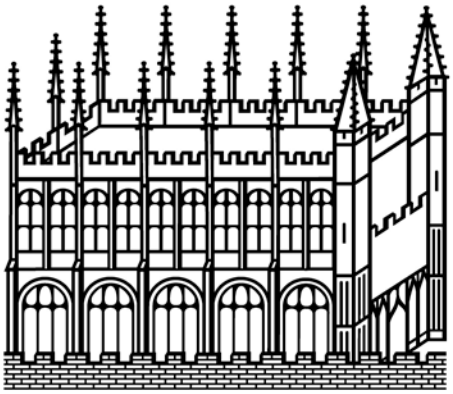

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THE

EAST AND WEST INDIAN MIRROR.

SECOND SERIES.

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WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

THE

EAST AND WEST INDIAN MIRROR.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XVIII.

ISSUED FOR 1906.

THE

EAST AND WEST INDIAN MIRROR,

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF

JORIS VAN SPEILBERGEN'S

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

(1614—1617),

AND

THE AUSTRALIAN NAVIGATIONS OF JACOB LE MAIRE.

Translated, with Notes and an Introduction,

BY

J. A. J. DE VILLIERS,

OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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[1] This is not in the *Spiegel*, and therefore not in the List of Plates on p. 9.

INTRODUCTION.

THE two journals that form the present volume were first published together in the Dutch edition of 1619, from which version this translation is made, the *Australische Navigatien*[1] of Jacob le Maire being there appended to Joris van Speilbergen's[2] *Nieuwe Oost ende West Indische Navigatien*,[3] "for this reason, to wit, that in this preceding Journal or New East and West Indian Navigations, mention is made[4] in passing Magellanes Strait of a thoroughfare into the South Sea, and moreover, that this aforementioned le Maire did take ship with the aforesaid Joris Spilbergen in order to return home, but died on the voyage."[5] Since then they have seen the light in various languages, editions,

[1] The first version of which appeared in 1618, under the name of Willem Cornelisz. Schouten. See *infra* (note 2, p. xxxi, p. xlvii) and the Bibliography.

[2] Concerning the adoption of this form of the name, see note 5, p. xxxv.

[3] Being the running title or head-line to Speilbergen's Journal.

[4] Pp. 42 and 46. [5] P. 164.

and abridgments—together, apart, and even under names other than those of their real authors—the full tale being given in the accompanying Bibliography.

Of Speilbergen's narrative no thoroughly satisfactory edition, complete in all its details, has appeared since the Dutch one of 1619. In discussing the expedition to which it relates Captain Burney[1] says, "The prudent management by which so many ships were kept together through such an extensive navigation, the care and attention shown for the preservation of his men, his steady pursuit of his duty in preferring the honour and service of his country to all other considerations, are so many evidences which the conduct of Admiral Spilbergen furnishes to prove that he possessed the most requisite talents of a great commander; and there has seldom been found in the same man such a union of valour and circumspection."

This appreciation is here introduced as being that of an experienced navigator; unfortunately, Burney has perpetuated a deplorable error (originating in a faulty French version[2]) in attribut-

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[1] *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea.* London, 1806. Pt. ii, p. 352.

[2] *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrez de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, formée dans les Provinces-Unies des Pais-Bas.* (Edited by René Augustin Constantin de Renneville.) 10 tom. Rouen, 1725. This edition, out of several, has been selected for quotation here for the reason that the words "revue par l'auteur et considérablement augmentée" appear on the title-page, and because it was the edition

ing[1] the authorship of Speilbergen's Journal to Jan Cornelisz. May,[2] and it being imperative to explode such an error, slavishly copied by later historians and bibliographers, by tracing it to its source, it consequently becomes necessary to set out, somewhat at length, the following details.

A long dissertation might be written, after the manner in which Camus[3] has treated the subject, upon the correlation of the various editions of the *Nieuwe Oost ende West Indische Navigatien*, and the sequence in which they appeared; it will probably serve every useful purpose, however, if here it be simply placed upon record that a very careful comparison of all the earlier editions proves the natural sequence of publication to be also bibliographically correct — *i.e.*, that the Dutch edition published by Geelkercken at Amsterdam in 1619 is the original version, being followed most closely and fully (though not always with a correct rendering, and often with a frank, intelligible evasion of

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used by de Brosses. (See note 2, *infra*, and note 5 on p. xix.) For the passage in question, see note 3, p. xvii.

[1] *Chronological History*, pp. 330 and 353. *Vide* p. xx, note.

[2] It was first definitely so attributed, obviously on de Renneville's authority, by Charles de Brosses (1709-1777), President of the Parliament of Dijon, in his *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*, Paris, 1756, tom. i, p. 343. (*Vide* note 5, p. xix.)

[3] Armand Gaston Camus (1740-1804), Secretary to the National Convention and Keeper of the Archives. In his work entitled *Mémoire sur la Collection* [of de Bry and Thevenot] *des Grands et Petits Voyages* (Paris, 1802, pp. 153-159) he describes Speilbergen's Journal at some length. See also note 5, pp. xix, xx.

the more obscure passages) by the French of 1621.[1]

It is of some importance to have established this, for neither the Latin edition, published at Leiden in 1619, nor the above-mentioned French edition of 1621 has the dedication to the States-General, signed by Joris von Speilbergen[2]—the former having in its stead a dedication by Geelkercken to Petrus Graef,[3] whilst the latter commences with the Preface to the Reader. This omission of Speilbergen's own dedication from two versions which would naturally be more generally consulted by posterity than one in Dutch was to be deplored, for a sight of that document—so very emphatic in its language as to authorship—would have precluded the possibility of the error above alluded to taking root.

In the Latin version of the Journal, dated 1620, in de Bry's Collection, where it forms *Americæ Tomi Undecimi Appendix*, the title-page has *Auctore*

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[1] Published by Jan Jansz., at Amsterdam, the translator's name not being mentioned.

[2] See pp. 1 and 2, following on this Introduction.

[3] Pieter Schrijver, also known as Petrus Scriverius or Petrus Graef, in accordance with the classicising tendency of the period, was born at Haarlem, January 12, 1576; historian and poet, he enjoyed the friendship of Grotius, Casaubon and Vondel, the last hailing him as the Dutch Martial, the first as Martialis redivivus, whilst his name frequently occurs in the correspondence of all three. He died April 30, 1660. Though the absence of his biography from Van der Aa's *Biographisch Woordenboek* is one of the most striking omissions in that work, a very full account of his life is given in an edition of his poems, *Gedichten van Petrus Scriverius*, Amsterdam, 1738.

M. Gothardo Arthusio Dantiscano, but that, of course, means only that it was translated (and possibly arranged) by Gothard Arthus, of Dantzig. It is not so close nor so full a rendering as that of 1619, but, though differing from it in form, is most evidently based directly upon it.[1]

Purchas, the next great collector to include the Journal, gives it[2] (much abridged) simply as *The Voyage of George Spilbergen . . . gathered out of the Latine Journall*,[3] without further remarks as to its authorship.

It appears next in an important collection of voyages published in 1646 under the title *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlandtsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*,[4] the value of the collection being enhanced by the extreme purity of the text,[5] whilst its fame was spread and

[1] On this point Camus' remarks are perfectly correct. "L'édition de de Bry, quoique faite en latin, aussi bien que l'édition de Leyde, ne présente pas le même texte. . . . Cependant il est manifeste que le rédacteur a travaillé d'après l'édition latine de 1619, dont il a employé souvent les expressions : mais il a fait quelques retranchemens dans les détails." *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

[2] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625. Lib. II, chap. 6.

[3] By internal evidence, from the Latin edition of 1619, and not from de Bry.

