing no more good to be done in this place, having destroyed every kind of craft near the mouth of the Tagus, thought it expedient to spend no longer time upon this coast; and therefore, with the approbation of the next officer in command, and to the great satisfaction of the merchant adventurers, who were not at all pleased with the destruction of so much valuable property before Calais and Cascais, he shaped his course for the Isles of Azores, and, in making for the Isle of St. Michael, and coming within twenty or thirty leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to fall in with

a Portuguese carrak called Saint Philip, being the same ship which, in the voyage outward, had carried back the three princes of Japan, who had visited Europe, into the Indies. This carrak, without any great resistance, was captured, and the people thereof were transferred into certain of the merchant vessels well furnished with victuals, and sent away courteously home into their own country. This was the first carrak that ever was taken on a return voyage from the East Indies; and her fate was considered by the Portuguese as an evil omen, because the ship bore the King's own name.

“The wealth of this prize seemed so great unto the whole company (as in truth it was), that they assured themselves every man would receive a sufficient reward for all his trouble and expenses; and thereupon they all resolved to return home, without further delay in looking for prizes, in which they were gratified by the approbation of the General, who was fully aware of the very great value of the prize he had captured. He therefore ordered his squadron to bear up for England, which they all most cheerfully obeyed; and happily arrived in Plymouth the same summer, with their whole fleet of merchant ships, and this rich booty, to their own profit and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdom, and the extreme care and anxiety of her Majesty's government to secure that ‘rich booty’ for future appropriation, as we shall presently see.

“And here, by the way, it is to be noted that the taking of this carrak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others that carraks were no such non-descripts but that they might easily enough be taken (as since indeed it hath turned out in the taking of the *Madre de Dios*, and firing and sinking of others); and secondly, in acquainting the English nation, and the merchants more particularly, with the detail of the exceeding great riches and wealth of the East Indies; whereby the Portuguese and their neighbours of Holland have long been encouraged; both being men as skilful in navigation, and of no less courage than the Portugals, to share with them in the traffic to the East Indies, where their power is nothing so great as heretofore hath been supposed.”

Elizabeth granted a charter to certain merchants of the city of London to trade to the East Indies, with certain exclusive privileges, under the title of “The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies,” which has continued ever since.

The enormous wealth brought into England by this carrak was deemed of so much importance that the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council appointed Commissioners to go down forthwith to Plymouth, for the express purpose of examining it and regulating the disposal of it. It is more than probable that details of all the riches she contained, and the mode in which they were disposed of, are given in the *Burleigh MSS.*, which, unfortunately, are still inaccessible. The carrak, after she was

unladen, was sent up to Saltash, and there accidentally destroyed by fire.

Altogether the results of this expedition were most satisfactory; and even Sir William Monson, prone as he is to censure, has no fault to find with it. He says—"This voyage proceeded prosperously, and without exception; for there was both honour and wealth gained, and the enemy was greatly endamaged:" and yet there were circumstances connected with it which might have afforded him ample scope for very stringent remarks on naval discipline. Not only did the crew of one of the ships mutiny, and go off with her to England; but the second officer in command, Captain Burroughs, was guilty of such insubordination that Drake was obliged to displace him, and put him under arrest.

The accessible documents regarding this transaction are very imperfect: whether the Burleigh Papers at Hatfield would supply the deficiency is still unknown.

The officer in question was Captain William Burroughs, who was next in rank to Drake, and was on board the *Golden Lyon*, the ship in which the mutiny subsequently occurred. Feeling himself aggrieved by the Admiral's conduct towards him, and dissatisfied with his plans for the future conduct of the expedition, he addressed the following most improper and unofficer-like letter to him:—

FROM CAPTAIN BURROUGHS TO SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

MY VERY GOOD ADMIRALL,

30 April, 1587.

FOR that hitherto in all this voyadg since our coming forthe (albeit there have bin often assemblies of the Captains of this fleete aboard of you, called by a flag of counsell, which I have judged had bin chiefly for such purpose) I could never perceive any matter of counsell or advice touching the accion, & service for her Majestie, with the fleete nowe under your chardge, to be effectually propounded, & debated, as in reason I judge there owght to have bin, as well for the better ordering of the affaires, busynes & attempts, as also for your owne securitye (for when you shoulde deale by advice and counsell of suche as are appointed for your assistaunce, & such other of experience as may be woorthye to be called thereunto, howsoever the succes fall out, yt shall be the better for your dischardge). But at all and every suche assemblye you have either shewid briefly your purpose what you wolde doe, as a matter resolved in yourself and of yourselfe, for oughte that I know, unlesse you have called unto you suche as happelye will soothe

you in any thinge you shall saye, & so concluded the matter with his or their consents before hande, in such sorte as no reason made by any other, not fullye agreeing with your owne resolucion, coolde be accepted to take any place wherein we (I speake chiefly for myne owne parte) have servid but as witnesses to the woordes you have delivered; Or els you have used us well by entertaining us with your good cheare, & so most tymes after our staye with you most part of the daye, we have departed as wise as we came, without any consultacion or counsell holden. This manor of assemblies (albeit it maye please you to terme them either counsells or courts) are farre from the purpose & not suche as in reason they ought to be. You also neglected giving instructions to the Fleet in tyme and sorte as they ought to have had, and as yt owght to be,—for which I have bin sorye, & wolde gladlye yt had byn otherwise. But I have founde you alwaies so wedded to your owne opinion & will, that you rather disliked and shewed us that it were offensive unto you that any should gyve you advice in anything (at least I speake it for myself) for which cawse I have refrained often to speake that which otherwise I woold, and in reason in dischargde of the duetye I owe to Her Majestie and the place I serve in, I ought to have don: which place you make no accompte of, nor make any difference between it & the other Captains, naye you deale not so with me as you doe to other, your affection maye leade you therein, & to love and use any man better then you doe me ys no cawse of reason whye I shulde dislike it,—for myself, or any man, maye be likewise affected to one man, more then another, but I looke to be well used by you, in respect of, and according to, my place, which I fynde not. I have servid in place as I doe nowe, viz Admirall at the sea, unto the nowe L. Admirall of Englande; yt pleased his Lordship to use me well; and accompted of me according to the place for the tyme. I have served Her Majestie as her Admirall at the Seas, as you are nowe (& doe thinke that I shold not have bin appointed for this service, & in this place, with suche woordes from Her Highness, except I had bin thought meet to take chardge of suche a Fleet, yf you should miscarye).

I have had instructions (for comission) for divers services comitted to my chardge, with as large and ample woordes in effect as you have nowe. ffor, as I take it, the substaunce of the skope that is geven you is this, ffor that by informacion the King of Spaine is preparing a great army by sea, parte at Lisbone, & other in Andellozia, and within the Strayts; all which was judged shuld meete at Lisbone, & the same to come for England or some parte of Her Majestie's dominions, Her Majestie's pleasure is, by advice of Her Highnes' Counsell, that you, with these ships nowe under your chardge, shuld come hyther to this Cape, & upon this coast; & seeke, by all the best meanes you can, to impeache their purpose, and stop their meting at Lisbone, if it myght be, whereof the manor howe, is referred to your discretion. This is the effect of your Instructions (as I remember) and suche like in effect I have received, divers which I can shew.

Nowe that you should conster these woordes to go whether you will, and to attempt and do what you lyst, I thinke the woordes will not beare you owt in it. And therefore I praye you (for your owne good) advize yourself

well in these matters you purpose to attempt, which may not well be maintained by the woordes of your Instructions.

The chief cawse that moovid me to write you thus muche, is, for that it pleased you yesterdaye, to tell me that you purposed to lande at the Cape, for surprising the Castell of Cape Saker or the Abye to the eastwards of it, (or both). I heard speaches and debaiting of suche matter intended by you, by divers as they weare standinge in troopes upon the decke, before the steridge of your ship, before you told it me; and I heard the lyke ther amongst them also after you had told it me. I could not perceiue any of them to lyke there should be any landing upon this coast nere those places, neyther for taking the Castell or Abye, nor yet for freshe water, for that there is no watring place nerer then half a myle from the water syde, which is but a poole, to the which the waye is badd: I doe not finde by your Instructions, any advice to lande, but I remember a speciall caviat and advice geuen you to the contrarye by the Lord High Admirall.

Nowe to land at this place for the attaining of 3 or 4 peces of ordinance that maye be in the castell, & perhaps as manye in the ablye, yf you should atchieue your purpose, as yesterdaye it was reasoned & alledged amongst them, What have you of it? No matter of substance! neither shall any man be bettrid by it, but a satisfying of your mynde that you maye saye, Thus I have don upon the King of Spaine's land.—But Sir, I wolde have you to consider, that though you have a good mynde to attempte the thinge in hope of good successe, yet you maye mysse of your purpose, for (some) of your owne Captaines that shoulde serve for the lande have said, that yf they were in eyther of those 2 places (being suche as they are reported) with one hundredth of good men they woulde not dowbt to keepe you out with all the force you can make.

And shall we thincke that the people of this contrye are so symple that upon suche advertisements of us as they have, & our being continuallye in their sight thus many daies as we have bin, that they will not seeke to provide for those places, & for the Coast hereabowt as well as they can? Surelye I doe not thinke so of them, & therefore the getting of them maye be dowbtfull, and so maye it be dowbted of your safe landing & safe retorning backe to the ships, without great losse of men, or overthrowe by the power that maye be raised in the lande, which God keepe you from.

Besydes, you knowe what galleis we left at Caels, & of 20 more that are come from Gibraltar; let us thinke that the gonnors under the King have a care for keeping of his Coasts, and whye maye there not be part, or the most part of those gallies sent to lye upon this coast, to wayet oportunytye to take the advantadge upon us (as this night divers of my company said they sawe 3 betweene us and shore, even at the verye instant as the gale began) you knowe they may be upon the coast nere at hande, where they maye see us, or have intelligence where we are, and what we doe from tyme to tyme, and yet we not to see them, nor have any knowledg of their being, so maye they wayet for your landing, & cut you off, and indanger the fleete (yf it be calme and the ships at anker, where they cannot travers to make playe with them)—yea, they may trouble us, and doe some mischief to our fleet, being

calme as of late it hath bin, yf we keepe so nere the shore, scaterid, as yesterdaye, & in former tyme we did, albeit we attempt not to lande.

Moreover, to land men, requireth a land wind, or calme wether & smothe water, that the ships may be brought at anker nere the shore; when men are landed, yt is uncertaine when they shall retorne; yf in the meane the winde sholde chop off into the sea uppon the sodden, what then, do you thinke it mete that the ships shold remaine at ancker, & put all in hazard to be lost and cast away?

Consider, I praye you, effectually of these points, for I hav don so, and thereuppon am resolved in opinion that it is not meete nor convenient that you attempte to lande hereabowt: which I thought good to advertise rather by writing which you may keepe to yourself, or manifest it at your pleasure (for I have done it as I will answere to everye pointe thereof) then to have sayd so muche openlye, or in hearinge of some, which happellye might have bin to your dislikinge. I praye you to take this in goode parte as I meane it; for I protest before God, I doe it to none other ende, but in dischargd of my duety towards Her Majestie and the service, and of good will and well meaninge towards you.

Aboorde the Lyon in sight of Cape St. Vincent this Sondaye morne the 30th of Aprill: 1587.

Yours at commaunde,

(Signed)

W: B:

To the Right Worshipfull

Sir ffrancis Drake, Knyght,

Her Majestie's Admirall of the Fleet here present
at the Seas. Aboord the Elsabeth Bonaventer.

In this, as in many similar instances where an inferior officer is discontented with his commander, the individual's own statement of his case is in itself sufficient to disprove his charge. When we consider Drake's established reputation, it seems astonishing that any man could have been so far wanting in judgment as to have addressed such a letter to him; and there is also in parts of it a tone of timidity, and a wish to keep as much out of danger as possible, which are as unusual as they are unbecoming in a British sailor.

Whether Drake gave any written reply to this letter does not appear; but that he took proper notice of it, and that Burroughs perceived the necessity of submission, is evident from a second letter which he addressed to the Admiral:—

2d Maye, 1587.

SIR,

I AM sorye that you make suche construction of my lettre. I protest I did it only in dischargd of my duetye, and for the better performance of Her Majestie's service; yf you shall willinglye accept it soe, yt

is that wherof I shall be very glad, and you shall finde as muche good will and forwardnes in me, for the execution of Her Majestie's service in this accion, as shall become that place and credit that Her Majesty, and her Highnes' counsell, have thought me woorthye of, and myself as readye to followe your directions, as at any tyme I have don, or any man shall doe. And for furder satisfying of you I will doe such furder matter, as these gentlemen shall relate unto you.*

Aboord the Lyon, this Tewsdaye the 2d of Maye, 1587.

Yours to Comande,

(Signed) W. B.

To the Rt. Worshipfull

Sir ffrancis Drake, knyght,

Her Majesty's Admirall of the fleet here present
at the seas. Aboord the Elsabeth Bonaventer.

* "That was to burne, or deliver hym the coppie of my lettre."

These two letters are copied from the Burghley Papers, forming part of the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum: among the Cottonian MSS., also in the British Museum, is a part of a letter on this subject addressed by Drake to Lord Burleigh. It is as follows:—

with the other w

I thank God

My good Lord, I am very unwe complayne, especiallye by writtyng; Borrowghes hath not carried hymself (in this) accyon so well as I wyshe he had don (for) his owne sak, and in his persistynge hath committed a dubbell offence (not) only agaynst me, but it towcheth further; I dysmest hym of his place: Captayne Parker yf your honor reqwyre it, will advertise your honor of muche of the matter. I humbly take my leave of your honor. From som what to estwards of Cape Saker (Sagres) this 21 May 1587.

Your Lordship's ever redye
to be commanded,

FRA: DRAKE.*

The Right. Hon.

Lord Burleigh.

It appears that Captain Burroughs, after he was placed under arrest, remained in his own ship, the Golden Lyon, and was carried in her to England when the crew mutinied. What steps Drake took on his return home are nowhere stated; but that he brought the business before the proper authority is evident

* This letter was one of the many papers of the Cottonian Collection which were injured by the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731.

from Burroughs' answer to the Admiral's charges which is among the Lansdowne MSS. ; but the documents do not show what was the result of the proceedings. Captain Burroughs, however, was employed against the Armada as captain of the galley Bonavolio, 250 men ; but he is not mentioned in the account of the destruction of the Spanish fleet ; he obtained neither honours nor promotion, and does not appear to have been ever again employed.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE

1588.

Pretence of treating for peace—Unworthy conduct of Spain—Predictions of triumph—Naval and military forces—Lord High Admiral puts to sea—Correspondence of Lord C. Howard and Sir F. Drake with the Queen, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lords of the Council.

DRAKE'S last expedition, which he facetiously called "singeing the King of Spain's beard," had rendered it impossible for the Spaniards to attempt the invasion of England during that year, as they had fully intended, and for which they had considered themselves prepared, whilst England certainly was not. The number of transport-shipping, and the quantity of stores, provisions, and other equipments, which Drake had destroyed in their ports, was so great that it required a year to replace them. In the meantime, the Prince of Parma in behalf of Philip, and certain commissioners on the part of Elizabeth, were continuing, in the Netherlands, the farce of negotiating for a treaty of peace; a mere pretence on both sides, begun, as was said, by the device of the Queen of England, to divert the hostile preparations of Spain, and continued by the Spaniard for the sake of concealment, and in order to take England by surprise; striving, as Camden says, on both sides, "to sew the foxe's skin to the lion's."

But long before the commission was dissolved, all attempt at concealment on the part of Spain had ceased; and it was publicly known that, encouraged by the Pope, Philip had avowed his determination to make the conquest of England, by which the true church of God and the Roman Catholic religion would be restored, and heresy abolished. It was asserted that the cause was just and meritorious, the Queen being already excommuni-

cate, and contumacious against the church of Rome; and also supporting the King of Spain's rebel subjects in the Netherlands, annoying the Spaniards by constant depredations, surprising and sacking their towns in Spain and America, and having, not long before, put to death the Queen of Scotland, thereby violating the majesty of all sovereign princes.

Among the most active promoters of the invasion of England was Bernardin Mendoza, formerly ambassador from Spain at the court of London, and now at Paris. His hatred of Elizabeth for having got rid of him was inveterate; and by means of the press, which was at his disposal, he disseminated every species of falsehood and invective against England; and confidently proclaimed the overthrow of that kingdom, by the immense forces of Philip then in preparation; asserting also the weakness of Elizabeth in her naval and military establishments, and withal the disaffection of her subjects. There was resident in London at this time an English Catholic missionary (or seminary) priest, who took the trouble to write a voluminous letter to Mendoza, to disabuse him and his partisans of the erroneous opinions they were propagating respecting England; stating to him at the same time what he conceived to be the more proper conduct for Spain to pursue. He asserts that the success of a foreign invasion of England depended less on a large army being landed, than on a strong Catholic party in England, ready to join the foreign forces on their landing; he recommends a more politic line of conduct than that of having recourse to the Pope's excommunication of the sovereign, or his usurped power of absolving subjects from their allegiance, and disposing of kingdoms by violence, blood, slaughter, and conquest; above all, he points out the necessity of concealing their intentions till the time comes for striking the blow effectually:—

“For,” says he, “when such things are published without reserve, they only induce the Queen to strengthen her kingdom, by calling out the military, and to guard those parts of the coast where a landing is feasible. Besides,” he adds, “every nobleman, knight, and gentleman of fortune, immediately took the alarm, and thought it time, for their own and the public safety, by arming their servants and dependents.”*

There is reason to suppose that this letter never reached Men-

* Harleian Miscellany.

doza : had he received it, however, he was not the man to have been moved by such arguments. This *honest* priest—an Englishman, be it remembered—is said to have been executed for treason, committed during the time that the Armada was on its way to England.

Not only Mendoza and his partisans, but all the priests, politicians, and poets of Spain, were sedulously employing their pens in proclaiming her approaching glorious triumph, of which they said it would be little short of impiety to entertain a doubt. In almost all these effusions the two great points insisted upon were to take the Queen and kill the Drake.

The enthusiasm which prevailed in Spain the preceding year, did not appear to have been in the least diminished by the destructive operations of Drake, or the delusive negotiations in the Netherlands : on the contrary, the Spaniards were more eager than ever to make the attempt. Alphonso Perez de Gusman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, was appointed to the chief command, and John Martinez Recaldé, an experienced seaman, to be second in command under him. The Duke of Paliano and the Marquis of Santa Croce were originally designed to fill these offices, but they both died before the preparations were completed ; and it was said that the marquis received his death-blow from Drake, at Cascais, the preceding year ; at least he fell sick almost immediately after those transactions, and never recovered.

On putting to sea, the Duke of Medina Sidonia was instructed to keep as near to the coast of France as wind and weather would permit, in order to avoid falling in with the English fleet ; and to proceed to Calais, where he might expect to meet the Duke of Parma, with a fleet of small vessels and 40,000 men : if the duke were not arrived, he was to come to anchor in a place of safety thereabouts, and wait his joining ; when the whole were to stand over and enter the Thames, directing their course for London ; which it was presumed would be taken by a sudden assault, or fall after a single battle. In laying down this plan of operations, they were not aware that Lord Henry Seymour had already taken his station, with a fleet of sixty English and Dutch ships, to prevent the Duke of Parma from coming out of harbour.

The Duke of Sidonia, however, on his arrival in the Groyne, to which port the fleet had been driven for refuge by stress of

weather, was induced to deviate from the king's instructions, in consequence of false information received from the master of an English barque, that the English fleet were lying inactive in Plymouth Sound, and were unprepared to meet such an armament. Relying on this information, the general Don Diego de Valdez, an able and experienced seaman, on whose opinion the greatest reliance was placed, and who in fact was the chief adviser of the original plan, prevailed on the duke to deviate from it, and proceed direct to Plymouth in order to attack the British fleet unprepared in that port; which, he said, if once destroyed, would lay all England open to their victorious arms.