[4] The editor was Izaak Commelin, of Amsterdam ; born 1598, died 1676. He also published the *Hollandsch Placcaatboek*, Amst., 1644, 2 vols., and wrote a life of Frederick Henry of Nassau, Prince of Orange, in two volumes, Amst., 1651.

[5] It is peculiarly free from the typographical errors in proper names so common at that period, and is altogether the most accurate of any of the early works consulted during the compila-

perpetuated by reason of its being so often quoted, at second-hand, in de Renneville's imperfect French version,[1] by later writers who were either unable to procure it in the original or to read it when procured.

The error which attributes the authorship of Speilbergen's Journal to Jan Cornelisz. May arose, according to all the evidence now procurable, through this corrupt French version of Commelin's collection in the following manner.

The Dutch edition of 1619 of the *Spiegel* has a number of plates, each accompanied by descriptive text, this text being always in roman type to distinguish it from the text (in black letter) of the Journals themselves; the difference, too, between the rude, colloquial Dutch of the former and the more polished style of the latter being most marked.[2] Immediately after the description of Plate No. 19—it would not be misleading to say, accompanying it, as the words, "I have drawn this little map" (referring *only* to the inset of Booton I.) clearly indicate—is a document *signed* Jan Cornelisz. Moy,[3] written in the unpolished Dutch of the above-mentioned descriptions;[4] it was

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tion of this Introduction and the notes accompanying the translation of the *Spiegel*. It has an historical preface, manifestly written by one who was a master of his subject.

[1] *Recueil des Voyages*. See note 2, on p. xii.

[2] See note 1 opposite p. 24.

[3] Concerning this variation of the name, see note 1 on p. xxxii.

[4] See the *facsimile*, with translation, opposite p. 128. In that translation it has been printed as part of the description on the authority of the above quotation. It is entirely missing from the

set up in black letter,[1] as if it formed part of the text, and in black letter also in the *Begin ende Voortgangh;* the editor of the latter collection, however, evidently recognising that it was an accompanying document, not forming part of the text, had it set up in inverted commas.[2]

Though de Renneville's *Recueil* is quoted by geographical writers and bibliographers as a translation of Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh*, it is nothing but an ill-proportioned, faulty abridgment in French of that collection, the rendering[3] of the

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French edition of 1621, and appears in the Latin edition of 1619 (on p. 94) as part of the ordinary text, in a greatly abridged form, and *without signature.*

[1] Whether intentionally or not cannot be known; it must be sufficient to state here undoubted facts only and to trust that the Dutch Archives, the classification of which is now being so exemplarily carried on, may one day yield evidence that will determine beyond all doubt (if any still exist) the true authorship of Speilbergen's Journal. (See p. xxi.)

[2] *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Deel. II, Pt. 18, p. 64.

[3] The following faulty rendering of May's note and its context should be compared with its true translation opposite p. 128, and with the accompanying *facsimile* of the original, which shows how the continuity of the narrative was interrupted. (It will be seen that in the *original* May lays no claim to the compilation of the Molucca map, but only to that of the small inset of Booton I.)

"Il faut remarquer ici qu'en voulant terrir à Ternate, nous perdîmes une journée de chemin, parce que pour nous rendre à la Ville, nous courûmes de l'Est à l'Ouëst, au lieu que quand on court de l'Ouëst à l'Est on la gagne.

"Voici une Carte des Isles Moluques & de Botton, que moi Jean Cornelisz de Moye ai dessinée avec toute l'exactitude possible, pendant les diverses navigations que j'y ai faites, sur tout dans le détroit de Botton, où je me suis appliqué à observer tout.

descriptive note above referred to, without inverts, with May's mis-spelt signature *brought up into the text*, and the whole incorporated, furthermore, as part of the actual Journal, being but one out of a thousand examples of the unreliability and slovenliness of the work.

It would not be surprising if a casual reader of de Renneville's *Recueil*, chancing upon this passage, should think it fair evidence of authorship, but for editors and writers like de Brosses,[1]

On trouve toujours fond dan ce détroit, & les chiffres qu'on y voit en marquent la profondeur ; les cinq zeros ooooo marquent les endroits où il n'y a point de fond, ou du moins qu'il y a plus de 100 brasses de profondeur, ou bien il faudroit être tout proche de terre. Dans une des petites baies qui sont du côte Oriental, il y a une bonne aiguade, où j'ai fait deux fois de l'eau, me tenant sous voiles, & faisant de petites bordées, pendant qu'on amenoit les fûtailles à bord, parce qu'il n'y avoit pas moien d'y ancrer ; ce qui se faisoit assez aisément. Au reste, je n'ai rien marqué que je n'aie vu, ou sondé moi-même. C'est par cette raison qu'on y trouve certains païs qui ne sont pas entièrement dessinez, & vers lesquels du côté de l'Ouëst gît un bas-fond de 4 à 6 brasses de profondeur, fond de roche, ainsi que me l'ont assuré Jean Krijn, et plusieurs autres, qui y ont navigé, & qui ont vu clairement le fond.

"Le 3 d'Avril 1616 il vint à Maleïe un navire chargé à la Chine. Il fut promtement déchargé, & les marchandises furent portées dans les magasins." *Recueil des Voyages* (Nouvelle édition, revûë par l'Auteur, 1725), tom viii, pp. 104, 105.

[1] *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes.* Paris, 1756, tom. I, p. 343. It is just possible that de Brosses may have been confirmed in his error by misunderstanding the appellation *nauclerus* (captain, skipper) applied to May in the Latin version, published by de Bry in 1619 (tom. xi, Appendix, pp. 47 and 49), (that version being a translation, with slight abridgments, of the

Callander,[1] Camus,[2] Burney,[3] and finally, Tiele,[4] to have accepted it as such without further investigation is almost incredible, particularly when it is remembered that before the publication of the *Recueil* no mention can be found of this authorship attributed to May.

Yet all these later writers put the critic on his guard by their ingenuous references[5] and their open

English version quoted on p. xxxi, note 2) and taking it to mean ships' clerk or writer. As shown in note 5, *infra*, de Bry was one of de Brosses' authorities.

[1] John Callander, *Terra Australis Cognita: or, Voyages to the Terra Australis.* Edinburgh, 1768, vol. ii, p. 191.

[2] *Mémoire sur la Collection des Grands et Petits Voyages.* Paris, 1802, p. 154.

[3] James Burney. *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea.* London, 1806, pt. ii, p. 330.

[4] P. A. Tiele, Librarian of Leiden University. *Mémoire bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais.* Amsterdam, 1867, p. 70.

[5] de Brosses. *Op. cit.*, tom I, p. 343. "George Spilberg, En Magellanique. Son journal écrit en hollandois par Jean Cornelitz de Maye, est imprimé en latin dans les grands voyages de Th. de Bry; en anglois dans Purchas, tom. I, liv. ii, chap. 6; en françois dans le VIII tom. du recueil de la compagnie des Indes. Rouen, 1725, in 12."

Callander. *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 191. "George Spilberg to Magellanica and Polynesia. The original journal of this voyage was composed by John Cornelitz de Maye, in Low-Dutch, whence it was translated and published in Latin by Theodore de Brye. Purchas has inserted it in his Collection, vol. I, lib. ii, cap. 6. It is also to be found in the collection of voyages of the Dutch East India Company, tome VIII, Amst. 1716."