Here again they evinced how ill they were informed: England was now fully prepared to receive them. The Queen had appointed Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England, to the chief command: his good qualities had placed him very high in her favour; she knew him to be brave, and if not eminently skilled in sea affairs, that he was wary and provident, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem among the officers of her navy. Sir Francis Drake was next sent for, and received from the Queen his commission as Vice-Admiral, next in command to Lord Charles Howard: his established fame for seamanship, resolution, and forethought, filled every English breast with confidence. Lord Henry Seymour, second son of the Duke of Somerset, was already in command of a squadron of ships, English and Netherlanders, sent to watch the Prince of Parma, and prevent his putting to sea with his forces to join the Armada.

Her Majesty was not disappointed in the activity displayed by her two commanders, Lord Charles Howard and Sir Francis Drake. Lord Charles immediately hoisted his flag in the *Ark Royal*, and having obtained information of the movements of the enemy, addressed the following letter to Sir Francis Walsingham:—

LORD C. HOWARD TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

SIR,

9th March, 1587-8.

As I had maed up my other letter, Capten Fourbysher dowthe adverteyse me that he spake with 2 shyps that chame presently from Lysbone, who declared unto him that for certenty the King of Spayne flyte dowthe parte from Lysbon unto the Groyne, the 15 of this monthe by ther acounte. Sir,

ther is non that comse from Spayne but bryngse this advertysment, and yf it be trew I am afrayd it wyll not be helped when the tyme sarvethe. Surly this charge that heer Majestie is at is ether to muche er to lyttell, and the stay that is maed of Sir Francys Drake going owt I am afrayd will bred graet parell, and yf the King of Spayne dow send forces ether into this Relme, Irland, or Scotland, the Queene's Majestie shall say, the Duke of Parme is tetryng of a pece, and therfor it is not pryncly downe of his master to dow so in the tyme of Trete, but what is that to the pourpos yf we have by that a Casado. And yf her Majestie chanot show the King's hande his sarvant's hande wyll be but a bad warant, yf they have ther wyshe. Sir, for my selfe I am detarmyned to end my lyfe in it, and the matter is not graet: I protest my graetest care is for heer Majestie's honour and surte. I send you a letter that now as I wryght, I received from a man of myne, wyche afyrmeth the lyk. And so, Sir, I tak my leave from aboarde the Ark Rawly (Royal), the 9 Ma. at 12 o'clock at nyght.

Your very lovyngre frend,

C. HOWARD.*

To the Righte Honorable my verie
lovingre freinde Sir ffrances Walsingham, Knighte:
Principall Secretare unto Her Majestie.

Drake was equally ready, and proceeded to Plymouth, where he hoisted his flag in the Revenge.

The following is an abstract of the several squadrons composing the English and Spanish naval forces:—

No. of Ships.	ENGLISH.	Tons.	Mariners.
34	Her Majesty's Ships under the Lord High Admiral	11,850	6,279
10	Serving by tonnage with the Lord High Admiral	750	239
32	Serving with Sir F. Drake	5,120	2,348
38	Fitted out by the City	6,130	2,710
20	Coasters with the Lord High Admiral	1,930	993
23	Coasters with the Lord Henry Seymour	2,248	1,073
18	Volunteers with the Lord High Admiral	1,719	859
15	Victuallers	—	810
7	Vessels not mentioned in the King's-Library list	—	474
197		29,744	15,785†

* MS. State Paper Office.

† Lediard's Naval History

No. of Ships.	SPANISH.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.	Soldiers.
12	Squadron of Portuguese Galeons under the Generalissimo	7,739	389	1,242	3,086
14	Fleet of Biscay, Captain General Don Juan Martinez de Recaldé . . .	5,861	302	906	2,117
16	Fleet of Castile, General Don Diego de Valdez . . .	8,054	474	1,793	2,924
11	Andalusian Squadron, General Don Pedro de Valdez	8,692	315	776	2,359
14	Squadron of Guypuscoa, Don Mighel de Oquendo . . .	7,192	296	608	2,120
10	Eastern fleet or Levantiscas, Don Martin Ventendona . . .	8,632	319	844	2,792
23	Fleet called Urcas or Hulks, Don Juan Lopez de Medina . . .	10,860	466	950	4,170
24	Pataches and Zabras, Don Antonio de Mendoza . . .	2,090	204	746	1,103
4	Galiasses of Naples, Don Hugo de Moncada . . .	—	200	477	744
4	The Galleys of Portugal, Don Diego de Mendrana . . .	—	200	424	440
132		59,120	3,165	8,766	21,855

Besides 2088 Galley Slaves.*

The comparison then of the two forces will stand thus:—

	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Mariners.
English	197	29,744	837	15,785
Spaniards	132	59,120	3,165	8,66 21,855 soldiers
				30,621 men
	65 more E.	29,376 more S.	2,328 more S.	14,836 more S.

So that the Spaniards had double the force of the English, except in the *number* of ships; and in guns nearly four times the

* The author, after consulting the best authorities and several manuscripts, does not hesitate to say that these lists of the two fleets are the most complete and perfect that have hitherto appeared. They also very nearly agree with an average obtained from demi-official returns.

force. The only cannon of 60 lb. shot, in the whole of the English fleet, being nineteen pieces, and twenty-eight pieces of demi-cannon of 33 lb. shot. The rest of their armament consisted of culverins, demi-culverins, sakers, mynions, falcons, and other small pieces.

How the merchant-ships were armed does not appear; but, looking at their tonnage, two-thirds of them at least would have been of but little, if any, service; and, indeed, it must have required uncommon vigilance to keep them out of harm's way.

Even the best of the Queen's ships, placed alongside one of the first class of Spanish line-of-battle ships, would have been like a sloop-of-war by the side of a first-rate. Their high forecastles, always well manned, and bearing one or two tiers of guns, and their high poops equally well fortified, made it extremely difficult to board them; as the musketry from these castles would pick the men off on reaching the main-deck: and it was an article in the general Instructions of the Spanish fleet, that every ship should be supplied with a chest or cask full of stones to hurl down upon the boarders. The odds therefore were great against the English. But the English heart and English seamanship made ample amends for all deficiencies. The danger, however, was formidable. Spain at this time possessed the first navy in Europe; and her numerous and well disciplined army was inferior to none. In addition to their large ships, galleons and galiasses, they had a fleet of hulks stored with provisions and ammunition, and every article that could be required for establishing themselves on shore. So certain were they of success, that there were in the fleet upwards of 100 (some say 180) monks, or friars, and Jesuits, *ad propagandam fidem* among the heretics; and there were English papist traitors among them to instruct the others in the language. Every device was adopted to give a sacred character to the invasion; twelve of their ships were named after the twelve Apostles: and such was the prevailing enthusiasm, that every noble family in Spain had a son, or brother, or nephew, serving in the fleet as a volunteer.

Nor was the enthusiastic spirit of the sons and relatives of the English nobility and gentry less strong. A great number of them joined the auxiliary ships, which poured in to reinforce

the fleet from all quarters. The citizens of London, in the first instance, requested they might send fifteen stout ships, with 5000 men, to the fleet; and ultimately they supplied no less than thirty-eight ships, and 10,000 men, of whom 2700 were seamen.

Nothing, indeed, could exceed the general expression of love and duty towards the Queen; who, with a dignity of spirit equal to the wisdom of her measures, gave a striking example of devotion to her country and her faith; boldly placing herself at the head of her troops, and taking her stand at Tilbury Fort, to arrest the progress of the enemy, should they dare to approach her capital. The speech she delivered on the occasion was worthy of a great and noble mind:—

“My loving people,” she said, “we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a King, and of a King of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms: to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms: I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people.”

The number of troops that attended the Queen at Tilbury were—56,000 foot and 3000 horse; and 20,000 soldiers were stationed along the coast.

Early in March the Lord High Admiral, having made his arrangements, hoisted his flag, as already stated, on board the *Ark Royal*; and proceeded to visit the stations on which his fleet was placed, beginning with that of Lord H. Seymour in

the Downs, which was appointed to watch Dunkirk; and then intending to proceed to Plymouth, where Drake was preparing the Western Squadron.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

30 March, 1588.

RIGHTE HONORABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORDES,

Understandinge by your good Lordships' letters her Majestie's goode inclynacion for the speedye sendinge of these forces here unto the seas, for the defence of the enemye, and that, of her Majestie's greate favor, and your Lordship's good opynion, you have made choice of me (althoughe the least of manye) to be as an actor in so greate a cause, I am moste humble to beseeche my moste gracious Soveraigne and your good Lordships to heare my poore opynion with favor, and so to judge of it accordinge to your greate wisdomes.

If her Majestie and your Lordships thincke that the King of Spaigne meanethe any invasyon in Englande, then doubtlesse his force is and will be greate in Spaigne, and thereon he will make his groundworke, or foundation, whereby the prynce of Parma maye have the better entraunce, which in myne owne judgemente is most to be feared: but if there maye be suche a staye or stoppe made, by any meanes of this ffleete, in Spaigne, that they maye not come throughe the seas as conquerors (which I assure myselfe they thincke to doe) then shall the Prince of Parma have suche a checke thereby as were meete.

To prevente this I thincke it goode that these forces here shoulde be made as stronge as to your Honors' wisdomes shall be thoughte conveyente, and that for two speciall causes: ffirste, for that they are like to strike the firste blowe, and secondlie, it will putt greate and goode hartes into her Majestie's lovinge subjectes bothe abroade and at home, ffor that they will be perswaded in conscience that the Lord of all strengthes will putt into her Majestie and her people coraige & boldness not to feare any invasyon in her owne countrie, but to seeke God's enemyes and her Majesties' where they maye be founde: ffor the Lorde is on our side, whereby we may assure ourselves our numbers are greater than theirs. I muste crave pardon of your good Lordships againe and againe, for my conscience hath caused me to putt my pen to the paper, and as God in his goodnes hath putt my hande to the ploughe, so in his mercy he will never suffer me to turne backe from the truthe.

My verie good Lords, next, under God's mightie protecciou, the advantage and gaine of tyme and place, will be the onlie and cheife meane for our goode, wherein I most humble beseeche your good Lordships to persever as you have began, for that with feiftie saile of shippinge we shall doe more good upon their owne coaste, then a greate manye more will doe here at home, and the sooner we are gone the better we shall be able to ympeache them.

There is come home, synce the sending awaie of my laste messenger one bark (whome I sente out as an Espiall), who confyrmeth those intelligences

whereof I have advertized your Lordships by him; and that divers of those Biskaines are abroade uppon that coaste, wearinge Englishe flagges, whereof there are made in Lisbone three hundreth, with the redde Crosse, which is a great presumptcons proceedinge of the hautynes & pride of the Spaynierde, and not to be tollerated by any true naturall Englishe harte.

I have herein enclosed sente this note unto your Lordships, to consider of our proporcions in powlder, shotte, and other munycion, under the hande of the surveyor's clerke of the ordynaunce: the which proporcion in powlder and shotte for our greate ordynaunce in her Majestie's shippes is but for one daie and halfe's servyce, if it be begonne and contynewed as the service may requyer; and but five lastes of powlder for 24 saile of the marchaunte shippes, which will scante be suffytient for one daie's service, and divers occasions maye be offred.

Good my Lords, I beseeche you to consider deeplie of this, for it importeth but the losse of all.

I have staid this messenger somewhat the longer for the hearinge of this Ducheman who came latelie out of Lisbone, and hath delivered these advertisements herein enclosed under his hande the 28th of this Marche before myselfe and divers Justices.

I have sente unto your good Lordships the note of such powlder and munyton as are delivered unto us, for this great service, which in truthe I judge to be just a thirde parte of that which is needefull: ffor if we should wante it when we shall have moste neede thereof it will be too late to sende to the Tower for it. I assure your Honors it neither is or shall be spente in vaine. And thus restinge at your Honors' farther direccion, I humblie take my leave of your good Lordships.

From Plymowth this xxxth of Marche, 1588.

Your good Lordships'

verie ready to be commaunded,

FRA: DRAKE.*

To the righte Honorable & my verie
goode Lordes the Lordes of Her Majestie's
Most Honorable Previe Counsell.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE QUEEN.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

13 April, 1588.

I have receaved from Mr. Secreatary som particuller notes and withall a commandment, to awnswere them unto your Majestie.

The first is that your Majestie would willyngly be satisfied from me how the forces nowe in Lysbone myght best be dystressed.

Trewly this poynt is hardly to be awnswered as yeat, for tow specyall causes, the fyrst, for that our intelligences are as yeat uncertayne. The second, is the resolucyon of our owne people, which I shall better understand when I have them at sea. The last insample at Calles is not of dyvers yeat forgotten, for one such flying nowe, as Borrowghes dyd then, will put

* MS. State Paper Office.

the wholle in perille ffor that the enemyes strengthe is now so great gathred together and redy to invade ;—but yf your Majestie will geve present order for our proceeding to the sea, and send to the strengthening of this flectt here, fower more of your Majestie's good shippes, and those 16 saill of shipes with their penaces which ar preparing in London, then shall your Majestie stand assured, with God's assistance, that yf the flectt come out of Lysborne as long as we have vittuall to leve withall, uppon that cost, they shall be fowght with, and I hope, throwghe the goodnes of our mercyfull God, in suche sort as shall hynder his qwyett passage into Yngland, for I assure your Majestie, I have not in my lyffe time knowen better men and possessed with gallanter myndes then your Majestie's people are for the most parte, which are here gathred together, vollontaryllye to put ther hands and hartts to the fynyshing of this great piece of work, wherein we ar all perswaded that God, the geve of all victoryes, will in mercye lowke uppon your most excellent Majestie, and us your power subjects, who for the defence of your Majestie, our relygyon, and natyve country, have resolutly vowed the hassard of our lyves.

The advantage of tyme and place in all marciall accyons is half a victory, which being lost is irrecoverable, wherefore, if your Majestie will comaund me away with those shipes which ar here alrebye, and the rest to follow with all possible expedycon, I hold it in my power opynyon the surest and best cowrse, and that they bring with them vittualls suffycyent for themselves and us, to the intent the service be not utterly lost for want thereof: Whereof I most humbly beseche your most excellent Majestie to have such consideracyon as the wayghtenes of the cawse reqwyrethe. For an Ynglyshman being farre from his country and seing a present wante of vittuall to insue, and perseaving no benefytt to be lowked for, but only blowes, will hardlye be browght to staye.

I have order but for tow monthes vittualles begynning the 24th of Aprell, whereof one wholl monthe may be spent before we com there, the other monthes vittuall will be thought, with the least to bring us back agayne; here may the wholl service and honour be lost for the sparing of a fewe crownes.

Towching my power opynyon how strong your Majesties fleet should be to encounter this great force of the enemy, God encreac your most excellent Majestie's forces, both by sea and land, dayly: for this I surly thincke ther was never any force so stronge as ther is now redye or makynge readye agaynst your Majestye and trewe relygyon, but that the Lord of all strengthes is stronger and will defend the trewth of his word, for his owne name's sake, unto the which God be all glory geven. Thus all humble duty, I contynewally will pray to the Allmyghtye to blesse and give you victorye over all his, and your enemyes. From Plymothe this 13 of Aprell 1588.

Your Majesties most loyall

To the Queene's

Moste excellent Majestie.

FRA: DRAKE.*

* MS. State Paper Office.

In another letter, of the 28th of April, Sir Francis acquaints her Majesty with the intelligence he had gained, that the merchant ships of foreign nations had been detained in the several ports of Spain, and had been embargoed: he mentions also the reports he had received of the great preparations of the enemy; that he considers the embargo as a token of their intention of coming out; and suggests that her forces should go out and meet them at a distance from England: after this the letter thus proceeds:—

That if a goode peace for your Majestie be not forthwith concluded (which I as moche as anie man desirethe) then these greate preparacions of the Spayneyerde maie be speedelie prevented as moche as in your Majestie liethe, by sendinge your forces to encounter them somewhat farre of, and more neere their owne coaste, which will be the better cheape for your Majestie and people, and muche the deerer for the enemye.

Thus muche (as duetie byndethe me) I have thought goode to signifie unto your Majestie, for that it importethe but the hazerde or losse of all: The promise of peace from the Prince of Parma and these mightie preparacions in Spaigne agree not well together: Undoubtedlie I thincke these advertisements true; for that I cannot heare by anye man of warre, or otherwise, that anie shippe is permytted to departe Spaigne, which is a vehemente presumption that they holde their purposed pretences: And for farther testimonie of these reports I have sente this bearer, a Captaine of one of your Majestie's shippes, who (if it shall please your Highnes to permytte him) can deliver some thinges touchinge the same.

Thus restinge allwaies most bounden unto your Majestie for your gracious and favourable speeches used of me, both to Mr. Secretarie and others (which I desier God no longer to lette me live then I will be readye to doe your Majestie all the duetifull service I possiblie maie), I will contynewallie praye to God to blesse your Majestie with all happie victories.

From Plymouthe this 28th of Aprill, 1588.

Your Majestie's most loiall,

FRA: DRAKE.

On the 23rd of May, the Lord High Admiral announced to the government his arrival at Plymouth. He says that Drake had come out to meet him with sixty sail of ships very well appointed; he states, also, his intention to proceed to sea, and stand off and on, between the coasts of England and Spain, to watch the coming of the Spanish forces.

Accordingly, the Lord High Admiral, with the western squadron, put to sea, and proceeded within a short distance of the coast of Spain, when a strong southerly wind drove them

back to Plymouth. Here he found a letter waiting for him, dated the 9th of June, from Sir Francis Walsingham, written by command of the Queen, signifying her Majesty's pleasure, that he should not go so far from the English coast; and assigning, as the reason for this order, the importance of not leaving the shores of England unprotected. Lord Howard, in his reply, dated the 15th, says,

“ It was deeply debated by those whom the world doth judge to be men of the greatest experience, that this realme hath, which are these: Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Frobisher, and Mr. Thomas Fenner; and I hope Her Majesty will not thinke we went so rashlie to worke, or without a principal, or choice care and respect of the safetie of this realme. And if we found they did but linger on their own coast, or put into the isles of Bayonne or the Groyne, then we thought, in all men's judgments that be of experience here, it had bin most fit to have sought some good waie: and the surest we could devise (by the good protection of God) to have defeated them.”

And he further gives her Majesty to understand, that if the fleet are to stand off and on betwixt England and Spain, the south-west wind, which might carry the Spaniards to Scotland or Ireland, would throw him to leeward; that on the contrary, if his fleet was high up in the Channel, the Spaniards might succeed in reaching the Isle of Wight.

On the 23rd of June he addressed another letter to Sir Francis Walsingham:—

SIR,

This Sunday about 7 of the cloke at nyght I recevid your letter of the 22 of this present, and the advertysments with them, wyche I dow most hartely thank you for: but I parceave by your letter there shuld another letter come from my Lordse to Mr. Dorell, and also a warante that the poursyfant should brynge, wyche shuld be open for me, but he nether browght the Lordse letter nor any suche warrant. Sir. I pray you pardon me that I dow not send yow the namse of the townse devyded, suche as be wylling, and suche as be not. Sir F. Drake hathe the newse of them, now at this ower is full occupyed, as I am also. Our watche chame to us this last nyght about 12 of the cloke, and we wyll not ete nor slype till it be abourd us. We must not lose an ower of tyme. You shall see by a letter that I have sent Heer Majestie what advertysment I have. I meen to way presently and set sayle: this foull wether that was on Thursday, that forsed us in surty, dispersed the Spanyshe flyt: it shall goo hard but I wyll fynd them out. Let Heer Majestie trust no mor to Judises kyses; for let heer asure heerself ther is no trust to F. K. (French king) nor Duke of Parme. Let heer defend

heerself lyke a noble and mightie Prynce: and trust to heer sworde and not to ther word, and then she ned not to feer, for heer good God wyll defend her.

Sir, I have a pryvy intelligence, by a sure fello, that the flyt of Spayne dowthe meen to come to the cost of France, and ther to receve in the Duke of Guyse, and great forses: and it is very lykly to be trew. I meen, God wylling, to vyset the cost of France, and to send in small penyses to discover all the cost alongst.

If I heer of them, I hope, ar it be long after, you shall heer newse. God Mr. Secretary, let the narro sees be well strantened (strengthened). What charge is ill spent now for service? Let the Hoise of Harwyge (Harwich) goo with all speed agayne to my Lord H. Semor, for they be of great sarvyse.

Sir, for these thyngs here I pray take order with Mr. Dorell, for I have no lesur to thynk of them. I pray you, Sir, delyver my letter unto Heer Majestie with my humble duty, and so in hast I bid you farewell.

Abourd the Arke, this Sunday, at 12 of the cloke at nyght.

Your assured lovyng frend,

C. HOWARD.*

(No date, but supposed June 23rd, 1588.)

Sir. God wylling, I wyll com sayll within this three houers.
To my very lovyng frend,
Mr. Secretary Walsyngham.

* MS. State Paper Office.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE.

1588.

The Armada in the Channel—Anecdote of Drake—First attack—Spanish MS. Journal—Daily proceedings of the two fleets—The Armada is dispersed by fire-ships—Driven into the North Sea—Its disastrous condition—Letters from the Lord High Admiral, Sir Francis Drake, and Lord Henry Seymour.

THE day now approached when the great contest was to be decided between two of the most powerful fleets that had hitherto ever met in hostile array. On the 19th day of July, the Lord High Admiral received certain information from one Fleming, the master of a pinnace, that the Spanish fleet was in the Channel, near the Lizard Point; and great exertions were made to tow the British fleet out of Plymouth Harbour, although the wind was blowing in stiffly; but the alacrity and energy of the men and officers, encouraged by the Admiral in person, overcame all difficulties.

It is reported, that when the news reached the British Navy of the sudden appearance of the Armada off the Lizard, the principal commanders were on shore at Plymouth playing bowls, on the Hoe: and it is added that Drake insisted on the match being played out, saying, that "There would be plenty of time to win the game, and beat the Spaniards too."*

On the following day, the 20th, the Spanish fleet were discovered with their lofty turrets, like so many floating castles; their line extending its wings about seven miles, in the shape of a half-moon, proceeding very slowly, though with full sail; "The winds," says Camden, "being as it were tired with carrying them, and the ocean seeming to groan under the weight of their heavy burdens."

On the 21st of July, the Lord High Admiral, on their pass-

* Tytler's Raleigh, Edin. edit., 1835.

ing, sent out his pinnace, named the *Disdain*, in advance, and challenged the Duke of Sidonia to give the defiance, by firing off her ordnance, as a declaration of war, upon which being done, his own flag-ship, the *Ark Royal*, "thundered thick and furiously" upon a large ship which he thought to be the Spanish Admiral, but which was that of Alphonso de Leyva. At the same time Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher played stoutly upon the rear division of the fleet, commanded by General Juan de Recaldé; whose ship and others, being much shattered, made shift to get away to the main body, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

A manuscript account of the Spanish Armada was sent, from the archives of Madrid, to a gentleman in the Admiralty, after the conclusion of the revolutionary war. It is entitled 'A Narrative of the Voyages of the Royal Armada, from the Port of Corunna, under the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, with an account of the events which took place during the said Voyage.' It is written in Spanish, and is evidently a journal kept by an officer of the Duke of Medina's flag-ship. It is temperately and modestly written, and many of the facts stated in the following pages have been taken from it. This narrative says that the ship of Alphonso de Leyva was disabled, her rigging cut up, and two shot lodging in her foremast: that the flag-ship took in her sails, and waited to receive her into the line; that the Duke now collected his scattered fleet, not being able to do more on this occasion, as the enemy had gained the wind. The English vessels, the author adds, were well fought, and under such good management, that they did with them what they pleased. The fight having continued two hours, and forty sail of the English fleet, those which had last come out of the harbour, not having yet joined, the Admiral deemed it expedient not to press the enemy further this day.

The following letter from Lord Charles Howard describes the fight very briefly; it is

LORD C. HOWARD TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

SIR,

21st July, 1588.

I will not trouble you with anie longe letter. We are at this present otherwise occupied then with writinge. Uppon Fridaie at Plymouthe I re-

ceived intelligence that there were a greate number of ships descried of the Lisarde. Whereuppon, although the winde was very skaute, we firste warped out of harbour that nyghte, and uppon Saterdaie turned out verie hardly, the wind beinge at southe weste, and aboute 3 of the clock in the afternone descried the Spanishe fleete, and [——] did what we could to worke for the wind, which [——] morninge we had recovered discryinge their [——] consiste of 120 saile: Whereof there are 4 g[——] and many ships of greate burthen. At nine of the [——] we gave them feighte, which contynewed untill [——] feighte. We made som of them to beare roome to stop their leaks. Notwithstandinge we durste not adventure to put in amongste them, their fleete beinge soe stronge. But there shall nothinge be eather neglected or unhasarded that may worke their overthrowe.

Sir, the Captaines in her Majestie's ships have behaved themselves moste bravely and like men hitherto, and I doubt not will contynewe to their greate commendacion. And soe recomendinge oure good successe to your godlie prayers, I bid you hartelie farewell. From aboard the Arke, thwarte of Plymouthe; the 21 of Julie 1588.

Your verie lovinge freind,

C. HOWARD.*

(Postscript.) Sir, the sowtherly wynde that browght us bak from the cost of Spayne browght them out, God blessed us with tornynge us bak. Sir, for the love of God and our country, let us have with sume sped some graet shote sent us of all bignes, for this sarvis wyll contenew long, and sume powder with it.

The Righte Honorable

my verie lovinge friende,

Sir Francis Walsingham, knight.*

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO LORD HENRY SEYMOUR.

RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

I AM commaunded by my good Lord, the Lord Admiral, to send you the Carvaile in haste with this letter, geivinge your Lordship to understand that the armye of Spaigne arrived uppon our coaste the 20th of this presente, the 21th we had them in chase; and so cominge upp unto them there hath passed some comen shotte betweene some of our fleete and some of theirs; and as farre as we perceive they are determined to sell their lives with blowes. Whereuppon his Lordship hath commaunded me to write unto your Lordship and Sir William Wynter, that those shippes servinge under your charge should be putte into the best and strongest manner you maie, and readie to assiste his Lordship for the better incountering of them in those parts where you nowe are. In the meane tyme what his Lordship and the rest here following him maie doe, shall be suerelie performede. His Lordship hathe

* MS. State Paper Office. Many of the letters of Lord Howard and Sir Francis Drake are so tattered, and the writing so obliterated and in parts so illegible, that it is impossible to follow the meaning.

comaunded me to write his hartie commendacions to your Lordship and Sir William Wynter. I doe salute your Lordship, Sir William Wynter, Sir Henry Pallmer, and all the rest of those honorable gentlemen serving under you with the like. Beseeching God of his mercie to geive her Majestie our gracious Sovereigne alwaies victorie against her enemyes. Written aboard her Majesties good shipp the Revenge of Steart, this 21th (July), late in the evening, 1588.

Your good Lordship's
poore freend readie to be comaunded,
(Signed)

FRA: DRAKE.

This letter, my honorable good Lord, is sent in haste; the fletee of Spanyards is somewhat about a hundredth sailes; many great shipes, but trewly I thinck not half of them of warre, haste, your Lordship's assured,

FRA. DRAKE.

To the Right Honorable

the Lord Henry Seymour,

Admirall of her Majesties Navie in the narrowe

Seas, or, in absence, to Sir William Wynter, knyght,
geive these with speed—hast, hast, hast.*

In the evening of this day a large ship of Biscay, bearing the flag of Oquendo, and having the King's Treasurer on board, was set on fire; designedly, as was supposed, by a Dutch gunner, who had received some ill-treatment, and who employed gunpowder for the purpose. The flame was, however, happily extinguished by some vessels which came to her relief; but not before the two decks and the poop blew up. In the Spanish narrative already referred to, no mention is made of the Dutch gunner.

Another accident happened this evening. There was a large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, which in tacking fell foul of another, sprung her fore-mast, and was left behind; the night being dark, and the sea running high, no succour could be afforded her. Diego de Florez represented to the duke the danger of lying to for this ship; that if he did so, as the main body of the Armada was getting much a-head, he would find himself in the morning with only half his ships; and that, the enemy being so near at hand, the safety of the whole fleet ought not to be hazarded for a single vessel; in short, that, by doing so, the object of the expedition would be sacrificed.

“The next day following,” says Speed, “Sir Francis Drake, espying this

* MS. State Paper Office.

lagging gallion, sent forth a pinnace to command them to yield, otherwise his bullets should force them without further favour; but Valdez, to seeme valorous, answered, that they were foure hundred and fifty strong; that himself was *Don Pedro*, and stood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certain conditions. But the Knight sent his reply, that he had not leizure to parley; if he would yield, presently doe it; if not, he should well prove that Drake was no dastard; whereupon *Pedro*, hearing that it was the *fiery Drake* (ever terrible to the Spaniards) who had him in chase, with 40 of his followers, came on board Sir Francis his ship; where, first giving him the *congé*, he protested that he, and all his, were resolved to die in defence, had they not falne under his power, whose valour and felicity was so great that *Mars* and *Neptune* seemed to attend him in his attempts, and whose generous minde towards the vanquished had often been experienced, even of his greatest foes. Sir Francis, requiting his Spanish compliments with honourable English courtesies, placed him at his owne table, and lodged him in his owne cabbin. The residue of that company were sent into Plymouth, where they remained eightene months 'til their ransoms were paid; but Sir Francis his souldiers had well paid themselves with the spoile of the shippe, wherein were fifty-five thousand ducats in gold, which they shared merrily among them."

This ship was sent into Dartmouth.

On the 22nd of July there was no fighting. In the course of the day the duke formed the Armada into two divisions, he taking the van, and Don Alonzo de Leyva the rear.

"The Duke," says the Spanish narrative, "summoned to him all the *Sargentos Mayores*, and ordered them to proceed in a patache, so that each ship should keep the position assigned to her in the new order of sailing; and he further gave them written orders, directing, that in case any ship did not observe the order, and quitted her post, the captain should forthwith be hanged, the *Sargentos Mayores* taking the provosts with them for that purpose; and for the better execution of the order, they were distributed, three in the van and three in the rear division. On the same day the captain of the flag-ship of Oquendo reported to the Duke that she was sinking, on which he ordered that the crew and the Treasurer's money should be taken out of her, and the ship sunk."

The crew and the treasure were accordingly removed into other vessels; but the ship, instead of being sunk, was turned adrift, and was soon afterwards boarded by Lord Thomas Howard and Captain Hawkins, who found her decks fallen in, her steerage ruined, the stern blown out, and about fifty poor wretches burnt in a most miserable manner. The Admiral ordered a small bark to take possession of her, and in that shattered condition she was carried into Weymouth.

On the 23rd of July there was what may be termed a second fight; brought on by both the fleets endeavouring to obtain the weather-gage, in the course of which there was no little confusion; caused in a great degree by the large number of merchant ships in the English fleet. Some of the London ships, being surrounded by Spaniards, were rescued by a brave attack of a few of her Majesty's ships; while the Spaniards boldly reinforced the squadron of Recaldé, which was suffering much by a spirited attack of the English rear division. After this a running fight took place, the two Admirals crossing each other, and each sustaining the fire of his opponent.

According to the Spanish 'Narrative,' all the galleons and galleasses were engaged this day. "The English," says the writer, "came united against the duke's flag-ship, whilst she was advancing to the assistance of Recaldé and De Leyva; and each ship of the English fleet as she passed gave her fire to the Spanish flag-ship, till at length four or five of their largest ships came to her support." He says that frequent attempts were made to board our ships, but they were so light and well managed that there was little hope of succeeding.

"The great guns," says Camden, "rattled like so many peals of thunder; but the shot from the high-built Spanish ships flew for the most part over the heads of the English without doing any execution, owing to their high forecastles, and their inability to depress their guns. One Mr. Cook (or Cope) was the only Englishman that died bravely in the midst of his enemies, commanding his own ship. The reason was, that the English ships were moved and managed with such agility, giving their broadsides to the larger and more unwieldy of the enemy, and sheering off again just as they pleased, while the Spanish heavy ships lay as so many butts for the English to fire at."

It was suggested to the Lord High Admiral, with more zeal than discretion, that the English ships should board the Spaniards; which would have been a most ruinous proceeding, considering the size of their ships, the great advantage of their high forecastles and poops, the number of troops each had on board, and that their ships of war were four to one of ours. He, very prudently, acted more on the defensive; and refrained from attempting to obtain decisive results at the risk of ruining the only fleet that England possessed; knowing that if, by any imprudent step, that fleet should be destroyed, the great object

of the enemy would be gained, and her army landed on the British shores. It was, therefore, his policy to keep his ships as much as possible between those of the enemy and the shore.

On the 24th there was a cessation on both sides; and the Lord High Admiral took the opportunity of dividing his fleet into four squadrons: the first under himself; the second under Sir Francis Drake; the third under Hawkins; and the fourth under Frobisher. He also sent some of the smaller vessels to the neighbouring ports for a supply of powder and ammunition.

On the 25th a galleon of Portugal, the *St. Anne*, not being able to keep up with the fleet, was taken by some of the English ships. Don Alonzo de Leyva, with Don Diego Felles Enriques, attempted to rescue her with three galleasses; but were warmly received by the Lord Admiral himself, and the Lord Thomas Howard in the *Golden Lion*, who, there being no wind, had their ships towed by boats; and succeeded, after much labour and considerable loss, in carrying off the galleon. From this time none of the galleasses ever ventured to contend with the English ships of war.

The Lord Admiral, with some other ships, made an attack upon the Spanish Admiral's ship, cut the rigging of her main-mast, and killed several of her men. But five or six of the larger Spanish ships coming up to her rescue, and a great portion of their fleet advancing, the Lord Admiral desisted.

The 'Narrative' states, that the English flag-ship was so much damaged and in such danger that she was towed off by eleven launches; that she struck her standard, and fired guns as signals of distress; that on seeing this, the Spanish Admiral and a great part of the fleet made towards her; but the English, also standing towards their Admiral for his support, and the wind springing up, the launches were cut off, and the Spaniards gave up the attempt. The writer adds: "We made certain this day of being able to board the English ships, which was the only means of obtaining any decisive advantage." On this day the duke dispatched an officer to Dunkirk, being the third he had sent to apprise the Duke of Parma of their position off the Isle of Wight, and to urge his immediate coming out, and also his sending some shot for four, six, and ten-pounders, of which much had been expended in the late engagements. The duke

was likewise informed how important it was that he should join the Armada the day of its appearing in sight of Dunkirk. In the evening of this day a breeze sprang up, and the Armada directed its course for Calais.

On the 26th of July it was calm, and the fleets were in sight of each other. The duke repeated by another messenger to the Duke of Parma his urgent desire that he would send forty small vessels, to be employed against the enemy ; acquainting him that “the heaviness of his ships, compared to the lightness of the English, rendered it impossible for him in any manner to bring them to close action.” The Lord High Admiral this day bestowed the honour of knighthood on Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Captain John Hawkins, and Captain Martin Frobisher, in consideration of their gallant behaviour. And it was decided, in Council, that no further attempt should be made on the enemy, until they came into the Straits of Calais, where Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter would reinforce the fleet. The following day (27th), in the afternoon, the Armada anchored off Calais, by the advice of the pilots, lest they should be carried away by the current into the North Sea ; and an officer was again sent off to the Duke of Parma, urging him to join them there, and stating at the same time the impossibility of their remaining long in that position without much risk to the whole Armada.

Early on the morning of the 28th, says the Spanish ‘Narrative,’ Captain Don Rodrigo Fello arrived from Dunkirk : and reported to the Spanish Admiral that the Duke of Parma was at Bruges, where he had waited upon him ; and that although his Grace had expressed much satisfaction at hearing of the arrival of the Armada, yet he was taking no steps to embark the troops or stores.

This day the Lord Admiral was joined by Lord Henry Seymour ; and now he had a hundred and forty sail, all stout ships, and good sailors. They anchored not far from the Spanish fleet ; and at night the Lord Admiral (as is said by the Queen’s especial command) singled out eight of his worst ships, charged them with pitch, tar, resin, and other combustibles, and loaded all their guns with bullets, chain-shot, and other destructive materials ; and thus equipped sent them before the wind and with the tide, a

little after midnight, into the midst of the Spanish fleet. Their approach was no sooner discovered, than their prodigious blaze threw the whole fleet into consternation: anchors were got up and cables were cut amidst the greatest confusion. A large galleasse, having lost her rudder, was tossed about for some time, and finally driven on the sands near Calais; here she was attacked by the Admiral's long-boat and some others; the Spanish captain was killed by a shot in the head; and the soldiers and rowers, to the number of 400, were either drowned or put to the sword. The ship and guns, after the English had set free 300 galley-slaves, who were on board, and taken out 50,000 ducats of gold, fell as a wreck to M. Gourdon, governor of Calais.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

29 July, 1588.

THIS bearer cam a bourd the ship I was in, in a wonderfull good tyme, and brought with hym as good knowlege as we could wyshe: his carffullness therin is worthy recompence, for that God hathe geven us so good a daye in forcyng the enemy so far to leeward, as I hope in God the prince of Parma and the Duke of Sedonya shall not shake hands this ffewe dayes. And whensoever they shall meett, I beleve nether of them will greatly reioyce of this dayes Servis. The towne of Callys hathe seene some parte therof, whose mayer her Majestie is beholding unto: Busynes comands me to end. God bless her Majestie our Gracyous Soveraygne and geve us all grace to leve in his feare. I assure your Honor this dayes servis hath much apald the enemy, and no dowbt but incouraged our armye. From a bourd her Majestie's good ship the Revenge, this 29th July 1588.

Your Honor's most redy to be comanded,

FRA: DRAKE.

Ther must be great care taken to send us monycyon and Vittuall whether soever the enemy goeth.

To the Righte Honorable
Sir Francis Walsingham,
knighte.

Haste, haste, poste haste for Her Majesties service.*

It is stated in the Spanish 'Narrative' that the Duke of Sidonia had his suspicions as to the intention of the English to employ fire-ships; that he had enjoined the strictest vigilance; and that, when the fire-ships approached, he gave orders for weighing anchor; and also that, after they had passed, he lost no time in

* MS. State Paper Office.

directing his ships to resume their stations. But all was in vain : the Spaniards were panic-stricken, their ships were dispersed, and several got among the shoals on the coast of Flanders. In short, it now became clear that the game was up ; their retreating fleet was closely pursued, many of their galleons and other large ships attacked, taken or sunk, and the whole fleet in the greatest distress. One of the heaviest blows they received was the defection of the Prince of Parma.

On the 29th there was much fighting on the Flemish coast : several of the Spanish ships, three of which were of the largest size, are stated in the Spanish ' Narrative ' to have become unserviceable, most of their crews being killed or wounded. In the midst of this distressing situation, in which it appears that many of the Spaniards behaved most nobly, the Duke of Sidonia was desirous of turning the whole of the remaining strength of the Armada against the English, in order still to maintain his position in the Channel ; but the pilots declared it to be impossible to work the ships against the wind and tide, and that the Armada must proceed into the North Sea, or it would be driven on the shoals. To quit the Channel now became absolutely necessary ; for almost all the Spanish ships, even those which could most be relied upon, were in a very bad condition ; and partly from the effects of the late actions, partly from the want of shot, were in no state to resist the English.

On the 30th the Lord High Admiral was still in pursuit of the flying Armada ; but perceiving the ships drifting toward the shoals of Zealand, he did not deem it necessary to press them ; but left the elements to complete the work of destruction.

" At this time," says the Spanish narrative, " the pilots on board the flagship, who were best acquainted with the coast, declared to the Duke that it was impossible to save a single vessel of the whole Armada ; but that with the north-west wind, then blowing, the whole must inevitably go upon the shoals on the coast of Zealand ; and that God only could prevent it. In this hopeless situation, without any human means to escape, and when the Armada was only in six fathoms and a half, it pleased God to change the wind to west-south-west, and the Armada was enabled to make way to the northward, without the loss of a ship. In this miserable situation, the Duke called a council of the Admirals and superior officers, and put to them the question, Whether it were most expedient to go back into the English Channel, or to return by the North Sea to Spain, since there were no advices from the Duke of Parma of his being able shortly to come out. All the

members agreed that they ought to go back into the Channel, if the weather allowed them to do so; but if not, that, then yielding to the weather, they should return by the North Sea to Spain; considering that the Armada was in want of all the most necessary articles, and that those ships, which had hitherto withstood the enemy, were now disabled."