Camus. *Op. cit.*, p. 153. "Ce voyage de Spilberg, qui forme l'appendix à la onzième partie des grands voyages [of de Bry], publiée en 1620, à été donné pour la première fois au public, à

or implied admissions that they consulted only certain editions, and in no case, except, *perhaps*, that of Tiele, the Dutch original of Speilbergen's Journal; as has been shown above,[1] it was just

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Leyde, en 1619, par Nicolas de Geelkercken, in-4° oblong. Le récit du voyage de le Maire y est joint; le titre des deux ouvrages réunis est: *Speculum orientalis occidentalisque Indiæ navigationum.*" . . . p. 154. "Les trois éditions que j'ai confrontées, savoir l'édition latine de Leyde en 1619, de de Bry en 1630, et de l'auteur du recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement de la Compagnie des Indes,* sont les mêmes pour le fond, mais elles ont des différences qui exigent qu'on les compare entre elles, ou plutôt que l'on se fixe à l'édit.† de 1619. Celle-ci paroît être le prototype des autres et l'original de la relation rédigée par Corneille de Maye, lequel étoit un des navigateurs.‡

Burney. *Op. cit.*, pt. ii., p. 330. "An account, in the form of a Journal, of the voyage of Admiral Spilbergen round the World-accompanied with charts and plates, was published soon after the completion of the voyage. It was written by Jan Cornelisz May, *alias* Mensch-eter, principal mariner or Ship-master in Admiral Spilbergen's ship, and is the only original account of the expedition that has appeared. Translations of May's Journal were published in different languages. . . . The copy followed in this work is a French translation printed at Amsterdam in 1621, in a work entitled *Miroir Oost & West Indical.*"§

Tiele. *Mémoire Bibliographique*, p. 70. *Vide* pp. xxii, xxlii.

[1] P. xiv.

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* The quotation of this title proves, of course, that it was not Commelin's original Dutch version, but de Renneville's abridgment that Camus consulted.

† The Latin one, since that was the only edition of 1619 he saw.

‡ So that Camus, who does not mention the Dutch edition of 1619 at all, and appears to be ignorant even of its existence, supposes the worthy skipper, Jan Cornelisz. May, who wrote such rude, unpolished Dutch, capable of composing the long narrative of the Journal in Latin!

§ But, strangely enough (*vide* note 4, p. xvi), May's descriptive note of Booton I. is entirely omitted from that French translation, so that Burney must have obtained his erroneous information concerning the authorship of the Journal from de Renneville and de Brosses, both of whom he quotes pretty freely throughout his work.

those editions from which Speilbergen's own signature was missing, May's descriptive note being absent, too, from the French edition of 1621,[1] whilst it appears only in a mutilated form in the Latin of 1619.[2]

A careful search among the papers of the Dutch East India Company deposited in the Rijks Archief at The Hague, very courteously undertaken by Dr. J. de Hullu, who has especial charge of that section, has failed to bring to light any MS. Journal of Speilbergen's *Nieuwe Oost ende West Indische Navigatien;* it would have been interesting to compare the caligraphy of such a manuscript, if found, with the Journal (in the Rijks Archief[3]) of an expedition undertaken to Spitsbergen and Novaya Zemlya by Jan Cornelisz. May in 1611 and 1612.[4]

My friend, Dr. A. Telting, second in command at the Rijks Archief, has been good enough to communicate to me a resolution[5] of the Board of Direc-

[1] *Vide* note 4, p. xvi, and note §, p. xx.

[2] *Vide* note 4, p. xvi.

[3] According to de Jonge, *Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie*, 1862, Deel. I, p. 30.

[4] For that expedition see pp. xxix and xxx.

[5] "Resolutie van de Vergadering van XVII. Woonsdach den 15 Mayo, 1619. In dese vergaderinge gesien sijnde seker boeck, geintituleert Oost-ende West-Indische Spiegel der Twee leste navigatien bij Joris van Spilbergen uijtgegeven ende gedediceert aen de Ho : Mo : heeren Staten-Generael) ende den doorluchtigen Prince van Orange, is verstaen (alsoo men daer vele onwaerheden in is vindende ende tselve is strijdende tegens het placcaet van den Ho. Mo. heeren Staten-Generael) dat men sal trachten tselve boeck te doen ophouden door alle behoorlijcke ende mogelijcke middelen. Ende sijn gecommiteert d'heeren Burgermr. Gerrit Jacob Witsen ende Adriaen Paeuw Reynierssoon, raedt ende

tors of the East India Company, wherein that assembly manifests much irritation against the *Spiegel* ("où étaient devoilées," says Tiele,[1] "plusieurs choses qu'elle aurait probablement voulu tenir secrètes"), and suggests that this resolution is good evidence that the Journal was not handed over to the Directors of the Company in manuscript, but only brought to their cognisance after it came from the press.

Tiele (an eminent bibliographical authority from whom more close and thorough investigation might have been expected) further says in the passage quoted above, "Nous ne saurions nommer la source où Meusel a puisé pour attribuer[2] dans sa *Biblio-*

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pensionaris der stadt Amsterdam, omme tselve bij de Ho. Mo. heeren Staten-Generael te vervoorderen."

"Resolution of the Assembly of XVII. Wednesday, 15 May, 1619. There having been seen in this Assembly a certain book, entitled East and West Indian Mirror of the Two last Voyages, published by Joris van Spilbergen and dedicated to Their High Mightinesses the States General and to His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, it has been resolved (since many untruths are to be found therein and it violates a proclamation of Their High Mightinesses the States-General) to endeavour to stop the said book by every expedient and possible means. And Messieurs Burgomaster Gerrit Jacob Witsen and Adriaen Paeuw Reyniers-soon, councillor and pensionary of the town of Amsterdam, are charged with the furtherance of this matter in the States-General."

[1] *Mémoire Bibliographique*, p. 70.

[2] In these words: "Diarium itineris ipsum Joh. Cornelius de Maye conscripsit." *Loc. cit. Bibliotheca Historica. Instructa a Burcardo Gotthelf Struvio, aucta a Christi. Gottlieb Budero, nunc vero a Joanne Georgio Meuselio ita digesta, amplificata et emendata, ut paene novum opus videri possit.* 11 *vol. Lipsiae*, 1782-1802.

theca historica (III, 2, p. 120) la composition du Journal de Spilbergen, et en particulier de la carte du détroit de Magellan, à May—qu'il nomme à tort *de Maye*,[1]—mais ce qui est certain, c'est que dans le texte du journal *hollandais*, à l'endroit où est indiquée la carte des îles de l'Inde Orientale (No. 19), May se désigne lui-même comme le dessinateur de la petite carte du détroit de Botton ; détroit *qu'il avait lui-meme plusieurs fois franchi et examiné.* Dans l'édition latine le nom et omis, mais le témoignage subsiste dans l'emploi de la première personne. Dans l'édition française, l'addition est entièrement omise."

It will be seen that Tiele was "burning," as the children say in their game. He had all the facts before him. If he had only compared the Dutch edition, of which he speaks, with the mutilated version given by de Renneville, which Meusel actually quotes as an (possibly the only) edition consulted by him, he would probably have detected where the first "déraillement" took place.

What do we know of the man who, for exactly one hundred and fifty years[2] has posed, *malgrè lui*, as the author of Speilbergen's Journal?

Lack of material renders it almost hopeless, after this lapse of time, to compile a full account of the

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[1] But quite naturally, for it has been shown above (see p. xix, note 5), that Meusel's predecessors, de Brosses and Callander, called him so.

[2] It was de Brosses, in 1756 (*Vide* p. xviii, note 1, and p. xix, note 5), who was the first definitely to make the statement.

doings, especially of the early ones, of Jan Corneliszoon May, *alias* Menscheter or Anthropophagus,[1] and it was probably this fact which led to his being confounded, by an eminent and generally most careful bibliographer, with another navigator of a somewhat similar name, though of a slightly earlier period.

Dr. G. M. Asher, in his Introduction to *Henry Hudson, the Navigator*,[2] speaks of "Cornelis Corneliszoon Nai, also called Menscheter or Anthropophagus, a seaman of consideral experience," taking part, already in 1594, in an expedition to Novaya Zemlya fitted up by Moucheron and his Enkhuizen friends.[3] This unfortunate transference by Asher, who adduces no warrant or authority for so doing, of the *sobriquet* borne by Jan Corneliszoon May to Cornelis Corneliszoon Nai, would naturally tend to the confusion of the two in the eyes of posterity, and it is therefore expedient, in view of Dr. Asher's standing, to interpolate here a few bio-bibliographical details in order to clear up another error, lightly made and hitherto unrefuted.

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[1] *Journael ofte Beschrijvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz Schouten van Hoorn inden Jaren* 1615, 1616, *en* 1617. Amsterdam, 1624, pp. 53 and 56. See also *infra*, note 3 on pp. xxxi, xxxii, for an earlier version, in English, where he is likewise so designated.

It is most probable that the *sobriquet* of menscheter, or man-eater, is, as Tiele (*op. cit.*, p. 70) ingeniously suggests, a *jeu de mots—may*, *maai*, or *made*, signifying in Dutch a maggot.

[2] *Hakl. Soc. Publications*, 1860, Ser. I, vol. 27, p. cxxxiii.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. cxxxv.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, an authority in every sense of the word, who took part in the expeditions of which he wrote, mentions, in his description of the voyage of 1594 alluded to by Asher, as "superintendent" of the three vessels, "one Cornelis Cornelisz. Nay, skipper of the Zeeland ship, as one who had been for some time employed (as Moucheron relates) as a pilot to Moscovia, and had by long custom good experience of the shores of the north."[1] And in three other passages in the same volume (one in the same Voyage,[2] two in the Second Voyage[3] made northwards, in 1595) the name of Cornelis Cornelisz. Nay is always found without any further suffix.

In a much-quoted work written by two Dutch

[1] *Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, van bij Noorden om door de Engte van Nassau . . . Anno* 1594. Franeker, 1601, fol. 3.

This edition is quoted here (and has been consulted in addition to the slightly earlier one published at Amsterdam) by reason of its being the one cited by Dr. Beke (*vide infra*, note 3).

[2] Fol. 23. "Alhier wesende nam den Ammerael Cornelis Cornelisz. sijn afscheydt van ons."

[3] *De Tweede Reyse afte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linsschoten . . . bij Noorden-om . . . Anno* 1595. Franeker, 1601.

Fol. 24. "Zijnde Ammerael ofte Superintendent vande Vloot ofte Schepen Cornelis Cornelisz. Nay op't schip van Zeelandt."

Fol. 34. This is a protest drawn up by the Admiral Cornelis Cornelisz., and signed by him and others. For an English version see *A True Description of Three Voyages by the North-East . . . Undertaken . . . by Gerrit de Veer.* Edited by Charles T. Beke, Phil. D., F.S.A. (*Hakl. Soc. Publications*, 1853). Introduction, pp. lxiii-lxxv.

scholars at the commencement of the last century,[1] and published by the "Provinciaal Utrechtsche Genootschap," the Superintendent or Admiral Cornelis Cornelisz. Naij, is also constantly spoken of without epithet.[2]

In 1853, Dr. Charles Beke edited for the Hakluyt Society Gerrit de Veer's *Three Voyages by the North-East*,[3] and following Linschoten closely both in text and in his own learned Introduction, naturally always wrote of Cornelis Cornelisz. *Nai*.[4] What, then, must be our astonishment to find Asher, in 1860, whilst making copious use of Beke's work, confusing us by tacking the epithet belonging to Jan Cornelisz. May on to Cornelis Cornelisz. Nai ?[5] Fortunately, there came soon after him an historian in whose invaluable work[6] implicit reliance may be placed, who had at hand not only the various books quoted above, but also in his charge the vast collection of unpublished documents known as the Old Colonial Archives of the Netherlands.

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[1] *Verhandeling over de Nederlandsche Ontdekkingen in Amerika, Australie, de Indiën en de Poollanden . . . door R. G. Bennet en J. van Wijk.* Utrecht, 1827.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 26, 29, 46, and in the lists *ad fin.*

[3] See note 3 on p. xxv.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Vide supra*, p. xxiv.

[6] Unfortunately limited to all too short a period, and modestly entitled *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie* (1595-1610). *Verzameling van onuitgegeven stukken uit het Oud Koloniaal Archief. Uitgegeven en bewerkt door Jhr. Mr. J. K. J. de Jonge.* 3 vol. 1862-1865.

De Jonge deals very gently with Asher, whose work he quotes,[1] by making no reference to his contemporary's blunder, which he must have noticed, but speaks repeatedly, with distinct differentiation between the two, both of Cornelis Cornelisz., of Enkhuizen, who had sailed to Moscovia for many years for the Moucherons,"[2] and of Jan Cornelisz. May.[3] Was it likewise his extreme delicacy which prompted him, out of respect for Dr. Beke, whose work he also quotes and praises greatly,[4] purposely to omit, without comment, the surname of Nai in the former case, therein disregarding the high authority of Linschoten, who repeatedly uses it? Whatever may have led him to make the omission, it may safely be assumed that de Jonge was unable to find any documentary evidence to entitle Cornelis Cornelisz. to the suffix of Nay;[5] concerning May, however, there was no lack of material, and in de Jonge's own keeping, wherefore we follow him in resuming our account of that worthy, and the thread of our research into the authorship of Speilbergen's Journal.

Jan Cornelisz. May is first introduced to us[6] as skipper of the *Vriesland*, one of eight vessels that

[1] *Op. cit.*, Deel. I, p. 27.

[2] *Op. cit.*, Deel. I, pp. 18, 19, and 21.

[3] *Vide infra*, pp. xxvii-xxx.

[4] *Op. cit.*, Deel. I, p. 23.

[5] The Admiral's protest, adduced by Linschoten (*vide supra*, note 3, p. xxv), was signed simply Cornelis Cornelisz.

[6] De Jonge. *Opkomst.* Deel. II, p. 204.

sailed from Texel for the East on May 1, 1598, under the command of Admiral Jacob van Neck, the Vice-Admirals being Wijbrand van Warwijck, and later, Jacob van Heemskerck. A journal was kept by the latter from May 1, 1598, to May 19, 1600, from which de Jonge gives a lengthy extract,[1] and wherefrom we learn that May was transferred to the *Zeeland* on January 5, 1599,[2] his own ship, the *Vriesland*, returning home.

Under date of July 7, 11 and 12, 1599, there are some interesting entries,[3] curiously corroborating

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[1] *Op. cit.* Deel. II, pp. 385-454.

[2] *Op. cit.* Deel. II, p. 399.

[3] *Op. cit.*, Deel. II, pp. 445, 446 :—

"7 July, Woensdachs, Jan Corneliss. ende syn stierman aen boort gehadt, is beslooten W.S.W. aen te loopen om de Cadipes ende Buton te beseylen. . .

"11 July, Sondachs, van smorgens tot savonts langes Buton geseylt S.W., S.W. ten W., W.S.W., W.N.W.; voort maendachs morgens N.W. ten W., doen waren wy by het eylant Cabayne.

"12 July, Maendachs, S.O. son ontboot ick Jan Corneliss. schipper op Zeelandia ende wert voor best gevonden, dat wy onse seylen souden innemen ende dryven."

[Transl.] "Wednesday, July 7, had Jan Corneliss. and his mate on board; it was resolved to run W.S.W., in order to reach the Cadipes* and Buton . . .