On the 31st the Armada continued its course with the wind fresh from the south-west, and much sea; the English fleet following it.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO LORD WALSINGHAM.

MOST HONORABLE,

31st July, 1588.

I AM comaunded to send these presoners ashore by my Lord Admerall, which had, ere this, byne long done, but that I thought ther being here myght have done something, which is not thought meet now.

Lett me beseche your Honor that they may be presented unto her Majestie, either by your honor, or my honorable good Lord, my Lord Chancellor, or both of you. The one, Don Pedro, is a man of great estymacyon with the King of Spayne, and thought next in this armye to the Duke of Sedonya. If they shoulde be geven from me unto any other, it would be som gref to my friends. Yf her Majestie will have them, God defend but I shoulde thinck it happye.

We have the armye of Spayne before us, and mynd with the Grace of God to wressell a poull with him.

Ther was never any thing pleased me better than the seeing the enemye flying with a Sotherly wynd to the Northwards. God grant you have a good eye to the Duke of Parma, for with the Grace of God, yf we live, I dowbt it not, but ere it be long so to haudell the matter with the Duke of Sedonya, as he shall wish hymselff at Saint Marie Port among his orynge trees.

God gyve us grace to depend upon him, so shall we not dowbt victory; for our cawse is good.

Humbly taking my leave, this last of July, 1588.

Your Honor's faythfully
to be commanded ever,

FRA: DRAKE.

To the Most Hon.

Sir Fras. Walsingham, knight, &c.

P.S. I crave pardon of your Honor for my haste, for that I had to watch this last nyght upon the enemye.

Your's ever,

FRA: DRAKE.

To the Most Honorable

Sir Fras. Walsingham.

With speed.—

The following is an extract from a letter addressed by Lord Henry Seymour to the Queen :—

1st August, 1588.

THE 29th of the sayd month, being resolved, the day before, my Lord Admiral should gyve the first charge, Sir Francis Drake the next, and myself the third, yt fell out, that the galliass distressed altered my Lord's former determination, as I suppose, by prosecuting the destruction of her, which was done within one ower after.

In the meane time, Sir Francis Drake gave the first charge uppon the Spanish Admiral, being accompanied with the Triumph, the Victory, and others.

Myself, with the Vanguard, the Antelop, and others, charged upon sayle being somewhat broken and distressed ; 3 of their great shippes, among which my ship shot one of them through 6 times, being within less than musket shot. After the long fight, which continued almost 6 owers, and ended, between 4 and 5, in the afternoon, until Tuesday, at 7 in the evening, we continued by them ; and your Ma^{ty}'s fleet followed the Spaniards along the Channel, until we came athwart the Brill, where I was commanded by my Lord Admiral, with your Majesties fleete under my charge, to return back, for the defense of your Majestys coasts, if anything be attempted by the Duke of Parma ; and therein have obeyed his Lordship, much against my will, expecting your Majestys further pleasure.*

“ On the morning of the 2nd August,” says the ‘Spanish Narrative,’ “ the English fleet still followed the Armada, but then they turned towards the coast of England, and we lost sight of them, and we continued our course until we got through the Channel of the Sea of Norway ; not being possible to return to the English Channel, though it has been our desire to do so to the present day, the 20th August, on which day, having doubled the Islands of Scotland, we are steering for Spain with the wind east-north-east.”

And with this passage the Spanish Diary ends.

The following letters are copied from the MSS. in the State Paper Office.

LORD C. HOWARD TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

SIR,

August 7th, 1588.

IN our laste feighte with the enemye, before Gravelinge, the 29th of Julie, we sonke three of their ships, and made some to go neare with the shore, soe leake, as they were not able to live at sea. After that feighte, notwithstanding that our powder and shot was wel neare all spente, we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothings, untill we had cleared our owne coaste, and som parte of Scotland of them ; and then, as well to refreshe our ships with victuals whereof moste stode in wonderful neede, as alsoe in respecte of our want of powder and shot, we

* MS. State Paper Office.

made for the Frith, and sente certaine pinesses to dog the fleete untill they sholde be paste the Isles of Scotlande which I verelie beleave, they are loste at theire stearnes, or this. We are perswaded that they eather are paste aboute Irelande, and so dooe what they can to recover theire owne coaste, oneless that they are gon for some parte of Denmarke. I have herewith sent unto you a breife abstracte of such accidents as have happened, which hereafter at better leisure I will explaine by more particular relations. In the meane tyme I bid you hartelie farrewell.

From aboarde the Ark, the 7th of Auguste, 1588.

Your verie lovinge friende

C. HOWARD.

The Right Honorable

Sir Fra. Walsingham, knight.

Good Mr. Secretarie, lett not Her Majestie be too haste in desolving her forses by sea and land : and I pray you send me with speed what advertysments you have of Dunkerk, for I long to dow some exployt on their shippinge. If the Dukes forses be retyred into the land I dowt not but to dow good.—I must thank your favourable yousing of my brother Hoby. He telleth me how forwarde you weer to forder all thyngs for our wants. I wold some weer of your mynde: If we had had that wych had been soe, England and her Majestie had had the gretest honor that ever any nasion had: but God be thanked it is well.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE QUEEN.

8th August, 1588.

THE absence of my Lord Admirall, most gracious Soveraigne, hath emboldened me to putt my penne to the paper. On Fridaye last, uppon good consideracion, we lefte the army of Spaigne so farre to the northewarde, as they could neither recover England nr Scotlande; and within three daies after we were entertayned with a greate storme, considering the tyme of the yere; the which storme, in manye of our judgements, hath not a litle annoyed the enemy's armye.

If the wind hinder it not, I thinck they are forced to Denmark; and that for divers causes; certaine it is that manie of theire people were sicke, and not a fewe killed; ther shippes, sailes, ropes, and wasts, needeth greate reperations, for that they had all felte of your Majesties force.

If your Majestie thoughte it meete, it were [—————] amisse you sent presentlie to Denmark to understand the truth, and to deall with their king according to your Majesties great wisdom.

I have not written this whereby your Majestie should deminish any of your forces. Your Highnes' enemies are manie; yeat God hath, and will heare your Majestie's praier, putting your hand to the plough, for the defence of his truth, as youre Majestie hath begunne. God for his Christ's sak, blesse your sacred Majestie, now and ever.

Written aboard your Majestie's verie good shipp the Reveng, this 8th August, 1588.

Your Majestie's faithfullest vassall,

FRA. DRAKE.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

MOST HONORABLE,

10th August, 1588.

THE armye of Spaigne I thincke certainlye to be put either into Norwaye or Denmarke; ther are dyvers causes which moveth me so to thincke. The firste we understood by dyvers prisoners which we have taken, that jenerallye throwgh all ther hoole fleet ther was no on shipp free of sycke people. Secoundlie, their shippes, masts, sayles, and ropes were verye much decayed and spoyled by our greate shot. Thyrdlye, at Callys, by ffyer we forced them to cut manye of their cables, wherby they lost manye of their ankors, which of necessytye they muste seke to supplye. Further, yf they had had none of these former great causes of distrese, yet the wynds and storme with the wynde westerlye as yt was, hath forced them theither; and I asure myselfe that whensoever her Majestie shall here of their aryvall in anye of these coastes, that her Heighnes shall be advertised bothe of their greate distrese and of no smalle losse amongst them: for I asure your honor her Majestie's good shippes felt mucche of that storme, and loste manye of their boats and pynaces, with some ankors and caibles; yet were we fayer by our own shoare, and the wynde ryght of the land; some amongst us wyll not lett to saye that they are in Scotland. I cannot thincke so, for that we had no wynd wherby they were able to recover anye parte of the mayne lande of Scotland, without yt were some of the out isles, which are no meet places to releve their so manye greate wants. Norwaye, or the out isles of Scotlande, can releve them but with water and a ffew cowes, or bad beof, and some smalle quantitie of goats and henes, which ys to them as nothings; and yet these bade relefes are to be had but in few places, and their roads daungerous. The onely thinge which ys to be lookt for ys, that if they should goe to the Kinge of Denmarke, and there have hys frendshipp and healpe for all their releifes, ncn can better helpe their wants in all these partes then he, for that he ys a Prynce of greate shippinge, and cane best supplye hys wants, which nowe the Duke of Medyna the Sedonya standeth in nede of, as great ankors, caibles, mastes, roopes, and vitualles, and what the Kinge of Spaigne's whole crownes will doe, in cold counteryes, for maryners and men, I leave to your good Lordship, which can best judge thereof. We lefte a pynace of her Majesties, the Advise, and a fyne carvell of my owen to attende the fleet of Spaigne when we lefte them; but what ys become of them, that great storme, or whether they maye be stayed in anye other countery, as they maye, I knowe not. My power oppynion ys, that yt were moste meet to sende a good shipp, and some fyne barke, with some verie sufficient personne to dele effectually from her Majestie with the Kinge of Denmarke, as he shall fynde the cause to requyer; and to send the trew report backe with all speede possible, that they maye be the beter prevented: for no doubt, but that which they are able to dooe they wyll presentlye put yt in execusyon, the wynter wyll overtake them else in those partes. Yf they staye in the sounde thys wynter I hope manye of the Spanyards wyll seke Spaigne by lande. The Prynce of Parma, I take him to be as a beare robbed of her whealpes; and, no doubt, but beinge so great a soldiour as he ys, that he will presentlye, if

he maye, undertake some great matter, for hys reste wyll stande now there-uppon.

Yt ys for certayne that the Duke of Sedonia standeth somewhat jelious of hym, and the Spanyards begynne to hate hym, their honour being towcht so nere, manye of their lyves spent. I asure your Honor not so lyttle as fyve thowsande men lesse then when first we sawe them nere Plymoth, dyvers of their shippes soncke and taken, and they have nothings to saye for themselves in excuse but that they came to the place apoynted which was at Callys, and there stayed the Duke of Parma's commynge above 24 howers, yea, and untill they were fyred thence. So this ys my power conclusyon, if we maye recover near Dunkerke this nyght or to morrowe mornynge, so as their power may see us returned from the chase, and readye to encounter them yf they once sallye, that the next newes you shall here will be the one to mutenye againste the other; which, when yt shall come to passe, or whether they mutenye or no, let us all, with one consent, bothe hygh and looe, magnyfy and prayse our most gracious and mercyful God for hys infynyt and unspeakable goodnes towards us: which I protest to your good Lordship that my belefe ys that our most gracious Soveraigne, her power subjects, and the Church of God, hath opened the heavens in dyvers places, and perced the eares of our most mercyfull Father; unto whome, in Christe Jesus, be all honor and glorie,—so be yt. Amen, Amen.

Wrytten with much haste, for that we are readye to sett sayle to prevent the Duke of Parma, this southerlye wynde; yf yt please God, for trewlye my power oppynion ys that we should have a greate eye unto hym.

From her Majestie's verye good Shipp the Revenge, the 10th of Auguste, 1588.

Your Honor's faythfully to be
Commanded always,

FRA. DRAKE.

To the Right Honorable

Sir Francis Walsingham, knight.

P.S. For that we wer very neere to sett saile, I most humbly beseech your Honor to pardon my pen, for that I am forced to writ the very copy of that letter which I have sent to my Lord Chancellor. Sence the writteng hereof I have spoken with an Ynglishman, which cam from Dunckerck yesterday, who sayeth, upon his lyfe ther is no feare of the flett; yeat would I willingly see it.

Your Honour's ever,

FRA. DRAKE.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

MOST HONORABLE,

11th August, 1588.

THE soden sending for of my very good Lord, my Lord Admeral, hath cawsed me to screibell these fewe lynes, fyrst, most humbly beseeching your honor to delyver this letter unto her Majestie as a testyfycatyon of my Lord Admerall's most honorable usage of me in this accyon, wher it hath pleased his good Lordship to except of that which I have somtymes spoken, and

commended that lettell servis which I was abell, much better then ether of them bothe I was abell to deserve,—wherein yf I have not performed as much as was lowked for, yeat I perswade my self his good Lordship will confesse I have byne dutifull. Towching any other cawsses that ether hath byne done, or is to be done, lett me pray pardon of your honor, for I assure your Honor that my Lord Admerall hath so suffycyently instructed hymself dayly, as I faythfully beleve his good Lordship will throwghly satisfye her Majestie and your Honor what is now best to be done; thus humbly takyng my leave, I besech God to bless the work of her Majestie's hands allways. Written abourd her Majestie's good ship the Reveng, at mydnyght, this 11th August, 1588.

Your Honor's faythfully
to be comanded,

FRA. DRAKE.

To the Right Honorable
Sir Fraancis Walsingham, knight.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE.

1588.

Summary of the Spanish losses—Libels of the late Spanish Ambassador on the British Officers—Drake's reply—Public thanksgiving—Queen's procession to St. Paul's—Letters of the Lord High Admiral and Sir Francis Drake, relative to the late invasion—The fleet is paid off.

THE disasters which befel the Armada in its passage along the western coast of Ireland were most deplorable. The loss of officers and men by shipwreck and sickness exceeded that which they had previously experienced in the English Channel and the North Sea. By one account, made out with great care, it would appear that in the British Channel and the North Sea fifteen ships were lost, and on the west coast of Ireland seventeen others; and that the loss of life on board these thirty-two vessels must have exceeded ten thousand souls, exclusive of those who were slain in fight, or died of sickness and famine. But if the statement be correct that the utmost number of ships which reached the Spanish ports did not exceed sixty, the loss must have been much greater. Hakluyt says—

“Of one hundred and four and thirty sail, that came out of Lisbon, only three and fifty returned to Spain. Of the four galiasses of Naples, but one the like of the four largest galleons of Portugal; of the one and ninety galleons and great hulks, from divers provinces, only three and thirty returned. In a word, they lost eighty-one ships in this expedition, and upwards of thirteen thousand five hundred soldiers.”

It may easily be conceived how severe the shock must have been to Philip, when he received the intelligence of the defeat and destruction of his *Invincible* Armada. He is said, however, to have borne his disappointment well, and to have returned thanks to God that it was no worse. He could not, however, overlook

the conduct of those whose disobedience to his orders had in some degree led to the ill-success of the enterprise. Against the Duke of Medina Sidonia, in particular, his anger was so much excited, that he gave orders he should never again appear at court: but the duchess, who was extremely beautiful, and a great favourite with the king, prevailed on his Majesty to rescind the order, and again to receive him into favour. But Don Diego de Valdez, who was considered to have been the person who misled the Duke, was sentenced to be imprisoned in the castle of Saint Andrea, and was never seen or heard of afterwards. Don Pedro de Valdez remained a prisoner in England between two and three years; and was only released on a ransom of about 3000*l*.

The conclave of the Vatican did not bear their disappointment so well as the king had done! His Holiness the Pope, the cardinals, priests, monks, and Jesuits, were exasperated beyond bounds, not only at the defeat of the Armada, which they had pronounced Invincible, but because the falsification of all their prophecies against England would bring them into discredit throughout Europe. The defeat of the Armada was known in Paris immediately after the dispersion of the fleet by the fire-ships off Calais; yet after it was so known, Mendoza, the late ambassador to London, kept his printing-press at work to disseminate lies against the Queen, the Lord High Admiral, and Sir Francis Drake.

“But however coolly,” says Stow, “Philip might take the disastrous account of his Armada, his ambassador in France, Don Bernardin Mendoza, and his tool, one Capella, were industrious enough to spread false reports in print, claiming a victory for Spain. So blindly did his impudence and indignation carry him, that he dispersed his lies in French, Italian, and Spanish, pretending he had received advices from London, that the Queen’s High Admiral had been taken by the Spanish Admiral, and that he saved himself in a boat, and that Drake was either taken or slain; that the Catholics, perceiving her navy to be spoiled, had made a mutiny, which induced the Queen to take the field in person, and that it is affirmed, as true, that no ship nor boat of the Spaniards had been carried into England, except the ship of Don Pedro de Valdez.”

Strype says that one of Mendoza’s own friends pointed out to him the baseness of his conduct in the following terms:—

“ I marvel, good Sir, to see a man of so noble a lineage, and no less endued with gifts of nature than others, should have your ears so opened to hear the rumours and lies which the scoffing and gibling flatterers do write you ; and I wonder not so much in that you credit them, as at the speed wherewith your honour doth write them. Your honour writeth to Spain that it is a matter most true that the Lord High Admiral was come, running away with twenty-five or twenty-six ships, unto London, and that he had lost his flagship ; and that Drake was taken prisoner ; and that this was written for a matter most certain by persons of credit from London.”

This fabulous gazette of Don Bernardin was translated into English, and published under the title of ‘ A pack of Spanish Lies, sent abroad into the world, translated out of the original, and now ripp’d up, unfolded, and, by just examination, condemned, as containing false, corrupt, and detestable wares, worthy to be damn’d and burnt.’

Though Drake very rarely gave himself the trouble to answer personal abuse, yet, on the present occasion, he published an admirable and spirited letter, which proves that he was no less able to vanquish a libeller with his pen than an enemy with his sword.

“ They were not ashamed,” he says, “ to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in words, which they pretended to have obtained against this realm, and spread the same in a most false sort over all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere ; when, shortly after, it was happily manifested in very deed to all nations, how their navy, which they termed invincible, consisting of one hundred and forty sail of ships, not only of their own kingdom, but strengthened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal carracks, Florentines, and large hulks of other countries, were, by thirty of Her Majesty’s own ships of war, and a few of our merchants, by the wise, valiant, and advantageous conduct of the Lord Charles Howard, High Admiral of England, beaten and shuffled together even from the Lizard in Cornwall, first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdez, with his mighty ship : from Portland to Calais, where they lost Hugh de Moncado, with the galleys of which he was captain ; and from Calais, driven with squibs from their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England round about Scotland and Ireland ; where, for the sympathy of their religion, hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them were crushed against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were, notwithstanding, broken, slain, and taken ; and so sent from village to village, coupled in halters to be shipped into England, where Her Majesty, of her princely and invincible disposition disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain, or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their countries to witness and recount the worthy

achievement of their invincible and dreadful navy. Of which the number of soldiers, the fearful burthen of their ships, the commanders' names of every squadron, with all other, their magazines of provisions, were put in print, as an army and navy irresistible and disdaining prevention; with all which their great terrible ostentation they did not, in all their sailing round about England, so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cockboat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheepcote on this land."

It is said that the Spanish noblemen and the officers of the Armada had made a specific division among themselves of all the noblemen's estates in England; and had in fact apportioned out the kingdom among themselves: the houses of the rich merchants in London, which were to be given as plunder to the soldiers and sailors, were also systematically registered. The extent to which this vain anticipation was carried, appears to us the less incredible when we remember that, in our own days, a foe as inveterate as Philip, with means more formidable, and hatred more intense, and also of far greater talents, encouraged his myrmidons to the invasion of our shores, by the same audacious partition of our lands and property.

While among the Spaniards the loss was so great that there was scarcely a family of any distinction throughout the kingdom which was not in mourning, England everywhere resounded with acclamations of joy; in which all the Protestant nations of Europe participated; whilst poets and painters employed their talents to celebrate the joyful issue of the contest.

Nor was the Queen backward in acknowledging, in the most public and solemn manner, her gratitude to Almighty God for the signal victory his providence had granted her.

"At a council held at Greenwich the third of November, 1588, at which all the great officers of state were present, a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, lettinge his lordship to understande that Her Majestie's expresse pleasure and comandment was, that order should be given by his Lordship in all the dioceses under his Lordship's province, to the severall bishoppes, curates, and mynisters, to appoint some speciall daye wherein all the realme might concur in givinge publique and generall thanckes unto God with all devocion and inward affection of hearte and humblenesse, for his gratyous favor extended towards us in our deliverance and defence, in the wonderfull overthrow and destruction showed by his mightie hand on our malytious enemyes the Spanyardes, whoe had thought to invade and make a conquest of the realme.

"The lyke letter wrytten unto the deane and chapter of the byshoprick of

Yorke to take the same order within the Dyocese of that B: as was in all points specyfyed in the former letter." *

The Queen also directed a public and solemn thanksgiving to be made at the metropolitan church of St. Paul: on which occasion all the trophies taken from the enemy were carried in procession, and deposited in the church; and she then distributed rewards to the Lord High Admiral and the officers and seamen of the fleet.

Several medals were struck in England in memory of the defeat of the Armada. One in particular was specially in honour of the Queen. It represented ships in flames proceeding towards a fleet which was making off in great hurry and confusion; its inscription, *Dux femina facti*, alluded to the circumstance, generally believed at the time, that it was Elizabeth herself who, on hearing that the Armada had anchored before Calais, threw out the hint to Lord Charles Howard of the expediency of sending some fire-ships among them. There is no direct evidence of this: but in a letter alluding to the success of the measure, the Lord Admiral says, "the bearer came in good time on board this ship, and brings with him as good knowledge as we could wish." Another medal, representing a flying fleet, had this inscription, "*Venit, vidit, fugit.*" The Zealanders had several medals struck: one, on which was the Spanish fleet scattered in great confusion, bore the motto, "*Impius fugit, nemine sequente.*"

Although the secession of the Duke of Parma from the enterprise, and the destitute state of the Spanish fleet, might have removed all apprehension of a renewal of hostilities from any quarter, yet it appears from the letters of the Lord High Admiral and Sir Francis Drake, that they deemed it very expedient to keep their fleet together.

LORD EFFINGHAM TO THE QUEEN.

MY MOST GRASIOUS SOFEREN,

22 Aug. 1588.

The graet goodnes of your Majestie towards me, that hathe so lyttell desarved, dowthe make me in case that I know not how to wryght to your Majestie how mucche I am bound to you for your infynyte goodneses, nor chaann be ancered by any wayse but with the spend of my blud and lyfe in

* Council Register, H. M. Council Office.

your Majestie's sarvis, wyche I wyll be as redy and as wylling to dow as ever cretur that lyved was for ther prynee.

My most grasious Ladie, with graet gryfe I must wryght unto you in what state I fynd your flyte in heer. The infescion is growne verry graet, and in many shypse, and now verry dangerous; and those that comme in freshe are sonest infected: they sicken the on day and dy the next: it is a thyng that ever folloethe such graet sarvyses, and I dowt not but with good care and Godse goodnes, wyche dowthe alwayse bles your Majestie and yourse, it wyll quenche agayne. The course that we heer thynk meet to be kepte, bothe for the sarvis as also for the safte of your Majestie's pepell, we have wryghten at large unto my lords of your Majestie's Pryvy Councell, to informe your Majestie, and have also sent this berrer, Mr. Tho. Fenor, who is both wyse and chann informe your Majestie how all things standethe heer. And because it requyerethe sped and resolucion of your Majestie, I dow leve to trowble your Majestie any farder. Preyinge to the Almyghtie God to make your Majestie to lyve mor hapyer dayse then ever cretur that lyved on the erthe. From Dover, the 22 of August.

Your Majestie's most bound, most
faythfull and obedient sarvant,

C. HOWARD.

Evne as I had wryghten thus muche, Mr. E. Noreys chame, woose advertysement dowth alter the case muche.

To the Queen's most
Excelent Majestie.

LORD EFFINGHAM AND SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

SIR,

27th August, 1588.

Apone your letter I sent presentlie for Sir F. Drake, and showed him the desier that heer Majestie had for the interceptyng of the king's tresur from the Indias, and so we considered of it, and nether of us fyndyng any shypse heer in the flyte anywise able to goo such a voyage, befor they have byne aground, wych chanot be downe in any plase but at Chatham; and now that this spryng is so far past, it wyll be *fourteen dayse* befor they chan be grounded. And wher you wryght that I shuld make nobody aquaynted with it but Sir F. Drake, it is verry strange to me that anny body chan thynk that yf it wer that if the smalest barks weer to be sent out, but that the offysers must know it; for this is not as if a man wold send but over to the cost of Frauce. I dare asure you Sir F. Drake, who is a man of jugment and aquaynted with it, wyll tell you what must be downe for such a journey. Belike it is thowght the ilands be but heer by; it is not thought how the yeer is spent. I thowght it good, therefore, to send with all sped Sir F. D., althowghe he be not very well, to inform you ryghtly of all, and look what shall be then thowght meet. I wyll dow my indevor with all the powr I maye, for I protest before God I would gyve all that I have that it weer met withall, for that blo, after this he hath, wold mak him safe. Sir, for Sir Thos. Morgayne and the dischargyng of shypse I will deell with all

when the spryng* is past, but befor I dare not venture; for them of London I dow not heer of them it (yet) but those that be with my cosyne Knivet. Sir, I send you heer inclosed *a note of the money* that Sir F. Drake had abourd Don Pedro. I did take now at my comynge downe 3000 pystolets, as I told you I wold, for by Jesus I had not three pounds lefte in the worlde, and had nor anythinge coulede geet mony in London. And I dow assur you my plat has gone befor, but I wyll repay it within ten days after my comyng home. I pray you let her Majestie know so; and by the Lord God of hevne I had not one crown mor, and had it not byne meer nesesite I wold not have touched one; but if I had not sum to have bestoed apon sum pour and myserable men I should have wyshed myselfe out of the worlde. Sir, let me not lyve longer then I shall be most wylling to dow all sarvys, and to take any paynse I chan for her Majestie's sarvis. I thynk Sir F. Drake wyll say I have lyttell rest, day or nyght. The Ark, in Dover A. D., the 27 of August (1588).

Your most assured,

C. HOWARD.†

To my verie lovinge freinde,
Mr. Secretarie Walsinghame,
at the Courte.

In the course of the month of September the Queen's ships were paid off; and those of the merchant adventurers returned to their usual occupation.

It is stated in Lediard's 'Naval History of England' that ten sail of the Armada were cast away on the coast of Ireland, among which were one of the great galeasses and two Venetian ships, the Batta and Belangara; that those of their crews who escaped shipwreck and reached the shore were all put to the sword, or perished by the hand of the executioner, the Lord Deputy fearing they should join with the rebels. The following letter in the State Paper Office is almost conclusive evidence that this was not the case:—

TO THE LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND.

OUR VERY GOOD LORD,

14th Sept. 1588.

IMEDATLY after the writing of or last letters to yo^r Lp. we went whcare we hard the Spanyarde were, and mett them at Sr John O'Dogherty is towne called Illagh. We sent unto them to know who they were, and what their intent was, or why they did invade any pte. of the Queene's Ma^{ty}. domynion, their aunswer was that they did sett foorth to invade England, and were pcell of the fleete w^{ch} was overthrowen by her Ma^{ty} navy, and that they

* *i. e.* Spring-tides.

† These letters are copied from MSS in the State Paper Office.

were dryven tether by force of wether. Whereupon we (pceiving that they were in nombre above vjc men) did incamp that night wthin muskett shott of them, being in nombre not passing vij^{xx} men [here in the hand-writing of Lord Burleigh is this note: '*A bold attempt of 140 against 600*']; and the same nyght about midnyght did skirmish wth them for the space ii houres, and in that skyrnish did slay their lieutenant of the fealde and above xx^v more beside the hurting of a great number of their men: so as in the next day (in skyrnishing wth them) they were forced to yeld themselves, and we lost but one soldior: nowe O'Donill and wee are come wth some of them to Dongainne, meaning to go wth them wthout companies to yo^r Lp. And therefore we humbly besech yo^r honour to graunte warr^t for victling of them, as the prysoner^s are very weake, and unable to travaile, we desire yo^r Lp. (yf yo^u shall so thinke meete) to gyve direcon for leveyings of horses and garrans to cary them to Dublin. The best of them secmeth to cary some kinde of maiesty, and hath ben governor of thirty thousand men this xxiiij years past; the rest of the prysoners are men of greate calling, and such as in o^r oppynion were not amyse to be questioned wthall. So we humbly take our leave. From Dongainne, the xiiij of September, 1588.

Your most humble,

RICH. HOVENDEN,
HENRY HOVENDEN.*

The Lord Deputy
of Ireland.
Haste.

* MS., State Paper Office.

CHAPTER XI.

EXPEDITION TO THE GROYNF (CORUNNA), AND LISBON.

1589.

Reasons for attacking Spain—Petition of Don Antonio, a candidate for the Crown of Portugal—Sir F. Drake and Sir J. Norris appointed to command the Expedition—Letters of Sir J. Norris and Sir F. Drake to Lord Burleigh—Attack on Corunna—Gallant conduct of a Female—Description of the attack by Norris and by Drake—Essex joins them—Arrival at Peniche—Norris marches for Lisbon—Drake sails for Cascais—Proceedings before Lisbon—Proceedings at Cascais—Embark at Cascais—The Fleet is dispersed in a Storm—Arrive at Plymouth—Case of Lord Essex.

ELIZABETH was soon convinced that, in the present temper of the Roman Catholics of Spain, no peace on honourable terms could be entered into with Philip; and that the honour and safety of the nation required the most vigorous measures to be pursued, without waiting for the visit of a second Armada. Spain not only still held out threats, but preparations were understood to be actually making in her western ports for the attempt; it was therefore deemed the wisest policy to show them that England was as able to attack as to defend.

“When,” says Camden, “the Queen had shown this example of terror (the trial and condemnation of the Earl of Arundel) at home, to make herself equally feared abroad, and pursue the victory which Providence had given her over the Spaniards, conceiving it to be both more safe and honourable to attack the enemy than to stand an assault from them, she suffered a fleet to put to sea upon an expedition against Spain. This Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake did generously and frankly undertake, at their own and some other private men’s charge, and with very little expense to the Queen’s purse, except the fitting out of a few men of war; for, indeed, they were fully convinced that the power of Spain lay rather in common fancy and opinion, than in any real strength they were masters of. The agreement between them was this—that whatever prizes they took should be shared among them by a fair and equal dividend. But it happened that there came not in so many to this expedition as was expected.

“The States added some ships, although they were at present displeased with the English, because Wingfield, governor of Gertruydenburgh, and the English garrison of that place, had betrayed the town to the Spaniard. The present fleet was reckoned to consist of 11,000 soldiers and 1500 sailors. Don Antonio, the bastard prior of Crato (a natural son of the royal family of Portugal), with a few Portuguese, joined them; for he, it seems, laying claim to the Crown of Portugal by a popular election (for by the laws of that kingdom bastards are not excluded), had made the English mighty promises, hoping, we may suppose, to recover the kingdom by the help of these forces, the revolt of the Portuguese from the Spaniard, and the assistance of Muley Hamet, King of Morocco.”

Drake, always ready in his country's cause, as soon as he received the Queen's commands to prepare an expedition, in conjunction with General Sir John Norris, lost no time in taking the necessary steps for fitting out the ships to be employed. The Queen furnished the following ships:—

Ships.	Naval Commanders.	Military Commanders.
The Revenge	Sir Francis Drake	Sir John Norris.
Dreadnought	Capt. Thos. Fenner	Sir Edward Norris.
Aid	Capt. Wm. Fenner	Sir Henry Norris.
Nonpareil	Capt Sackville	Sir Roger Williams.
Foresight	Capt. Wm. Winter	Capt. Williams.
Swiftsure	Capt. Goring.	

The fleet of merchant-adventurers, and of transports for the conveyance of the soldiers, amounted to eighty, or, according to some accounts, to one hundred and forty sail.

No two commanders could have been chosen better qualified to conduct this expedition. Sir John Norris was a highly distinguished soldier, had seen much service on the continent and in Ireland, and held a chief command during the period that country was threatened by the Spaniards; he had also served under Coligny in the religious wars of France. Many of the other officers were distinguished men. But these expeditions, mixed up of war and traffic, so common in those days, how well soever conducted, were rarely successful: nor was the present one any exception to the rule. It was detained, wind-bound, a whole month at Plymouth. Of its promised forces, six hundred English horses, seven old companies from the Low Countries, and four Dutch companies never joined it; and it was put to great expense by the consumption of provisions whilst at Plymouth. These were serious losses to the generals and the

merchant adventurers; and many complaints were received by the commanders. Both the Generals earnestly called on Lord Burleigh for a supply of money and provisions. Drake's letter was as follows:—

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE LORD HIGH TREASURER.

April, 1589.

RIGHTE HONOURABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORDE,

I did never write to your Lordship with so discontentede a minde as I doe now. The cause is (as it maie please your Lordship) in that it pleaseth God to staie our forces in harbrough by contrarie windes; whereby our victualls have beene and doe dailie consume without doeing anie service: which (if God favor us not with a tymelie winde) must needes be the onlie meanes that the accion will be dissolvede: We have used our best meanes as longe as we coulde to upholde the service, as farre as our owne abilities, and the creditte of our freends could anie waie be stretchede to serve our turnes: butt for that the numbers of our men are so manie, and our dailie charge so greate by reason of our staie, we are no further able to continewe the same as we have donne. If this action beinge broughte to that perfection (as we are readie to take the first goode winde that shall blowe) should nowe be dissolved by reason of anie particular wantes, the dishonour therein must needes be graate to her Majestie: The losse not a litle to us, and suche as are adventurers, and the clamour of the numbers which must be discharged most intollerable: who must needes and will be satisfiede of their paie for the tyme of their service, at her Majesties hands, or ours; and ourselves no waie able to accomlishe it: Wherefore I have thought it my duetie to acquaint your Lordship herewith, for the consideracion of the greatnes of the cause: humblie beseechinge your Lordship to move to her Majestie herewith: that present order maie be sente the Leivetenants and Justices of the peace of the Sheires next adioyning, or to Mr. Darell: whome your Lordship maie depute as Commissioners in that behalf. That by the countrie adioyning, our presente necessitie maie be suppliede: where we might have sufficiente enoughe, if we had present monies to make satisfaccion accordinglie. Thus I humblie take my leave of your Lordship.

From Plymouthe, this (not dated) of Aprill, 1589.

Your Lordship's allwaies readie

to be commaundede

(signed) FRA: DRAKE.*

To the Ryght Honorable
my verie good Lorde
the Lord high Treasurer
of England.

In the next letter Sir Francis Drake alludes to the intention

* MS. State Paper Office.

CALLED

The whole in perille for that the

and redy to invade

proceeding to the sea

more of your Maestie

with their penaces which ar

assured, with God's

ing as we have vittual

with, and I hope

sort as shall

Maestie. I have not

thought

gathered

of the

the gover

Maestie

OUT

of the Earl of Essex to join the fleet as a volunteer. The Queen had given orders to the commanders of the expedition to find him out (for no one knew where he was), and to send him to Court.

SIR F. DRAKE TO THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

19 April, 1589.

MOST HONOURABLE AND MY ESPECIALL GOOD LORD,

For that we now understand that her Majestie is pleased to releve us with som vittuall, I thincke yf it shall so please your Lordship that Captayne Crosse will be a very meett man to be sent after us with the sam vittuall, for that we have aqwaynted hym throughly with the particullers of the statt of our army, and cann judge well wher to fynd us uppon the cost of Spayne uppon such advertisments as I have geven hym. This cawse of the Erll of Essex hath been and is very great truble unto us, for that we hyere contynewally that his Lordships abyding is uncertayne in any one partyculler place. We have sent bothe by sea and land and dow dayly exspecte to hyer from his Lordship.

Yf his Lordship be not gonn for the cost of France, we shall meett with hym very shortly, for that we have great hope of this fayer wether, when we shall dow our best endeavoures for the satisfyeing of her Majesties expresse commaundement in sending his Lordship to the court.

God geve us a good wynd as we hope well; that ther may be some pleasinger matter to writ unto your good Lordship. Humbly takyng my leave this 19th of Aprell, 1589, from about her Majesties ship the Reveng.

Your good Lordships humbly

at commandment
(signed) FRA: DRAKE.*

At length the expedition put to sea; but the wind for two days continued cross, and many of the ships, as might be expected in such a heterogeneous mass, were dispersed, and never again joined; several of these were transports, which were either not able, or not willing, to double Ushant. The number of men missing is said to have been nearly 3000, some having got into France, and some to England. The weather, however, soon moderated, and five days brought them into the bay of Corunna (corrupted into Groyne), where the ships anchored about a mile below the town.

The best and fullest account of this expedition was published in the year 1589, and bears this title: 'A true Coppie of a Discourse, written by a gentleman, employed in the late Voyage

* MS. State Paper Office.

of Spain and Portingale.' It says that some of the galleons fired upon them and the companies as they passed to and fro the first night. The next day they attacked the lower town on three sides, and carried it without much resistance, and found an immense quantity of wine and oil. They took the governor Don Juan de Luna prisoner, with some other persons of note, and destroyed a large quantity of ammunition and stores which had been sent thither for the new expedition intended against England. About five hundred Spaniards are said to have been killed "in the heat of the plunder;" and several of the English lost their lives, not by the enemy, but by their indulgence in the wine-cellars, by which great sickness was caused among the troops. The quantity of wine consumed, carried away, and destroyed, is said to have amounted to about 2000 pipes, collected for the use of the next Spanish expedition.

The Spaniards themselves set fire to a very large ship which lay in the harbour, and which burnt for two days together. They did this to prevent her from falling into the hands of the invaders, and the Spaniards loaded her guns to such a degree that four-and-thirty of them burst. This was the galleon San Juan, one of the few which had escaped the general wreck of the Armada.

Preparations were now made for besieging the upper town. Near one of the gates was a convent dedicated to St. Domingo; the general ordered it to be occupied; and from the upper part of the building they fired into the town. On the following night it was intended to get possession of a long munition-house built upon the wall; but the Spaniards, suspecting the intention, set fire to it themselves. In the mean time a large fire broke out in the lower part of the town, which had it not been speedily got under by the General's precaution of pulling down the adjacent houses, all the provision stores would have been consumed, to the great inconvenience of the English. By this time General Norris had taken a survey of the walls, which he found to be in most places based upon rock; one particular point, however, admitted the working of a mine. After three days' labour it was deemed ready for springing; but it failed. Two days after a second mine was sprung; the explosion brought down half the tower under which it had been made. The breach was pronounced practicable, and immediately assaulted: but when the men

gained the summit, the other half of the tower fell, and crushed the chief engineer; and Captains Sydenham and Kersey were killed, together with a great many inferior officers and men.

Captain Sydenham was found with three or four large stones upon his lower extremities, so wedged in that neither he himself could stir, nor were the company about him able to release him, notwithstanding the next day he was still alive. Around him were the bodies of eight or ten men, who had been shot by the Spaniards while endeavouring to extricate their officer.

The General having planted his ordnance, summoned the town in the usual form by a drum; the drummer was shot at; but the Spaniards immediately hung the man who had fired at him; saying they only wanted fair war, and would promise on their part to observe it.

A breach having been made in the convent garden wall, some officers and men entered it, pike in hand, but were opposed at the summit by the Spaniards, who had prepared all means of defence; and were encouraged, as Mr. Southey says, on the authority of Gondara, by the masculine exertions of Maria Pita, the wife of an alferéz, or ensign, who,

“ With a spirit which women have more often displayed in Spain than in any other country, snatched up sword and buckler, and took her stand among the foremost of the defendants; and so much was ascribed by the people to the effect of her example, that she was rewarded for this service with the full pay of an ensign for life, and the half-pay was settled upon her descendants in perpetuity.”

It is moreover stated “ that this virago lost none of her courage at seeing her husband killed before her eyes, and that she wounded an English standard-bearer mortally with a lance.”

The assault was not renewed; and the failure was so complete that Sir John Norris determined to abandon an enterprise which he now considered hopeless. But to secure his embarkation, without being molested, he deemed it expedient to disperse a very large military force, under the Conde de Antrade, which was encamped behind the Puente de Burgos, waiting there to be joined by the troops of the Conde de Altamira, in order that, with their united strength, they should advance to the relief of the town, and cut off the retreat of the English.