"Sunday, July 11, sailed along Buton from morning till evening, S.W., S.W. by W., W.S.W. and W.N.W.; further Monday morning N.W. by W.; then we were near the island of Cabayne.†

"Monday, July 12, sun in the S.E., I summoned Jan Corneliss., skipper of the Zeelandia, and it was thought best that we should take in our sails and drift."

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* Kadoepan. See de Jonge, *loc. cit.*

† Cambyna.

the document[1] descriptive of Booton I. and its surrounding depths discussed at length above.[2] On May 19, 1600, May returned to the Netherlands with Heemskerck,[3] and again sailed eastwards under Admiral Wolphert Harmensz., but in company once more with the former, on April 23, 1601,[4] the combined fleet of these two admirals, consisting of thirteen vessels, being the largest that, up to that time, had left the Netherlands for India. It split into two divisions at the Azores on May 8, 1601, Heemskerck proceeding direct to the Moluccas, Harmensz. to the Island of Mauritius and so to Bantam, which he reached only after a desperate fight with a Spanish-Portuguese Armada under Andrea Furtado de Mendoça in the roadstead off that town, wherein the Dutch were completely victorious. Wolphert Harmensz., still having May with him as skipper on the *Zeeland*, the Vice-Admiral's ship, set out homewards on August 25, 1602, and reached Flushing in April of the following year.[5] May's further doings until March 28, 1611, are not chronicled.

On that date he sailed to the north in command

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[1] Reproduced opposite p. 128.

[2] Introduction, pp. xvi, xxi, and xxiii.

[3] de Jonge, *Opkomst*, Deel. II, p. 209.

[4] *Op. cit.*, Deel. II, pp. 261, 262.

[5] For the account of this voyage and famous naval encounter, see *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Deel. I, Pt. 9 (*Journael ofte dachregister vande Voyagie ghedaen onder . . . Admirael Wolfhart Harmansen . . .* 1601, 1602 *ende* 1603).

of an expedition undertaken at the instance of the States-General, at the cost and under the orders of the Admiralty of Amsterdam, its main object being to find a passage through Behring Straits, in those days called the Straits of Anian. From May to September the vessels lay between Spitsbergen and Novaya Zemlya, reaching the latitude of fully 76 degrees; but they could not break through the ice, and therefore May proceeded west to the coasts of N. America, where he wintered and made important discoveries. On February 20 of the following year, he once more sailed eastwards, and reaching the shores of Novaya Zemlya found that the winter in those regions had been the severest within the memory of the inhabitants. There being thus no hope of attaining the aim for which the expedition had set out, he returned home in September, 1612.[1] On August 8, 1614, he sailed under Speilbergen.

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[1] The MS. journal of this remarkable voyage is in the Rijks Archief at The Hague. De Jonge has a short *resumé* of it in his *Opkomst*, Deel. I, pp. 28-32.

Here, too, it may be most expedient to remind the reader that Sir Martin Conway, in a work in which the present writer had the honour of being associated with him (*Early Dutch and English Voyages to Spitsbergen*, Hakl. Soc., Ser. II, vol. xi, p. 83), also gives a useful warning in differentiating, apparently without the least doubt, Jan Cornelisz. May from the discoverer of Jan Mayen Island :—

"In 1614, a Dutch ship, with the pilot Joris Carolus on board, saw it and claimed it as a new discovery. Jan Jacobsz. May was the skipper, and the island takes its modern name from him. Later Dutch writers confound him with another skipper, Jan Cornelisz. May."

In the slightly fuller account[1] of Jacob le Maire's *Australische Navigatien* published under the name of Willem Cornelisz. Schouten[2] there are two passages[3] towards the end which show what position

[1] *i.e.*, than the one published in this volume.

[2] The first edition in Dutch in the British Museum (*Journael ofte Beschrijvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten van Hoorn inden Jaren* 1615, 1616 *en* 1617) is that of 1624; the first in English is that of 1619 (*The Relation of a Wonderfull Voiage made by William Cornelison Schouten of Horne*). The earliest extant is that of 1618 in Dutch (see the Bibliography), and that mentioned by Camus (*Mémoire sur la Collection des Grands Voyages*, Paris, 1802, p. 149) as of 1617 (Amsterdam, veuve Michel de Groot) cannot, according to Tiele (*Mémoire Bibliographique*, 1867, p. 41), possibly have existed.

[3] These passages (which it will be interesting to compare with the text in this volume at pp. 229 and 231) run thus in the English edition above quoted, pp. 77, 78:—"The 17 we had a good gale, and did our best to get to *Tarnata*, that morning betimes we saw a sayle to loofeward from us, which also made towards *Tarnata*, being the *Morning Sarre* of *Rotterdam*, of 300 Tunnes burthen, having in her 26 great pieces. At noone our Shalop came from that ship, where she had lyen 3 nights, they being in the Creeke of *Sabou*, found there the Admirall *Verhaghen* there, in one of the Admirall *Speilberg* his ships, by whose men we understood, that *Speilberg* being in the Straights of *Magelan* (which he past in 2 Monthes) had lost his smallest Pinnace, and that in the river of *Spirito Santo*, on the coast of *Brasilia*, hee had lost 3 boates with men in them, that he had spoyled the towne of *Payta*, and had fought with 8 *Spanish shippes*, whereof he had suncke three, viz., the *Admirall*, the *Vice-Admirall*, and an other, without any great hurt, onely the losse of some men, and got nothing. That he had bin at *Lima*, and searched many creekes, where the *Spanish ships* lay up: and in one, wherein there was 40 shippes, but did nothing, and that he sayled along by the coast of *Nova Spania*, through the *Manillas* to the east *Indies* being from thence gone homeward with *John Cornelison Meu-*

May held in Speilbergen's fleet.[1] These may have lent some colour to the erroneous statement con-

*scheater** with 4 ships: their names, the *Amsterdam*, the armes of *Amsterdam*, *Zeland*, and *Midleburgh*.† They also told us, that there were 10 ships well furnished at the Manillas, their generall being *John Dirickeson Lam* of *Horne*, to set upon the Spanish fleete, that were comming to *Tarnata*. We also understood that *Peter Bot*‡ sayling home with 4 Ships, was cast away, upon Mauricius Island, with 3 ships, by meanes of a storme that cast him upon the cliffes, where many of his men and himselfe also was drowned, the 4 ship scapt.

"The same evening we anchored before *Maleye* in *Ternata*, at 11 fathome sandy ground, with great Joy that we were come among our Countrymen, our Master and the Marchant went presently on shore, to speake with the Generall Laurence Real."

P. 81. "Our ship being in this manner taken from us, some of our men put themselves into service with the east *Indian* company. The rest were put into two ships (that were to goe home into *Holland*), called the *Amsterdam* and the *Zeland*: their generall, being *George van Spielberghen*, The master *William Cornelison Schouten*, and *Jacob le Maire*, 10 of our men, went with the generall in the *Amsterdam*, The masters name *John Cornelison May*, *alias Meuscheater*, and *Aris Clawson* and the Pilot *Claus Peterson* with 10 others in the *Zeland*, the masters name *Cornelis Riemlande* of *Midleburgh*, which set sayle from *Bantam* the 14 of December."

[1] In the only instance in which his name appears in the *Spiegel*§ it is spelt Moy, but little importance attaches to this variation of the vowel, probably a printer's error; even admitting

* *i.e.*, Jan Cornelisz. May, *vide infra*, in the second extract.

† Concerning the names of these vessels, *vide* p. 153, note.

‡ An account of the interesting life of this intrepid mariner (including the occurrence mentioned above), is given by van der Aa (*Biographisch Woordenboek*), whilst a relation of his first expedition to the East is found in Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh* (Deel. I, Pt. 6), *Kort Verhael ofte Journael van de reyse gedaen naer de Oost Indien met 4 schepen . . . onder den Admirael Pieter Both van Amesfort . . . in den Jaren* 1599, 1600 *ende* 1601.

§ Opposite p. 128. See also *supra*, p. xvi.

cerning the authorship of the Journal in the eyes of those who never saw or heard of Speilbergen's Dedication to the States-General, which is to be found only in the Dutch versions of 1619 and 1621.[1] That Dedication is, however, a *pièce justificative* that allows of no further discussion ; its restoration to its proper place restores the Journal to Speilbergen, and relegates Jan Cornelisz. May to his skipper's post.[2]

But a much stronger and closer link than any forged by bibliographers binds May and Speilbergen together. It has been shown above[3] how May makes his *début* (so far as posterity is concerned) by serving two full years in the East under Jacob van Heemskerck, and fully to understand the value of such an apprenticeship and the influence it must have had upon his life and character we must read what

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the possibility that in the same fleet there could have been a Jan Cornelisz. Moy, competent to draw the map of Booton I. that forms the inset to plate No. 19 of the *Spiegel*, and a Jan Cornelisz. May, skipper of the Admiral's ship and well acquainted with the East Indian navigation (a coincidence almost inconceivable), the extracts from Heemskerck's Journal given above* establish beyond all doubt the identity of Moy and May.

[1] *Vide supra*, p. xiv, and for the Dedication itself, pp. 1, 2.

[2] No apology is, I trust, needed for the length of this exposé. To remove a long-standing misconception, even at the risk of wearying the reader, I have deemed to be the unshirkable duty of an editor towards his author, the more imperative, indeed, when three centuries lie between them.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. xxvii.

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* *Vide* p. xxviii, note 3.

de Jonge says of Heemskerck when describing his return home from the expedition just alluded to. "Jacob van Heemskerck, the man who had courageously wintered with Barendsz on the forbidding shores of Novaya Zemlya and was subsequently to lay down his life for his country in the Bay of Gibraltar, had now once more served his land and masters with zeal and discretion. Though some recent writers have regarded the fame acquired by Heemskerck as being out of proportion to his merits, yet his conduct during this difficult expedition shows again how he prudently established trade in Banda, how he was equally ready with the pen and the sword, and how favourably he compared with his comrades both in his methods and manners. He was less of a rough sailor, more of a Drake or a Cavendish, a gentleman adventurer, somewhat proud and lofty, but polished and afraid of naught. He was not always acceptable to the old sea-dogs, for he was a man of a new age. When a somewhat too assertive and certainly too censorious factor, on the coast of Madura, gave utterance to the remark that the Company's ships and cargoes ought not to be so boldly risked, Heemskerck's cool, courageous answer was: 'Where we risk our lives, the gentlemen of the Company must risk their ships and cargoes.' He had, moreover, one great merit as a commander. He knew how to inspire his men with a blind confidence in himself; and though the critic of a later generation may, seated at his desk, find the

balance between fame and merit not perfectly true, the hands of Jack Tar were too rough to handle so fine an instrument. When Jacob van Heemskerck was on board, the sailors felt safe; they grappled light-heartedly with the foe, and called the battle a 'Heemskerck fight.' It was, too, the enterprise of Jacob van Heemskerck and Jacob van Neck that was the first to be crowned with success in India, and for that reason they, more than a Houtman,[1] are to be regarded as the founders of the Dutch trade there."[2]

It is surely a strange coincidence that in a letter[3] to the States-General, dated May 9, 1607, announcing the death of this gallant sailor under the guns of Gibraltar, during an engagement in which May possibly (nay, probably) took part—for, as shown above, his doings are hidden from April, 1603, until March, 1611—we first come into touch with anything directly from the hand of Speilbergen himself.[4]

The biography of Joris van Speilbergen,[5] the

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[1] See note 1 on p. xl.

[2] De Jonge, *Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost Indie*, Deel. II, pp. 209, 210.

[3] The letter is given *in extenso* on pp. xlix-lv.

[4] *Vide infra*, p. xxxvi.

[5] This form of the name has been adopted (in preference to and after full consideration of the claims of all others) for the following reasons. It is the form used by Speilbergen himself in signing the Dedication to the Journal, which appears in the Dutch edition of 1619; it is also the form adopted by Floris

second Dutchman to circumnavigate the globe, has yet to be written; let us hope by one of his own countrymen, with leisure, too, to exhaust the rich stores of the Netherlands Archives. The very meagre details given by the standard works tell us nothing beyond what may be learnt from the navigator's two Journals.

The first of these[1] (the second being the one published in this volume) is an account of an expedition to the East Indies equipped by Balthazar de Moucheron, the enterprising adventurer who, having been among the first to send out ships both east and west, was now also one of the last (before the establishment of the Chartered East India Company

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Balthazar — the publisher of the first Journal *— in his own dedication to that work in the edition of 1605, the first in which such dedication appeared.

A further proof of its accuracy is furnished by a coat-of-arms that adorns the title-page of the edition last mentioned, the dexter impalement representing a spear, in pale, on a mound, crossed by two arrows, in fess, (the colours not being marked,) under which is the name Speilbergius in a panel. Spijl in Dutch signifies a large iron pin, skewer or arrow (speil having precisely the same pronunciation), and berg is, of course, a hill.

[1] *Het Journaet van Joris van Speilberghen . . . Delff*, 1605. This is the first edition of which a copy is extant in this country. There was but one earlier, also printed at Delft, in 1604.

The journal is meagre in details compared with that of the expedition of 1614 (except where it relates to Speilbergen's reception by the Maharajah of Candy), and bears internal evidence† of having been dictated.

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* See note 1 on this page.

† *Vide* p. 62 in the above-mentioned edition.

of the Netherlands) to send a fleet once more to the East.

The expedition, which set out from Veere on May 5, 1601, consisted of three vessels: the *Ram*, the *Schaep* and the *Lam*, and proceeding along the west coast of Africa, reached on December 2nd (after some fighting at Puorto Dale and Refrisco[1]) a bay which "our General called Table Bay by reason of a high mountain, flat on top and square like a table."[2]

Extremely interesting, both to English and Dutch, must be, after this lapse of time, the following remarks of Speilbergen's:—

"With regard to the land of the Cape de Buona Esperance, it is a very healthy and temperate land, very fit and useful to be cultivated and inhabited and to produce all kinds of fruits, and although it appears to be somewhat mountainous and hilly, there are also very fine and wide valleys covered with verdure and sweet-smelling herbs, as well as many green woods or bushes where herds of stags and deer are seen grazing, all very pleasant and delightful to behold. It is, moreover, also furnished with good water that comes from the mountains along streams running into the sea near the strand, and with animals such as oxen and sheep. Concerning the people of the aforesaid Capo de bon Esperance, they are yellow in colour like mulattoes,

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[1] See p. 172.