The following extract from a joint letter of Sir John Norris

and Sir Francis Drake to the Privy Council will best describe their proceedings :—

EXTRACTED OUT OF A LETTER FROM SIR JOHN NORRIS AND
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO THE COUNCIL.

7th May, 1589.

EVEN as this letter was almost ended, certaine cumpanies of the Flemings being sent abroad on foraging brought in a prisoner whoe upon his lief assured us that theare weare 15,000 soldiers assembled and encamped verie strongelie at Puente de Burgos about 5 Englishe miles from us, under the conduct and commaundment of the Erles of Altamira and Andrada. Wheare-uppon on Tuesday the 6th of this present, wee marched towards them with 7000 soldiers, leaving the rest for the guard and siege of the towne, and encountringe with them, theie continued fighte the space of three quarters of an hower; and then we forced them to retire to the foote of a bridge, wheareon not above three could marche in ranke, and was about ten scoare in length, from whence (althowgh theie weare theare defended by some fortifications and had the benefitt and succour of certaine howses, and other places adjoining) theie weare followed with our shott and pikes, with such courage and fiercenes, as, after some fewe vollies on both sides, theie entred the bridge wheare in the middest, with the pushe of the pike, forced to make retreate into their trenches to the further foote of the bridge wheare theie encamped which also (being pursued) theie forsooke and betooke themselves to flighte abandonninge their weapons, bagge and baggage, and loste about 1000 in skirmishe and pursuite.

Had wee had either horse on lande, or some companies of Irish kerne to have pursued them, theare had none of them escaped; which cannot be but a notable dishonour to the Kinge, and in our opinions noe small furtherance to the service intended: Wee lost not above 2 common soldiers and one of the corporalls of the feeld. Sir Edward Norris, whoe ledd the vanntgard, grevouslie hurt with a blowe on the head, and Captaine Fulford shott in the arme. Capteine George shott in the left eie. Captaine Hinde wounded in three places of the head, but noe danger of lief in annie of them.

Thus it hath pleased God to geve her Majestie the victorie which wee have great hope to pursue elseweare with like success if we maie be succored with such necessaries as are neadefull: if not, wee can but doe our endeavours, and leave the rest to the consideracion of your Lordships, whome we humblie leave to the protection of the Almighty. From the Groine the 7th of Maye, 1589.*

Captain Fenner, in his account which is given in Birch's Memoirs, enters into a few more particulars :—

* MS. State Paper Office

“General Norris,” he says, “with 1700 men attempted the bridge, but was driven back. A second time he entered with Sir Edward Norris, Colonel Sidney, and Captain Cooper, and succeeded in driving back the Spaniards, beating them out of their entrenchments, and continued slaying them in pursuit for more than a mile, in which affair from 1200 to 1300 Spaniards were supposed to be slain: three English captains were killed, Sir Edward Norris and Colonel Sidney wounded. This service ended, and no hope left of gaining the higher town, for want of powder in the fleet, the General gave orders for the companies to re-embark.”

The following appears to have been the last letter written from this place:—

SIR F. DRAKE TO LORD BURGHLEY.

8 May, 1589.

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERIE GOOD LORDE,

The 23th of the last monethe we fell with Ortingall in Gallizea, the winde blowinge verie muche easterlie. And the daie followinge we landede at the Groyne 7000 of our men: where we had attemptede the takinge of the Base Towne the same nighte, if extreame raine and verie fowle weather had not lettete us. The 25th we assaultede the Base Towne bothe by sea and lande, and tooke it with the onlie losse of 20 of our men, and 500 of the enemye. The windes have beene allwaies contrarie since our cominge here, blowinge verie muche with a greate sea and continewall showres of raine, which did somewhatt lett the service. We founde at our cominge thither fower greate shippes, makinge readie with all expedicion for a freshe Armado against Englande. Emongest which there was the Gallion St. John, the Vize Admirall of the Kinge's last fleete, which is burnt, and the other three taken: we have taken of the enemies in this place, out of the shippes, and towne, verie neere 150 peices ordinaunce: and have made spoile of manie greate provisions in readines for this newe armye. To deferre the tyme beinge staiede in by contrarie windes, wee layede batterie to the hiegher towne, findinge it to be stronglie defended, by reason of divers companies of old souldiers which were remayning there readie to goe fourth in this armye. The 5th of this monethe we tooke a souldier in the countrie: by whome we understood howe the Governors of the countrie had assemblede by rowle 15,000 olde souldiers and men of the countrie which (as we since heare) are but 10,000. Being shortlie advertisede that they had entrenched themselves within 5 miles of us, we thought it meete, uppon consultacion had the next morning, to salley fourth with 7000 of our men: who understanding our forces to come nighe unto them resolved to fighte, where it pleaseth God to allot us the victorie, which is no litle quailing to the enemye. My opinion is that great happines is fallen to our Queene and countrie by our cominge hither, where we staie untill God sende us a fair winde. If there had been good reckoninge made at first of the necessitie of this service, we should not then have needed these particular wants of victuall, cannon, and powder.

The wante of the one maketh us to leave some services halfe donne; and the other to seeke meate to live: whereof if there be no speedie supplie made, it maie be the cause to hinder suche an action as I shall not live to see the like, to performe great matters at so convenient a tyme.

Thus I humblie take my leave of your good Lordship; from the Groine this 8th of Maye, 1589.

Your good Lordships humblie
to be comaundede,
(Signed) FRA: DRAKE.

To the Right Honourable
my verie goode Lorde the Lord Burghley
L: hieghe Treasurer of England.*

Having plundered and burnt the enemy's camp, the lower town, and all the adjacent villages, they re-embarked the troops without any loss of men; and on the 10th made sail down the coast of Portugal, and were joined at sea by the Earl of Essex, bringing with him some ships laden with corn for the use of the fleet. The Earl was accompanied by his brother Walter Devereux, Sir Roger Williams, Sir Philip Butler, and Sir Edward Wingfield.

"This young nobleman," says Camden, "was supposed to be urged to join the expedition, partly from a thirst after glory, and partly from a hatred he bore to the Spaniards, and also from the generous motive of a compassionate feeling towards the exiled Don Antonio; whatever might have been his motives or ambition that made him quit the pleasures of a court, to try his fortune at sea and on the field of battle, he joined the expedition, without the Queen's leave or approbation."

"Essex," says one of the pamphlets of the day, "is considered by us as the child of Mars, descended from a heroic and warlike family, a youth of lofty and enlightened mind, a great favourite of the people, the nobility, and the Queen, with a resolution to suffer and undergo all dangers, and rather than not be present at so splendid an expedition, he preferred being a private soldier without any command than to remain at home in high favour with every one, surrounded by a herd of courtiers." And the 'True Copy of the Discourse' says, "The Earle havinge put himself into the journey against the opinion of the world, and, as it seemed, to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, and as the honorable carriage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highly esteemed at home, so did his exceeding forwardness in all services make him to be wondered at amongst us. After his coming into the fleet, to the great rejoicing of us all, he demanded of the General, that he might always have the leading of the van-guard, which he readily yielded unto, as being desirous to satisfie him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honour as this did."

* MS. State Paper Office.

The expedition arrived in nine days at Pepiche, about forty miles from Lisbon; and here the troops were disembarked with the loss of a boat and above twenty men in the surf. Two troops were placed under the command of Essex, one of which he left to protect the landing, and with the other advanced towards the town to attack some Spanish troops that came out to oppose him. These troops not being proof against the push of the pike, fled, and he entered the open town without opposition, and summoned the castle, which the commandant readily surrendered to Don Antonio, acknowledging him as his king.

Sir John Norris decided on proceeding at once by land, and Sir Francis Drake promised to meet him at Lisbon. Such a promise could only be conditional. The True Discourse says that when they were all marshalled and ready to march, Drake,

“To make known the honourable desire he had of taking equal part in all fortune with them, stood upon the ascent of a hill by which the battalions marched, and, with a pleasing kindness, took his leave severally of the commanders of every regiment, wishing them happy success, with a constant promise that *if the weather did not hinder him*, he would meet them at Lisbon with the fleet.”

In the march to Lisbon, Don Antonio, who was with the army, expected that the nobility and chiefs of the country would have met him, and tendered their allegiance to him with the offer of such forces as they might be able to raise to support his claim to the throne; but no one appeared except a company of poor peasants, without hose or shoes, and one gentleman, who presented him with a basket of cherries and plums. The troops, on their way, took the town of Torres Vedras, with little or no resistance, except a few skirmishes, in all of which the Spaniards had the worst of it; and on the 25th they came before Lisbon.

The suburbs of St. Katharine or Bonavista were taken without opposition; but the army was received with coldness and indifference, and not the least inclination was apparent on the part of the people to declare for the Prince, or to render him any assistance: nor were there any tidings of the ships and men which Antonio had been promised by the Emperor of Morocco. The army was from day to day diminished by sickness, their provisions were rapidly decreasing, they were deficient in ammunition, and had not even a field-piece by which they could blow down one of the gates of Lisbon.

On one occasion Essex not only pursued the Spaniards to the very gates of Lisbon, but would have rushed in with them had not his friend Sir Roger Williams held him back by main force. On another occasion he is said to have actually knocked at one of the gates of the city.

For an army to march into the interior of an enemy's country, and up to the very walls of a large fortified city, without the common implements and ammunition of war, seems to have been a most extraordinary error of judgment. Captain William Fenner, who calls the whole expedition, from first to last, "a miserable action," thus describes their position before Lisbon:—

"The want of a single piece to make a breach or shoot against the gates prevented the English from taking it.—The want of match among the soldiers, and of powder for their muskets, forced them to retire, when the Spaniards would sally out, in the habits of Portuguese, crying *amigos*, and slay the sick in the rear of the army; disregarding their wants, sick and sound together. Three captains, the Provost Marshal and Lieutenant of Ordnance being mortally wounded, were left behind for want of carriage."

Sir William Monson ascribes the loss of Lisbon to the want of field-pieces; for, he says,

"The strength consisting in the castle, and we having only an army to countenance us, but no means for battery, we were the loss of the victory ourselves; for it was apparent, by the intelligence we received, if we had presented them with battery, they were resolved to parley, and so, by consequence, to yield, and this was the main and chief reason of the Portuguese excuse for not joining with us."

Seeing there was nothing further to be done here, the army began its march to join Drake at Cascais. They were followed at a distance by a large body of Spanish troops; and it was announced to the General, by one of his scouts, that a certain Don Peter Henry de Guzman (Conde de Fuentes), who had 6000 foot soldiers and 500 horse, had pitched his camp not more than 2000 paces from the English army, and had proclaimed that they had been routed at Lisbon, and put to flight. Norris, highly indignant at this, sent the Don a letter at daylight, under his own hand, by a trumpeter, informing him that with his army, such as it was, he should be with him before noon to confute his falsehoods, not by words, but arms, if he would only wait for his advance, and that then a trial should be made whether an Englishman or a Spaniard would be the first to run away.

At the same time, and by the same messenger, the Earl of Essex challenged him, or any other Spaniard of his rank, to single combat ; or, if Don Peter had no taste for it himself, that ten Englishmen should try their hands with ten Spaniards. This gallant Count, however, not relishing any of these proposals, disappeared with the whole of his force in the middle of the night. The trumpeter, with English pertinacity, followed him nearly to Lisbon ; but could get no answer to either of the letters, except threatening to hang him for daring to bring such messages ; but the General had written, on the back of the passport, that if any violence was offered to his messenger, he would hang the best of his Spanish prisoners.

Drake had, in the first instance, taken possession of the town of Cascais, the inhabitants having abandoned it on his landing ; but on giving his assurance of protection and peaceable intentions, they returned ; he, however, requiring of them that they would acknowledge Antonio as their sovereign, and supply the fleet with provisions and necessaries. The castle affected to hold out : but Drake soon made them surrender, and blew up a great portion of it. He seized sixty sail of ships belonging to the Hanse towns, which, in defiance of the Queen's prohibition, had arrived there laden with corn and all manner of naval stores, evidently designed for a second attempt against England. He had already in his passage to Cascais fallen in with and taken many ships carrying provisions and naval stores to Lisbon ; and some, also, of considerable burden, nearly empty, and evidently built as ships of war.

The army, having reached Cascais, and everything being prepared, lost no time in re-embarking ; but the fleet was dispersed in a gale, and for seventeen days kept the sea before they could reach Vigo ; in which interval they cast a great many of the men into the sea, who died daily, not only from a fearful sickness raging among them, but from absolute hunger ; and it is said that many more must have perished from lack of food, had not the dreadful mortality been the means of thinning their ranks, and thus leaving an increased allowance for the survivors. In this deplorable state, it was deemed expedient to land, and obtain provisions by force of arms or otherwise. They found the number of their effective men not to exceed 2000 : with these

they landed and approached the town on two sides; and though the streets were barricadoed, the inhabitants made no resistance, the greater part having withdrawn, and carried with them everything of value, except a good store of wine. The invaders, therefore, contented themselves with spoiling the country for a few miles round, burning the villages and the standing corn; and then, after setting fire to the town, re-embarked.

It was agreed that Drake should draft the able men into twenty of the best ships, and that he should take them to the Azores, in the hope of falling in with the Indian return fleet; and that Norris, with the rest of the armament, should proceed homewards. They had scarcely separated, when a violent storm arose; both the squadrons were dispersed; and when Norris, twelve days afterwards, reached Plymouth, he found that Drake had already arrived there with all the Queen's ships and several others; but that many of the merchant adventurers had taken the opportunity, which the storm afforded, of going their own way, and carrying the prizes with them, in order to turn them to their own advantage. At Plymouth the army was disbanded; and every soldier received five shillings and his arms.

"From this voyage," says Camden, "they returned into England with 150 pieces of great ordnance and a very rich booty; part of which was divided among the seamen, who began to mutiny, but could not satisfy them.

"Most men were of opinion that the English hereby answered all points, both of revenge and honour, having in so short a compass of time taken one town by storm, made a glorious assault upon another, driven before them a very potent army, landed their forces in four several places, marched seven days together in order of battle, and with colours flying, through the enemy's country, attacked a strong and flourishing city with a small handful of men, and lodged for three nights in the suburbs of it. Besides that, they beat the enemy back to the very gates after they had made a sally; took two castles lying on the sea, and spoiled the enemy of all their stores and ammunition.

"However, there were others who thought all this was no manner of equivalent for the damages sustained in this enterprise; the loss of soldiers and seamen by sickness alone amounting to 6,000.

"But most certain it is that England was so far a gainer by this expedition as from that time to apprehend no incursions from Spain, but rather to grow more warm and animated against that country."

Nothing could be worse than the system, then prevailing, of allowing volunteer adventurers to be united in expeditions with the naval and military forces of the nation; nor could a stronger

example of the evils resulting from it be selected than this expedition to Portugal.

It was said, also, that the two commanders quarrelled; but there does not appear in any of the narratives, nor in their correspondence, the least grounds for such an assertion. Blame was attempted to be cast on Sir Francis Drake, for having broken his promise to join the army at Lisbon. His promise, however, was conditional; as indeed all promises of this nature must be; but, says Monson,

“He did not keep his promise, and therefore he was much blamed by the common consent of all men, imputing the overthrow of the action to him. It will not excuse Sir Francis Drake, in his promise made to Sir John Norris, though I would utterly have accused him of want of discretion, if he had put the fleet to so great an adventure to so little purpose; for his being in the harbour of Lisbon was nothing to the taking of the castle, which was two miles from thence; and had the castle been taken, the town would have been taken of course.

“And, moreover, the ships could not furnish the army with more men or victuals than they had; wherefore I understand not wherein his going up was necessary, and yet the fleet was to endure many hazards to this little purpose. For, betwixt Cascaes and Lisbon there are three castles, St. Julian, St. Francis, and Belem. The first of the three, I hold one of the most impregnable forts, to seaward, in Europe, by which the fleet was to pass, within culliver-shot; though, I confess, the greatest danger was not the passing it for, with a reasonable gale of wind, any fort is to be passed with small hazard.”

Monson, however, considers the landing at the Groyne to have been the great mistake, the *origo malorum* :

“It was a lingering of the other design, a consuming of victuals, weakening of the armies by the immoderate drinking of the soldiers, which brought a lamentable sickness amongst them, a warning to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugal, and, what was more than all this, a discouragement to proceed farther, being repulsed in the first attempt.”

The letters, which the two commanders wrote from Plymouth, point out the ill effects which had ensued from the parsimony of the Government, even in the supply of articles absolutely necessary for the support of life. The Queen was anxious to avenge the insults of her enemies, and to carry the war into their country; and she contributed as far as her means would allow her: but the history of her reign shows the extreme difficulty

of raising the necessary supplies, and the defective system of warfare thence resulting.

The 'True Discourse,' however, maintains that one of the great purposes of the expedition, as a blow against Philip, was fully answered.

"In this short time of our adventure, we have wonne a towne by escalade, battered and assaulted another, overthrown a mighty prince's power in the field, landed our army in three several parts of his kingdom, marched seven days in the heart of his country, lyen three nights in the suburbes of his principal citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier forts; spoiled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groyne of all sorts, for a newe voyage into England, burnt three of his ships, whereof one was the second in the last expedition, taken from him 150 pieces of good artillarie, cut off more than 60 hulks, and 20 French ships well manned, fit and ready to serve him as men of warre against us, laden for his store with corn, victuals, masts, cables, and other merchandizes; slain and taken the principal men of warre he had in Galatia; and made Don Pedro de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, shamefully runne at Peniche."

It is quite certain that all the adventurers in this expedition were disappointed and dissatisfied; the destruction, instead of the capture, of ships and property diminished their share of booty, for which alone most of them had volunteered on the enterprise. Among others the Dutchmen made a demand of 5019*l.* on Drake and Norris for the services of forty-four vessels employed in the conveyance of troops; and about one-half that sum was allowed them.

But among the most disappointed of the adventurers, for he was strictly such, was the exiled Don Antonio. The case of this poor claimant of a throne was a most distressing one, and had now become more hopeless than ever. The Queen afforded him some temporary relief; but he had nothing more to expect in England, and therefore repaired to France, where he hoped to find friends; but in this he was disappointed, and wandering as an exile through the various countries of Europe, he died in Paris in the year 1595; at which time his only follower was a Portuguese noble, Don Diego Bothei, who attended his master to the last with unshaken fidelity, and only asked, as the reward of all his services, to be buried at his feet.

As to Essex, who embarked in the enterprise contrary to the Queen's commands, his fortunes were desperate at the time; but by some means or other he had succeeded in procuring a ship

well-armed and manned, in which he captured several prizes previous to his joining the expedition, and therefore had less cause to be disappointed than others.

The following letter to the Vice-Chamberlain was written by him before his departure for Portugal :—

SIR,

March, 1589.

WHAT my courses may have been I need not repeat, for no man knoweth them better than yourself. What my state is now, I will tell you : my revenue no greater than it was when I sued my livery ; my debts, at the least, two or three-and-twenty thousand pounds. Her Majesty's goodness hath been so great, as I could not ask more of her. No way left to repair myself but mine own adventure, which I had much rather undertake than to offend Her Majesty, with sutes, as I have done heretofore. If I speed well I will adventure to be rich ; if not, I will never leiev to see the end of my poverty. And so wishing that this letter, which I have left for you, may come to your hands, I commit you to God's good protection.

From my study some few days before my departure.

Your assured friend,

ESSEX.*

To my honourable friend,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.

This young nobleman was fortune's favourite child, caressed and loved by every one, from the Queen downwards ; and he possessed all those amiable and great qualities which are given to him by the writer of the Latin narrative of the present expedition, " Summo omnium applausu et lætitia excipitur ; est enim propter virtutes animi, corporisque dotes, generis et familiæ nobilitatem, et in re militari scientiam, et industriam, nobilis longè gratissimus." † Elizabeth was so pleased with the heroism he had displayed, that, on his return, she took the earliest opportunity of showering honours and rewards upon him—made him Commander-in-Chief and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland ; created him Earl Marshal of England, and employed him on various important services.

* Burley's State Papers.

† ' Ephemeris Expeditionis.'

CHAPTER XII.

VOYAGE OF DRAKE AND HAWKINS TO THE
SPANISH COLONIES.

1590—1596.

Letter of Drake to Prince Henry de Bourbon, and his reply—A fleet fitted out under Drake and Hawkins—Its object—Attack on the Grand Canary fails—The fleet separates in a storm—Meet at Guadaloupe—Death of Hawkins—Sir F. Clifford and Master Browne killed by shot from the forts—Unsuccessful attack by the pinnaces of the squadron—La Hacha, Rancheria, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios taken—Attempt to reach Panama fails—Death of Drake—Return of Expedition—Character of Drake by Fuller, Stow, and others—Review of his career.

IT was some years after the return from the last expedition, before Sir Francis Drake was appointed to the command of another: but a man of his active and enterprising spirit was not likely to remain in a state of inactivity. The first we hear of him is by a letter written by him, in Latin, to the Prince Henry de Bourbon. This letter, and the Prince's reply, are to be found in Rymer's 'Fœdera.' The following are translations:—

TO THE PRINCE HENRY DE BOURBON.

AFTER it was made known here that the common enemy of the two kingdoms had landed forces at Nunnetum (Brittany), Her Most Serene Majesty, my Mistress, by the advice of her Council, commanded a small vessel (celox) to be fitted out as speedily as possible, and that I should repair into the ports of the northern provinces (Armoricæ) and discover, by every fit means, what these Spaniards may be contriving; in what places they abide, and what is the state of their affairs.

I have therefore considered that, of all these matters, I should be made more certain from no one so well as from Your Highness, whose authority is omnipotent through the whole country, and may be acted upon safely in such affairs.

For this purpose, as is meet, I earnestly beseech, with all entreaty, that it may not seem troublesome to Your Highness, concerning the councils. the

preparations and the designs of those enemies, which are things very necessary you should be made acquainted with; also that you would communicate with me, as early as possible, hoping (as I pray without ceasing to our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings) that the ferocity of this common enemy may speedily yield to the benefit of France and England.

FRANCIS DRAKE.

Datae A.D.N. Idûs Novembris, 1590.

HENRY BOURBON, PRINCE OF THE DOMBÆ, TO THE MOST RENOWNED
FRANCIS DRAKE.—HEALTH.

IT is a royal act (most illustrious Knight), of one's own accord to succour the wretched. Then how much more royal is the mind of your Queen, that so many and such great kindnesses should be manifested towards the Most Christian King, and all France, more especially in these times, in which she hath often sent troops and succour against an invading enemy.

But lest it should seem that one part only of the kingdom of France should be taken care of, and the rest neglected, as soon as it was known that a military force of Spain had landed in this province, and that you, a man celebrated by fame and noble deeds, are desirous of knowing from me what should be done, and where the enemy is posted—this is what you ask me in your letter.

Most willingly and truly I obey the commands of such a Queen, and will satisfy your desire.

Your Lordship therefore may be informed that the common enemy now occupies the city, which, in the country idiom, is called Hennebon; is blockading both it and the port, which is not far from the city, and which we call Blaovet, and is there constructing a strong fortified citadel.

If these enterprises be not, as quickly as possible, provided against, it is to be feared lest this injury, which seems to be destined for us, may end in detriment to your republic.

Now I, relying on your advice, have sent a letter to the Queen, your Mistress, concerning these affairs, by a noble person, the Viscount Turen, who visited England by command of His Most Christian Majesty: and I have earnestly entreated for auxiliary forces; but I also now, in another letter to the Queen, have requested the same thing; and I eagerly entreat you, most Excellent Sir, that you would strengthen my petition before the Queen, as much as possible, by your authority and favour.—Accept the rest from a Nobleman who is wanting in words:

Tuus ad omnia paratissimus.

HENRY DE BOURBON

The King of Spain had every facility for these incursions, owing to the proximity of the Duke of Parma; who, remembering his former remissness, might be glad of an opportunity to reinstate himself in the good graces of Philip. Besides, the confusion into which France was thrown, by the murder of the

Duke of Guise, and of Henry III., gave great encouragement to the Spaniards. But Elizabeth, ever awake to the dangers of the country, sent a reinforcement to Henry IV. of 4000 men, to join the French at Dieppe, and a further supply under the Earl of Essex. She also, in the same year, sent out a squadron of seven of her ships, under the command of Lord Thomas Howard, with Sir Richard Grenvil his Vice-Admiral, with order to proceed to the Azores to intercept the Plata fleet: but Philip, being apprised of it, despatched a fleet of more than fifty sail. They met and fought; but the superior strength of the Spaniards was so great, that the English were compelled to give way; with the exception of Sir Richard Grenvil, who, alone, in the *Revenge*, fought, with the most determined bravery, the whole Spanish fleet for twelve hours, repulsing the enemy, who boarded him fifteen times; he was twice wounded, and carried down; he received a shot in the head, and the surgeon, who was dressing his wounds, was killed by his side. In this hopeless state he advised that they should sink the ship rather than yield; but most of the crew opposed it, and she was taken.

“The only ship of war,” says Monson, “that was yet taken by the Spaniards; and of no avail to them, the *Revenge* having gone down with 200 Spaniards in her.”

This noble and heroic commander survived the action but a few days; but his death was as noble as his life. According to Camden, he said—

“Here I, Richard Grenvil, die with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, Queen, religion, and honour: my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do.”

In the parliament of 1592-3, Drake, who sat for Plymouth, had various duties assigned to him, and his name appears upon all the committees on public business; and the bills from several of them were put into his hands. He recommended strong measures to be taken by sea and land, as Philip was powerful on both; and spoke and voted for a grant or aid of three subsidies being given to the Queen for that purpose. Sir Martin Frobisher was sent to sea with a fleet to harass the trade of Spain; and when the parliament was dissolved, in 1593, the

Queen gave notice that she intended to place a fleet under Sir Francis Drake; who accordingly, in the following year, made his arrangements, and associated with him his old friend and early patron, Sir John Hawkins.

This expedition was unfortunate in its progress, and fatal in its termination. It is remarkable that Sir John Hawkins, at his advanced age, being between seventy-five and eighty, in wealthy circumstances, and after having been twenty-two years Treasurer of the Navy, should have volunteered, as it appears he did, upon a second hazardous and unhealthy voyage. Five years before, the Queen had appointed him and Sir Martin Frobisher to the command of a squadron of ten of her best ships, to scour the coast of Spain, and destroy any shipping belonging to that country which they should fall in with. Although at sea for seven months, they did not take a single ship; they attempted Fayal, and found it too strong for them; and the carracks from the Indies, on which their chief hopes depended, had slipped into Lisbon, unseen. All these disappointments annoyed Sir John Hawkins to such a degree, that he could not refrain from writing an apology to the Queen for their want of success; reminding her Majesty that the Scripture says, "Paul planteth and Apollos watereth, but God giveth the increase." This allusion to Scripture elicited one of her usual bursts, "God's death!" she exclaimed, "this fool went out a soldier, and is come home a divine."

It is probable that the desire of increasing his wealth, redeeming his character with the Queen, or serving his country, all of them powerful motives, might induce him to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his person a second time in this dangerous service. But it has been said that he had a still more laudable object in view;—the redeeming his son, Captain Richard Hawkins, who was at this time a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards in South America.

Captain Hawkins had, in the year 1593, fitted out two ships for the South Sea; one of which deserted him on the coast of Brazil. He, however, in his single ship, passed through the Strait of Magelhaens, took two prizes on the other side, and was attacked on the coast of Peru by Admiral de Castro, with a squadron of eight sail, and 2000 men on board. From this overwhelming

force Hawkins, by superior seamanship, found means to disengage himself, after doing considerable damage to the Spaniards ; but, in consequence of his staying too long in that part of the South Sea, in the hope of taking more prizes, De Castro, now much reinforced, again fell in with him ; and after a gallant defence for three days and three nights, most of his men being killed, himself dangerously wounded, and his ship in a sinking state, he was compelled to surrender ; on the honourable terms, however, that he and the survivors of his crew should have a free passage to England as soon as might be.

Notwithstanding this agreement, he remained a long time in South America as a prisoner ; where, however, he was treated with great humanity by Admiral de Castro ; and in the end was sent a prisoner to Spain, where he was kept for several years. What were the means which his father proposed to adopt for his release does not appear, whether by threats, or terror, or ransom.

That Drake should cheerfully join his early friend and patron in such a project is not surprising : his warm and affectionate regard for the man who had first brought him forward in his career, with whom he had fought against the Armada, and with whom he lived in ties of the strictest friendship, were quite sufficient to induce him to enter into the scheme. But he had another still stronger inducement—the inveterate hatred he bore the Spaniards, who, unceasing in their animosity towards England, were contemplating another Invincible Armada. He was also anxious to propitiate the Queen by the offer of his services, which he had every reason to know would be acceptable. Monson, in his usual caustic manner, says—

“ These two Generals (Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins), presuming much upon their own experience and knowledge, used many arguments to persuade the Queen to undertake this voyage to the West Indies, assuring her what great services they should perform, and promising to engage very deeply in the adventure themselves, both with their substance and their persons : and such was the opinion every one had conceived of these two valiant Commanders, that great were the expectations of the success of this voyage.”

The squadron which the Queen ordered to be fitted out to act against the Spanish colonies in America, and to be placed under

the command of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, consisted of the following ships and commanders—

The Defiance, Admiral Sir Francis Drake.

Garland, Vice-Admiral Sir John Hawkins.

Hope, Captain Gilbert York.

Buonaventure, Captain Troughton.

Foresight, Captain Winter.

Adventure, Captain Thomas Drake.

Commander by land, Sir Thomas Baskerville.

About twenty others were furnished by individuals; and there can be no doubt that both the Admirals were large contributors of the expense. There were also three other officers, of the name of Baskerville, besides the Commander, two of them captains, and one sergeant-major; also Sir Nicholas Clifford, lieutenant-general, and eight other captains for the land service.

The destination of the expedition was Puerto Rico; to which place the Queen had been informed that a vast treasure had been brought for the purpose of being sent home for the use of the King of Spain in completing the third grand armament for the invasion of England, the second having been destroyed by Drake. One grand object of the present enterprise was to intercept this treasure, and thereby cut off the main supply of the King's navy and army destined for that purpose.

The first intention, however, had been to land the troops at Nombre de Dios, and proceed direct from thence over the isthmus to Panama, in order to seize the treasure, annually brought thither from the mines of Mexico and Peru: but, a few days before their departure from Plymouth, they received letters sent by order of the Queen, informing them that advices had been received from Spain, announcing the arrival of the West Indian or Plata fleet; but that one of the most valuable of the ships had lost her mast and put into the island of Puerto Rico; and it was therefore her Majesty's recommendation that they should proceed direct to that island, to secure this portion of the treasure, more especially as it was not much out of their way to Nombre de Dios.

The following is the joint reply of Drake and Hawkins to Lord Burleigh, acknowledging the receipt of her Majesty's

letter. It appears to have been the last dispatch that either of them ever wrote:—

DRAKE AND HAWKINS TO LORD BURLEIGH.

OUR dewty in most humble maner remembryd, yt may please yo^r L^o ship we have answeyrd her Ma^{ties} letter, we hope to her heighnes contentmente whome we wold nott wetyngly or wyllngly displease. We humbly thanke your L^o ship for yo^r manyfold favours w^{ch} we have allwayes fownd never varyable, but wth all favour, loue and constancye for w^{ch} we can never be suffyciently thanckfull but w^t our prayers to god long to blesse yo. good L^o ship w^t honour & healthe.

We thynke yt be trew that some small man of warre be taken upon the cost of spayne but they are of very small moment, they be for the most pt soche small carvells as was before this taken from the Spanyards, some small number of our men are yet in spayne, w^{ch} ys the onely losse, but, as we lerne, ther be not above one hundreth left in spayne of them but many retornyd, alreddy into Ingland.

& so lokyng daylye for a good wynd we humbly take our leve from plymothe the 18 of August 1595.

Your ll. ever most bownden

FRA: DRAKE.

JOHN HAWKYNS.*

(Note in a contemporary hand, at the bottom of the letter.)

The q. sent these two brave sea captaines wth a Fleet to Porto Rico in America, belonging to y^e Spanyard, having heard of a great mass of tresure brought thither. But it is proved an unsuccessful attempt. And neither of y^m returned ever home again, both dying at sea at different places, in this voyage.

To the Ry^t honorable

our syngular good lord the Lo. heigh Tresorer of Ingland,
gyve this at the Court.

The expedition left Plymouth on the 28th of August, 1595, but did not get clear of the land till the last day of that month. They then directed their course to Grand Canary, the principal island of the group that bears that name, but did not reach it until the 27th of September. An attempt to subdue this island, and take possession of it, failed. Hawkins had remonstrated against this attempt as a loss of time, and as being contrary to the Queen's wishes and to their main design: but Drake and Baskerville decided for it; and particularly the latter, who undertook to get possession of it in four days; urging that it would be very desirable to victual the whole squadron there, which could only be done by having uninterrupted possession of the town. The seamen, it was said, were already complaining of the scarcity

* Harleian MSS., British Museum.

of provisions; and so many reasons were assigned that Hawkins reluctantly submitted. This decision turned out to be the first misfortune in their progress; for they were unable to land the fourteen hundred men in the boats on account of the surf, without incurring too great a risk. However they succeeded in watering the ships on the western side of the island. Here Captain Grimston, and his boat's crew, straggling to some distance from the shore, were set upon by some herdsmen, who with their dogs and staves killed him and most of his men, wounded the rest, and took the surgeon of one of the ships prisoner. This man told them all he knew concerning the object of the voyage; upon which the governor dispatched a caraval to all the places he had named to announce the danger.

Leaving this island and approaching Martinico, Drake, who was a-head with four or five ships, was separated from the rest of the fleet by a sudden storm; but they joined company at Guadeloupe. Here they watered, washed the ships, set up the pinnaces, the materials of which they had carried out, and landed the men, that they might refresh themselves on shore.

On the 8th of November the squadron came to anchor within the Virgin Islands: here they stayed four days; the two last in a sound, which Drake in his barge had discovered. They then stood for the eastern end of Puerto Rico, where Sir John Hawkins breathed his last on the 12th of the month. It is asserted by some of the old writers that there was some difference of opinion between him and Drake, which preyed on his mind so greatly as to cause his death: there does not, however, appear to have been any disagreement between them, except as to their stay at the Canaries; and that was owing chiefly to the confidence expressed by the military commander. The unfortunate circumstance of their whole plan of operations being anticipated by the authorities of Nombre de Dios and Panama, no doubt gave him a considerable degree of annoyance; but his great age, and exposure to a most unhealthy climate, which was carrying off hundreds of stronger men, sufficiently account for his death.

Sir Thomas Baskerville took possession of the Garland as second in command; and the fleet came to anchor at the distance of two miles or less from the eastern side of the town of San Juan de Puerto Rico,

“Where,” says Hakluyt, “we received from their forts and places, where they planted ordnance, some twenty-eight great shot, the last of which strake the Admiral (ship) through the misen, and the last but one strake through her quarter into the steerage, the General being there at supper, and strake the stool from under him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the same table Sir Nicholas Clifford, Mr. Browne, Captain Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and Master (Brute) Browne died of their hurts.”

Browne was an old friend and particular favourite of Drake; who is said on this occasion to have exclaimed, “Ah, dear Brute, I could grieve for thee! but now is no time for me to let down my spirits.” This, Fuller tells us, he had from Henry Drake, who was present.

The following morning the whole fleet came to anchor before the point of the harbour without the town, a little to the westward, where they remained till nightfall; and then twenty-five pinnaces, boats, and shallops, well-manned and furnished with fire-works and small shot, entered the road. The great castle or galleon, the object of the present enterprise, had been completely repaired, and was on the point of sailing, when certain intelligence, of the intended attack by Drake, reached the island. Every preparation had been made for the defence of the harbour and town; the whole of the treasure had been landed, and the galleon was sunk in the mouth of the harbour; a floating barrier of masts and spars was laid on each side of her, near to the forts and castles, so as to render the entrance impassable; within this breakwater were the five zabras moored, their treasure also having been taken out; all the women and children and infirm people were removed into the interior, and none but men able to act in defence of the town were left in it. A heavy fire was opened on the ships of the English; but the adventurers persisted in their desperate attempt, until they had lost, by their own account, some forty or fifty men killed, and as many wounded; but as far as that was any consolation, they had reason to believe that the loss to the Spaniards was considerably greater; for the five zabras and a large ship of four hundred tons were burnt; and their several cargoes of silk, oil, and wine, which were destroyed, were reported by one of the prisoners to be worth three millions of ducats, or five-and-thirty tons of silver. Defeated in the main object, but not disheartened, the advanced party of pinnaces and small vessels, which had been engaged, returned to the fleet in the

offing, which remained at anchor the next day ; and then removed to the south-west point of the island to set up more pinnaces, wash the ships, and refresh their crews.

They next proceeded to the Caribbean shore, and took the town of La Hacha ; but were satisfied with a ransom offered by the inhabitants of thirty-four thousand ducats. From hence they proceeded along the coast, and took the town or village of Rancheria, after seizing a quantity of pearls, with other pillage, and a brigantine, having on board some pearls and silver. The inhabitants at length consented to pay a ransom for the town of twenty-four thousand ducats, and one prisoner promised to give four thousand ducats for his own ransom. In four days they brought the town's ransom in pearls, but rated them so dear that Drake refused to receive them ; he, however, gave the people a respite of four hours to bring the required amount of treasure.

The Spanish Governor himself now made his appearance, and told the General plainly that he cared not for the town, neither would he ransom it ; that the pearls were brought without his consent ; that he should have been sooner on the spot, but that he had to warn all the towns on the coast of their danger, that the inhabitants might convey all their goods, cattle, and wealth into the woods. The General dismissed him, having given him his promise of safe conduct for two hours. The towns of Rancheria and of Rio de la Hacha were then burnt down to the ground, excepting the churches and the house of a lady, who, having written to Drake, imploring his clemency, was specially favoured by him.

The expedition afterwards burnt several other small villages on the coast, and then took possession of Santa Martha ; which, when it was ascertained that no ransom whatever could be obtained for it, they also burnt.

After these operations, as little interesting as they are creditable to the English character, but which it cannot be doubted originated, not in Drake's free will, but in the instructions under which he acted, they proceeded to the port of Nombre de Dios, which had been originally intended as their first destination. The town was easily taken, after a short resistance from about 100 Spaniards, all the rest having fled. A volley from three or four small pieces of ordnance and a few musket shots sufficed

to clear the town; but the captors, finding neither booty nor ransom, destroyed the place with all the frigates, barks, and galliots that were in the harbour and on the beach: those on the beach had houses built over them to keep the pitch from melting. In a watch-house on the top of a hill, near the town, they found twenty "sowes" of silver, two bars of gold, some pearl, coined money, and other trifling articles.

It was now decided that an attempt should be made on Panama; where it was considered as almost certain that a large quantity of treasure would be found, that place being the grand repository of all the Peruvian gold and silver. For this purpose 750 soldiers were selected to march across the isthmus to Panama, under the command of Sir Thomas Baskerville. Whether he relied on receiving the same cordial assistance from the Symerons, or Maroons, which Drake had formerly had, does not appear; but if so, he must have been grievously disappointed; for the natives proved enemies instead of friends, and greatly harassed the English with showers of small shot from the woods on their passage through some narrow defiles. "The march was so sore," says Hakluyt, "as never Englishmen marched before." Finding, moreover, that further on, the pass was defended by three newly-erected forts, it was deemed prudent to abandon the enterprise and make the best of their way back to the fleet. Accordingly they retraced their steps, wretchedly harassed, and half-starved; after having marched about half way to the shore of the South Sea. Their loss on this occasion amounted to five or six officers and nearly ninety men.