[2] *Het Journael van Joris van Speilberghen*, 1605, p. 14.

very ugly of feature, of medium stature, frail and lean in body, but very swift in running; they have a strange clucking language, like Turkey cocks. Their clothes are skins of deer or other wild animals shaped like mantles."[1]

Leaving Table Bay on December 23, Speilbergen proceeded some way up the east coast of Africa, but nothing of very great moment is recorded until the arrival of the expedition off Point de Galle in Ceylon on May 28, 1602. Anchoring on the 31st in the harbour of Batticaloa, Speilbergen attempted to open up trading relations with the rajah, but the prince durst trust himself to no definite action, fearing the wrath of the Portuguese, whom he cordially hated, on the one hand, and that of the Maharajah of Kandy on the other. Speilbergen thereupon boldly determined to proceed to Kandy in person, accompanied by a retinue of only ten men, and was received at the Maharajah's court with every mark of friendship and esteem. This portion of the Journal is exceedingly interesting, life in the Cingalese capital being naïvely described with much detail. With great tact did Speilbergen ingratiate himself with the chief ruler of Ceylon, submitting that he had been specially sent as an ambassador by Prince Maurice of Nassau, who had so recently defeated in a glorious naval encounter[2] at Nieuport in Flanders the Spanish under the Archduke Albert

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

[2] July 2, 1600, *not* 1602, as printed in the *Journael* (p. 37).

of Austria. The next day a life-size portrait of Prince Maurice, on horseback, in all his martial habiliments, adorned the apartment of the Cingalese ruler, who in an ardent speech declared that henceforth Kandy and the Netherlands must be one, that he and all his house would gladly carry on their shoulders the stone and cement should the Dutch desire to build a fort anywhere on the island of Ceylon.[1]

On September 2nd, 1602, Speilbergen sailed from Ceylon for Sumatra. Here he entered into an alliance with the English to attack the richly-laden Portuguese carrack that annually crossed from St. Thomas on the Bengal coast to Malacca; the attack was most successful, and after a partition of the spoils Speilbergen returned to Acheen.

Nearly two years had now elapsed since Speilbergen had left the Netherlands, and in that time the General Chartered East India Company, enjoying many important monopolies[2] had, after endless discussion and difficulty, come into existence.[3] In January, 1603, two vessels, belonging to the first fleet sent out to the East for the account of that great trading body, arrived at Acheen, and Speil-

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[1] "Den Coninck sprack: siet, ick, mijn Coninginne, Prins ende Princes sullen op hare schouderen de Steenen, Calck ende anders helpen dragen so de Heeren Staten ende zijn Princelijke Excellentie believen hier in mijn lant een Casteel te comen maken, sullen moghen daer toe sulcke plaetse, haven ofte Baye kiesen als hun sal gheraden vinden."—*Het Journael*, p. 37.

[2] *Vide i.a.*, p. 165.

[3] 20th March, 1602.

bergen deemed it expedient to sell one of his vessels to the Company, himself proceeding homewards after a brief call at Bantam.[1]

Arriving off that town on April 27th, 1603, he found assembled there no fewer than nine Dutch ships, and this number was shortly afterwards increased to thirteen, when Jacob van Heemskerck dropped anchor in the roadstead. Curiously enough, with Speilbergen's arrival at Flushing[2] on March 24th, 1604, he is lost to the eyes of posterity until we read of him, in his own words, fighting, almost to

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[1] "Vers 1596, les Hollandais, conduits par un homme qui a laissé un grand nom dans l'histoire de la fondation de la puissance coloniale des Hollandais en Orient, le capitaine Houtman, parurent à Bantam, sur le détroit de la Sonde, où les Portugais avaient une factorerie ; quatre ans plus tard, les nouveaux arrivants y fondèrent à leur tour un établissement qui ne tarda pas à supplanter celui des Portugais. En 1602, les Etats-Généraux de Hollande créèrent la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, et avec le droit de porter son trafic au delà du cap de Bonne-Espérance, ils lui octroyèrent celui d'élever des forts et de soutenir leurs opérations au besoin par les armes. Dès l'année 1618, le gouverneur général reçut l'ordre de choisir dans le Grand Archipel d'Asie une localité convenable et d'y fonder un établissement permanent qu'aurait le titre de *Rendez-vous général.* Le choix du gouverneur général* se fixa sur une localité appelée Djakatra, à l'E. de Bantam : telle fut, en 1619, l'origine de Batavia." Vivien de Saint Martin, *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie Universelle*, Paris, 1884, tom. II, p. 965.

[2] He is generally held to have been a native of Zeeland, like the majority of the men who made the Dutch merchant marine the pride of their country and the terror of the world.

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* Jan Pieterszoon Coen. *Vide* p. 151, note 1.

the death, by the side of the gallant Admiral in whose company we last left him.

I have therefore thought it most fitting to append to this Introduction a translation of his letter,[1] little doubting that the gallantry shown on the occasion of its despatch had much to do with Speilbergen's appointment to the command of so important an expedition as that of which the *Oost- en West-Indische Navigatien* relate.[2]

. . . .

The tenour of the concluding paragraph of Speilbergen's Journal,[3] wherein is given the reason (already adduced in the opening words of this Introduction[4]) for including le Maire's *Australische Navigatien* in the *Spiegel*, is little in keeping with the *tirade* against le Maire and his companions, deliberately set down in writing upon their arrival at Jacatra, on October 20th of the foregoing year.[5] It should, however, be borne in mind, as the entry of December 22nd proves,[6] that a companionship of only two months had already wrought a considerable change in the feelings of the Commander towards those whom he had more than once branded as

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[1] *Vide* pp. xlix-lv.

[2] Very few further details concerning Speilbergen than those contained or indicated in this volume have yet been dug out of the Netherlands Archives. He died at Bergen-op-zoom, 31st January, 1620.

[3] *Vide* p. 164.

[4] *Vide* p. xi.

[5] *Vide* pp. 151, 152.

[6] *Vide* pp. 162, 163.

mere "claimants;" there is also a possibility that even in October Speilbergen, as a mariner, may have entertained for the intrepid le Maire sentiments which, as a servant of the East India Company of the Netherlands, it was not politic or permissible for him publicly to express.

We have seen[1] how Speilbergen himself, caught in the East by the long arm of the newly-established Company, had in 1603 deemed it expedient to sell one of his vessels to that favoured body, and immediately to proceed home. But others there were who regarded the Company and its valuable monopolies in a more truculent spirit. Amongst these was Isaac le Maire,[2] of Egmont, a merchant of European—nay, world-wide—reputation, whose son was miserably to die of a broken heart on a stranger's ship, after gaining immortal fame by steering his own vessel through waters hitherto unknown to the civilized world. In those empire-building times the Netherlands traders, more esteemed then than now by the leisured classes, stood on the same plane as her statesmen and nobles, and Isaac le Maire fought shoulder to shoulder with no meaner a man than Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in attacking the Dutch East India Company. But a "Remons-

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[1] *Vide supra*, p. xl.

[2] An essay by R. C. Bakhuizen van den Brink, written in trenchant style, and fully setting forth the unequal combat waged between this typical Dutch trader and the East India Company of the Netherlands, appeared in *De Gids* in the year 1865. I am indebted to it for some valuable particulars.

trance" against the increasing powers of the Company, presented to the States-General early in 1609, was, after much agitation and wire-pulling, signally defeated, and le Maire had to fight his powerful foe in other fields and fashions—on 'Change and in the Southern Sea.

Since the days of the earliest navigators, a belief had always obtained in the existence of a great southern continent extending along the South Pole; Tierra del Fuego was held to be one of the northernmost forelands of that Continent, and Magellan's Straits the channel which separated it from America. The passage of those Straits, as one of the routes to the Indies, had in 1602 become the chartered monopoly of the Dutch East India Company, and though an isolated vessel may occasionally have drifted somewhat more to the south than was customary, it discovered little else than forbidding shores, whilst the Company possessed neither the means nor the energy to organize expeditions such as the later ones of Tasman and Vlamingh.[1]

"Therefore Isaack le Maire . . . being very inclined to trade in strange and far-distant parts, and Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, of Hoorn (a man well experienced and very famous in navigation, as having already sailed three times to nearly all places in the East Indies as skipper, pilot, and merchant, and still

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[1] For *Some Particulars relating to the Voyage of Willem de Vlamingh to New Holland in* 1696, see *Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, edited by R. H. Major, Hakl. Soc. Pub., 1859.

very eager after strange voyages and the visiting of new and unknown lands), did often speak and deliberate together whether it were not possible to come by some other way not mentioned nor forbidden in the aforesaid Charter into the great South Sea." . . . These words, which are probably le Maire's own, are followed in the preface to the *Australische Navigatien* by such explicit details of the preliminaries to that celebrated circumnavigation of the globe, that it has been thought unnecessary to attempt to supplement them here.[1] The Journal tells its own tale.