This change of circumstances in the two important stations of Nombre de Dios and Panama, since Drake's celebrated visit, might readily have been expected: but it is evident that the new forts on the isthmus had been erected in consequence of the information recently received; and that the extraordinary delay in the expedition, occasioned by their having visited and alarmed so many different places, had given the Spaniards full time to complete them. This was a bitter mortification to Sir Francis Drake; and, sick as we learn he already was, no doubt greatly tended to accelerate his death. The closing scene of his eventful life is thus given by Hakluyt:—

"On the 15th January, on their way towards Puerto Bello, Captain they

died of sickness, and then Sir Francis Drake began to keep his cabin and to complain of a scowring or fluxe. On the 23rd they set sail and stood up again for Puerto Bello, which is but three leagues to the westward of Nombre de Dios.

“ On the 28th, at 4 of the clock in the morning, our General Sir Francis Drake departed this life, havinge been extremely sicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to stop on him. He used some speeches at, or a little before, his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed againe, within one hour died.”

“ They moved on to Puerto Bello, and after coming to anchor in the bay, and the solemn burial of our Generall in the sea, Sir Thomas Baskerville being aboard the *Defiance*, where Mr. Bride made a sermon, having to his audience all the Captaines in the fleete. Sir Thomas having commanded all aboard the *Garland*, with whom he held a council, and there showing his commission, was accepted for Generall.”

He received a sailor's funeral very near to the place where his great reputation was first established: his body was committed to the deep in a leaden coffin, with all due solemnity.

After such a loss, coming as it did after so many others, all idea of further proceedings was abandoned; and the expedition returned home, under the command of Sir Thomas Baskerville. On their voyage they were attacked near the Isles of Pines, off Cuba, by a Spanish fleet of twenty sail, being a part of the sixty ships sent out from Carthagena to intercept the English fleet, the remainder having directed their course to the Havana. Baskerville in the *Defiance*, and Troughton in the *Garland*, gave them so warm a reception that, after an action of two hours, in which several of their best ships were damaged, and one of them set on fire and burnt, they sheered off. The Spaniards, however, as usual, published a vapouring account, in which they asserted that the English ran away, and that they pursued them, but could not overtake them. Monson says that their General, Don Bernardino, “ who had a string of names as long as a cable,” was an approved coward, and showed himself to be such when he encountered the English fleet; but that his cowardice was compensated for by the valour of his Vice-Admiral, Juan de Garay, who behaved himself bravely.

Don Bernardino certainly proved himself to be a poltroon. When Baskerville learned the scandalous falsehood which he had published, he demanded satisfaction; and told him that he was ready to meet him in any spot, or in any country that he would

name, which was at peace with Spain and England; but the Don thought it best not to answer the call, and quietly submitted to be publicly branded as a vain boaster and a coward.

The English expedition reached home in the beginning of May, 1596, with very little booty: the small towns which had been burned, and the ships which had been destroyed, were but a poor recompense for the loss of two of the ablest sea-officers in Europe.

That the loss of Drake was severely felt is sufficiently manifested by the numerous testimonials as to his services and character that appeared in verse and prose; and his mental and personal qualifications were set forth in glowing terms by several of the old annalists; particularly by Stow and Fuller. The former says,

“ He was more skillfull in all poyntes of nauigation then any that ever was before his time, in his time, or since his death; he was also of a perfect memory, great observation, eloquent by nature, skillfull in Artillery, expert and apt to let bloud, and give physick unto his people according to the climate; he was low of stature, of strong limbs, broad breasted, round headed, browne hayre, full bearded, his eyes rounde, large and clear, well favoured, fayre and of a charefull countenance. His name was a terror to the French, Spanyard, Portugall and Indians; many Princes of Italy, Germany, and other, as well enemies as friends, in his life time desired his picture. He was the second that euer went through the Straights of Magellanes, and the first that euer wente rounde about the worlde: he was lawfully married unto two wives both young, yet he himself and ten of his brethren died without issue: he made his younger brother Thomas his heire, who was with him in most and chiefest of his Employmentes; in briefe hee was as famous in Europe and America as Tamberlayne in Asia and Affrica.

“ In his imperfections he was $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ambitious for Honor.} \\ \text{Unconstant in Amity.} \\ \text{Greatly affected to popularity.} \end{array} \right.$

“ He was fifty and five yeares old when he died.”

“ If,” says Fuller, “ any should be desirous to know something of the character of Sir Francis Drake’s person, he was of stature low, but set and strong grown: a very religious man towards God and his houses, generally sparing the churches wereever he came: chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true of his word, merciful to those that were under him, and hating nothing so much as idlenesse: in matters (especially) of moment, he was never wont to rely on other men’s care, how trusty or skilful soever they might seem to be, but always contemning danger, and refusing no toyl; he was wont himself to be one (who ever was a second) at every turn, where courage, skill, or industry, was to be employed.”

Galled as Spain had been for so many years by the numberless victories obtained over her by Drake, it is not surprising that her writers should have treated his memory severely; but it is to be regretted that so eminent a poet as Lopez de Vega should have indulged in such invective as he has done, in his poem called *Dragontea*. Even Lord Holland, the great admirer of this man, says that his poem is full of virulent and unpoetical abuse; he might have added that it is a tissue of falsehood and blasphemy, as scandalous and revolting as ever was committed to paper; and not against Drake alone, but also against Queen Elizabeth and all her gallant officers. Describing the death of Sir Francis Drake, he says,

“His own people, instigated by the furies, gave him poison; that being aware of it he refused all food, but then the poison was concealed in his medicine, and thus worked its effect. Behold the desolation and the ruin of this bold and untameable man. Behold the miserable kind of death that has dragged the soul from the body into hell.”*

The traitor Allen, although he ceased his persecuting slanders of Drake, after his death, yet ordered his portrait to be removed from a painter's collection in Rome, where it happened to be placed next to that of Philip.

“At the sight of this,” says Strype, “the Cardinal's Mace-bearer (Allen) was enraged with many passionate Italian words, as an insufferable indignity

* It is somewhat curious to see our gallant Admiral assume the character of a poet. In the year 1583 a book was published by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, entitled “A True Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the righte of the Crowne of Englande, of the *New found Landes*,” to which, as was usual in those days, was appended “Commendations by principal persons friendly to the author or the work.” Among these we find the following:—

SIR FRAUNCIS DRAKE, KNIGHT, IN COMMENDATION OF THE ABOVE TREATISE.

“Who seekes by worthie deedes to gaine renowne for hire,
Whose hart, whose hand, whose purse is prest to purchase his desire,
If anie such there bee, that thirsteth after fame,
Lo, heare a meane, to winne himself an everlasting name;
Who seekes by gaine and wealth to advance his house and blood,
Whose care is great, whose toile no lesse, whose hope is all for good,
If anie one there bee that covettes such a trade,
Lo heere the plot for commonwealth, and private gaine is made,
He that for vertue's sake will venture farr and neere,
Whose zeale is strong, whose practize trueth, whose faith is void of feere,
If any such there bee, inflamed with holie care,
Heere may hee finde a readie meane, his purpose to declare.
So that for each degree, this Treatise dooth unfold,
The path to fa'ne, the prooffe of zeale, and way to purchase golde.

“FRAUNCES DRAPER”

offered to that great Catholic King. And this was not all, but notice was immediately given by him to the Cardinal at the palace; and a messenger despatched back to put Drake's picture down; though the painter himself, out of fear, presently did it, and notwithstanding came to trouble about it. It is well if Drake were not *now* burnt in effigy."

Monson, who seizes every occasion to say anything ill-natured of Sir Francis Drake, expresses himself thus when speaking of his death—

"Sir Francis Drake, who was wont to rule fortune, now finding his error, and the difference between the present strength of the Indies, and what it was when he first knew it, grew melancholy upon this disappointment, and suddenly, and *I do hope naturally*, died at Puerto Bello."

This insinuation is as gratuitous as it is unfounded and uncharitable.

"Upon what," says Dr. Johnson, "this conjecture is grounded, does not appear; and we may be allowed to hope, for the honour of so great a man, that it is without foundation; and that he whom no series of success could ever betray to vanity or negligence would have supported a change of fortune without impatience or dejection."

Indeed, the whole course of Drake's life belies such an insinuation. And surely at a time when death was mowing down hundreds both of officers and men, it is little surprising that the two commanders should not escape, both of whom had seen enough service to wear out any constitution. Captain Henry Savile, who was in the same ship, says,

"Sir Francis Drake died of the flux which had grown upon him eight days before his death, and yielded up his spirit, like a christian, to his Creator, quietly in his cabin." *

The following parallel between Drake and Hawkins is from the pen of an anonymous writer (under the signature of R. M.) It is given in Prince's 'Worthies of Devon,' and appears to be drawn with fairness and truth:—

"They were both alike given to travelling in their youth, and in their more mature years. They both attempted many honourable voyages; as that of Sir John Hawkins to Guinea, to the isles of America, and to St. Juan de Ulloa; so likewise Sir Francis Drake, after many discoveries in the West Indies, and other parts, was the first Englishman that ever encompassed the globe, in which, as well as in his great knowledge of sea affairs, he far

* Hakluyt.

exceeded, not only Sir John Hawkins, but all others. In their natures and dispositions they differed as much as in their management of war. Sir Francis was of a lively spirit, resolute, quick, and sufficiently valiant; Sir John, slow, jealous, and difficult to be brought to a resolution. In council, Sir John Hawkins did often differ from the judgment of others, making a show in difficult cases of knowing more than he would declare. Sir Francis was a willing hearer of every man's opinion, but commonly a follower of his own. He never attempted any action wherein he was an absolute commander but he performed it with great reputation, and could go through the weightiest concerns with wonderful ease. On the contrary, Sir John Hawkins was an undertaker of great things; but for the most part without fortune or success.

Sir John Hawkins naturally hated land-soldiers, and though he was very popular, affected to keep company with common people rather than his equals; Sir Francis, on the contrary, loved the land-soldiers, always encouraged and preferred merit wheresoever he found it, and was affable and easy of access.

“ They had both many virtues, and agreed in some; as in patience in enduring labours and hardships; observation and remembrance of things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers. In other virtues they differed: Sir John Hawkins was merciful, apt to forgive, and faithful to his word; Sir Francis Drake hard to be reconciled, but constant in friendship; and withal at the same time, severe and courteous, magnanimous and liberal. They were both ambitious to a fault, but one more than the other; for Sir Francis had an insatiable thirst after honour beyond all reason. He was full of promises, and more temperate in adversity than in prosperity. He had likewise some other imperfections, as quickness to anger, bitterness in disgracing, and was too much pleased with sordid flattery. Sir John Hawkins had malice with dissimulation, rudeness in behaviour, and was covetous in the last degree. They were both alike happy in being great commanders, but not equally successful. They both grew great and famous by the same means, that is, by their own virtues, courage, and the fortune of the sea. There was no comparison, however, between their merits, taken in general, for therein Sir Francis far exceeded.”

To the united efforts of these two brave and indefatigable seamen the British navy in its infancy was more indebted than to any other individuals, or even to the government. By their joint efforts that noble institution, long known as the *Chest at Chatham*, was planned and carried into effect for the humane and wise purpose of relieving the wants and rewarding the merits of seamen maimed or worn out in the service of their country.

To the inhabitants of Plymouth the memory of Sir Francis Drake, their townsman, must ever be dear: daily and hourly, indeed, are they reminded of his good offices towards them, as

it is to his enterprise and exertions that they owe the enjoyment of one of the greatest blessings bestowed on mankind—a plentiful supply of good fresh water. Before his time the inhabitants were obliged to fetch their water and wash their clothes a mile from the town: but, by his great skill and industry, a stream of fine water was brought into the place. The springs from which it is derived are on the side of Dartmoor, and distant seven or eight miles in a direct line; but the natural course of the stream was twenty-five miles in length: this Drake, by cutting a passage for it through rocks, and carrying it over valleys, reduced to eighteen; and the works were completed in a period of less than a year. The whole of the expense was not defrayed by Sir Francis; as it appears from old records that a sum of about 350*l.* was granted by the corporation to pay the damages to the proprietors of the lands. The revenue derived to the town at the present time is about 2000*l.* a-year, and is applied to public purposes. Sir Francis built several mills and divers conduits on the stream: of these he had a lease for sixty-seven years.

The declared animosity of Spain rendered it necessary to pay special attention to the state of all the southern ports of the kingdom, both in England and Ireland. Plymouth was particularly exposed to attack, and had no fort or works for its defence. Sir Francis Drake, therefore, in co-operation with the magistracy, addressed a letter to the government. They asked in this letter that Lord Burleigh would move her Majesty to contribute towards the building of a fort, and that if 1200*l.* or 1000*l.* were granted, the inhabitants would never ask for more. That, with such a fort, they would be able to withstand the enemy, if they were even 50,000 strong, for ten or twelve days at the least; and that Sir Francis Drake would contribute, at the least, 100*l.* towards this object. They further requested that her Majesty would bestow on them eight or ten brass pieces of ordnance, and the rest they would themselves provide; stating that they had thirteen pieces planted on the Hoe, borrowed from sundry persons, and about twenty-three on St. Nicholas' Island (since called Drake's Island), the greater part of which were likewise borrowed.

The letter further stated, that at the time of the Armada such was the fear of invasion, that many of the inhabitants conveyed their goods and themselves out of the town, and others would

have followed the example had they not been stopped by the arrival of Sir Francis Drake, who, to give them the greater confidence, brought his wife and family thither. The same document shows that on May-day, in each year, 1300 men, well appointed, were mustered upon the Hoe; and that Sir Francis established a watch and ward to be kept in the town every night, no less than if it were a garrison; every master tradesman to have the charge in rotation, and to watch till midnight, and then be relieved by his deputy. Sir Francis himself took the first watch.*

Whenever the exertions of Drake could be of use, publicly or individually, he was ever ready to afford his aid. It has been mentioned that during his mayoralty he caused "a compass to be erected on the Hoe-hill." What this *compass* was has been a matter of much doubt; whether a dial, a meridian line, or the points of the compass. No traces of any such thing now exist; but we know that it was there in the year 1720, one hundred and thirty-seven years after Drake had placed it. This appears from a book entitled 'Magna Britannia et Hibernia Antiqua et Nova,' printed in the year 1720, in which is the following passage:—

"Between this town (Plymouth) and the sea is an hill, called the Haw (Hoe), on the top of which is a delicate level or plain, which affords a very pleasant prospect on all sides, and a curious compasse for the use of mariners."

One more instance may be given of Drake's ready and liberal support of any project of public utility. Hakluyt was anxious to establish a lecture in London on the art of navigation;

"For which cause," says he, "I have dealt with the right worshipfull Sir Francis Drake, that seeing God hath blessed him so wonderfully, he woulde do this honour to himselfe and benefite to his countrey, to bee at the cost to erecte such a lecture: whereunto in most bountifull maner at the verie first he answered, that he liked so well of the motion, that he woulde giue twentie poundes by the yeare standing, and twentie poundes more before hand to a learned man to furnish him with instruments and maps, that woulde take this thing upon him: yea, so readie he was, that he earnestly requested mee to helpe him to the notice of a fitte man for that purpose, which I, for the zeale I bare to this good actiō, did presently, and brought

* Lansdowne MSS., British Museum.

him one, who came vnto him and conferred with him thereupon: but in fine he would not vndertake the lecture, vnlesse he might haue fourtie ponde a yeere standing, and so the matter ceased for that time: howbeit the worthie and good knight remaineth still constant, and will be, as he told me very lately, as good as his worde. Howe if God shoulde put into the head of any noble man to contribute other twentie ponde, to make this lecture a competent living for a learned man, the whole realme no doubt might reape no small benefite thereby."

Drake was greatly attached to Plymouth and its neighbourhood; and, in 1587, purchased of Sir Richard Grenvile the house and domain of Buckland Monachorum, so called from having been the property of a society of Cistercian monks, whose house was suppressed in the reign of Henry VIII. The church of this convent was converted into a dwelling-house, and was the country residence of Sir Francis: it has always continued the residence of the Drake family. Buckland Abbey is situated on the banks of the Tay, ten miles from Plymouth; and its extensive buildings show the grandeur and solidity of such edifices. Here there is a full-length original picture of Sir Francis, AN. 1594, ætatis 53, and a framed copy of his patent of arms. There is also the sword and an old drum, which he had with him in his voyage round the world.

About a mile from the abbey is the village of *Buckland Monachorum*, which has a handsome church; within the walls of which are deposited the remains of some of the Heathfields and Drakes, to whose memory several marble monuments have been raised. On that to General Elliot, Baron Heathfield, is a long inscription which thus concludes:—

"He married Ann Polixen Drake, daughter of
Sir Francis Drake, Bart.,
Who lies interred near this spot
And by her left a daughter, who was married to
John Trayton Fuller, Esq."

The descendant of this gentleman succeeded to the Drake property, and took the name and the armorial bearings. He was created a baronet in 1824, and is the present Sir Thomas Trayton Fuller Elliot Drake, of Nutwell Court, Buckland Abbey, Sherford and Sheafhayne House.

Drake's town residence was an old royal palace near the Steelyard, in Thames-street, close by Dowgate Hill, called the Erber.

Hakluyt says, "Sir Francis Drake made his brother, Thomas Drake, and Captain Jonas Bodenham executors; and Mr. Thomas Drake's son his heir to all his lands except one manor, which he gave to Captain Bodenham." This is somewhat incorrect: but in the records of the Prerogative Court of Doctors' Commons there are two wills, one dated (blank) day of August, 1595, apparently made in contemplation of going into action, as he sailed from Plymouth on the 28th of that month; the other, dated the 27th of January, 1596, the day before he died. In the first will Anthony Prowse, William Strode, and Christopher Harris are executors, and his cousins, Master Richard Drake and Thomas Barret, are named "rulers and overseers" of the will. By the last his brother Thomas was appointed sole executor: under both he was the residuary devisee and legatee of the real and personal estate.

It appears there was a suit in the Prerogative Court between the said executor and Dame Elizabeth, the relict; and that sentence was given in favour of the former, pronouncing for the validity of both wills.

Sir Francis Drake was twice elected to a seat in parliament: first, as burgess for the town of Bossiney (otherwise Tintagal) in the county of Cornwall, in the twenty-seventh parliament held by Queen Elizabeth; and again in 1592-93, as the representative of the borough of Plymouth. It does not appear, however, that he took any lead in the House, or troubled himself much with politics. Drake was no courtier; but he was ever ready to exert his best faculties in the Queen's service; and was highly respected by all her Majesty's servants, and his advice greatly relied upon.

In that reign it was customary to present the Sovereign with some token of regard on New Year's Day, generally some device in gold, silver, or jewellery. In Nicholl's 'Progresses' we find it recorded that, in 1583, was—

"Given by Sir Francis Drake, onne sault of golde, like a globe standing upon two naked men, being the history of Jupiter and Pallas, with a woman on the top thereof, having a trumpet in her hand; the foot enamelled with flowers."

And again, in 1586,—

"Given by Sir Francis Drake, a frame of fathers, white and redd, the

handle of golde inamuled, with a halfe-moone of mother-of-perles, within that a halfe-moone garnished with sparks of dyamonds, and a few seede perles on thone side, having her majesty's picture within it, and on the backside a device, with a crowe over it."

This custom of New Year's gifts was laid aside in the early part of the reign of James I.

The latter part of the life of Drake, from 1590 to his last fatal voyage in 1595, appears to have been entirely occupied on objects of public utility and private benevolence. He was unquestionably, in conjunction with his two friends and colleagues, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher, the principal founder of our naval celebrity. He it was who first introduced the aid of astronomy into practical navigation; who laboured in the establishment of naval discipline, and in the art of preserving the health and efficiency of seamen; it was he who taught English sailors the advantage of *smartness*, activity, and good seamanship, by which they were enabled in their little barks to conquer the castellated galleons of the Spaniards. But the highest praise of this great man is contained in the words of Fuller, "*This our Captain was a religious man towards God and his houses, generally sparing churches where he came; chaste in his life; just in his dealings; true to his word; and merciful to those who were under him; hating nothing so much as idleness.*"

THE END.