The great victory over the East India Company was gained on January 24th, 1616; on that day the expedition entered the new channel to which Jacob le Maire gave his father's name, and this was followed by the discoveries of Cape Horn, of Staten Land, of the land they called after Prince Maurice of Nassau, of Barnevelt's Island, and finally of Willem Schouten Island.

But so much success had to be dearly paid. At Jacatra, whither he had been allowed to proceed by Laurens Reael, who was for a short time acting as Governor of the Indies at Ternate, le Maire met one of Holland's strongest and severest men, Jan Pieterszoon Coen,[2] whose iron rule in the East

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[1] In the article by Bakhuizen van den Brink, alluded to above, there are set forth some *Secret and Detailed Instructions for Jaques la Maire* [*sic*] *upon his approaching voyage to the South.*

[2] For a brief sketch of his career, *vide* pp. 151, 152.

was to begin by a most harsh and tyrannical measure.

Scepticism with regard to le Maire's statement that he had come by another passage than Magellan's Strait, and by one not forbidden in the Charter of the East India Company, was to be expected; but straightway to brand the whole of a mariner's log as an infamous forgery and to confiscate his vessel were high-handed proceedings, especially since in Speilbergen's log,[1] too, mention at least was made of what might have been the very channel claimed by le Maire to be first navigated by him.

Once more it is fitting to quote Captain Burney's words:—"This was a most cruel requital for men to meet with from their own countrymen, in return for having, with superior sagacity and spirit, undertaken and accomplished an enterprise so hazardous and so reputable, the lustre of which continues to this day to reflect honour on their country."[2]

What actually happened is recorded in a few words in the Journal, touching by reason of their simplicity and brevity.

"On the 1st of November, the President (of the East India Company), Jan Pietersz. Koenen, invited our skipper and supercargoes to come ashore to him. On their arrival he signified to them, in the presence of his council, convoked by him, and in the name and behalf of the Directors of the East India

[1] *Vide* pp. 42 and 46.

[2] *Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea*, 1806, Pt. II, p. 437.

Company, that they must give up and hand over to him their vessel and all their goods, as was done."[1] The writer's pen then rambles off into an inaccurate explanation concerning a discrepancy of dates, evidently written at random,[2] but wherewith his thoughts were meanwhile busied may be gathered from the words that follow :—" So our ship remained here."

Jacob le Maire and Willem Cornelisz. Schouten[3] were sent home in the same vessel, but the former died on the way, his death, which took place on December 22nd, 1616,[4] being, as his father alleged in a petition to the States-General, "caused by the affront and harshness put upon him."[5] Be that as it may, we are told that when he died "our Admiral and all the others were deeply grieved, since he was a man endowed with remarkable knowledge and experience in matters of navigation."[6]

Such sentiments expressed by no less a man than Joris van Speilbergen, and published in his Journal throughout the civilized world, were probably as much valued by old Isaac le Maire as the decree of the "Hooge Raad" which, after two years of litigation, recognized the rights of Jacob le Maire and his companions to their discovery by ordering the East

[1] *Vide Journal*, p. 231. [2] *Vide* note on p. 232.

[3] Bakhuizen van den Brink, I know not on what authority, states that Schouten was left behind at Jacatra.

[4] He was born at Amsterdam in 1585.

[5] *Vide* Bakhuizen van den Brink, *De Gids*, 1865 : "Gecauseerd deur de affronte ende fiericheyt hem aengedaen."

[6] *Vide* Speilbergen's *Journal*, p. 163.

India Company to return the confiscated vessel and its cargo to the owners, and to pay all costs and interest, computed from the day of the illegal seizure.[1]

The reference to the authorship of the *Australische Navigatien*, wherewith the Preface to that portion of the *Spiegel* closes,[2] will not fail to strike the reader as a somewhat curious one, almost studiously vague, and as if veiling or vindicating some unfair proceeding; and, indeed, the history of the publication of the earlier accounts is anything but an edifying one, being nothing more than the record of an unseemly squabble between Willem Cornelisz. Schouten and the friends of Jacob le Maire.

From the Bibliography appended to this volume may be seen in what order and under whose name the various relations of the voyage appeared; but I must at once warn the reader that the matter is so involved as to render the true authorship unknown.

Schouten was evidently successful in getting the first editions to bear his name, but a man who would hide under the bench of a boat whilst his companions were being shot down[3] would probably not be very scrupulous regarding his share of ownership in a manuscript.

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[1] *Vide* Bakhuizen van den Brink, *loc. cit.*

[2] See p. 168.

[3] This incident is recorded by Bakhuizen van den Brink, *loc. cit.*

Though Tiele's judgment, even in matters bibliographical, is not necessarily final, as I have attempted to show when dealing with Speilbergen's Journal,[1] there has been such cross-swearing with regard to the authorship of the *Australische Navigatien* (not, as in Speilbergen's case, for the past 150 years only, but ever since their first appearance), that we may safely concur in the eminent bibliographer's dictum—"le véritable auteur du journal de Schouten est resté inconnu."[2]

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[1] *Vide* pp. xxii, xxiii.

[2] P. A. Tiele, *Mémoire Bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais*, Amst., 1867, p. 60.

COPY OF A LETTER[1]

WRITTEN BY

JORIS VAN SPELBERGH, COMMISSARY-GENERAL and Captain of the Zeeland soldiers under the command of the Honourable and Gallant JACOB VAN HEEMSKERCKE, appointed Admiral by the Honourable and Mighty Lords the States of the Free United Netherlands, treating of the conquest of the Spanish Fleet.

Written from our fleet off Cape Saint Vincent, May 9, 1607.

Whereas we reached the latitude of 36 degrees off the river of Lisbon on April 10, it was resolved by Admiral Heemskercke and his Council to enter the said river with all our ships in order to capture the carracks and galleons, as we were well able to do: but receiving reliable news that the carracks had departed, that the galleons, some eight or nine in number, were still quite unready, their guns being still on shore, and that fully two months' work was necessary to get them ready, we rescinded the aforesaid resolution, especially when some French and English, who came from S. Lucas[2] and Calis,[3] brought us certain tidings that fifteen Spanish warships had set out from S. Lucas and Calis for the Strait of Jubaltar,[4] and that amongst them

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[1] See the Bibliography.

[2] S. Lucar. See especially p. lxi.

[3] Cadiz.

[4] Gibraltar.

were eleven galleons, the rest being smaller merchant vessels fitted up for war.

We therefore resolved to go and visit them, and the wind being against us, from the east, we met a Flushing man, named Loy Seylmaker, who had come through the Strait on April 22, and he told us that he had been amongst the Spanish fleet in the night, but finding himself outside the fleet in the morning, he imagined they had set their course for Calis, for the aforesaid fleet had also to get out of the Strait on account of the east wind.

The wind veering to west again, we ran close past the bar of S. Lucas and the Bay of Calis on April 24, but we could not ascertain whether the galleons had run in there: else we had been resolved to attack the said galleons in the aforesaid Bay of Calis.

On the same day we proceeded further towards the Strait of Jubaltar, stoutly determined to find the galleons or the fleet of Spain, and attack them.

Arriving off the town of Tanger, on the Barbary coast, at the beginning of the Strait of Jubaltar, on April 25, and perceiving no galleons, the Council was there again convoked on board the Admiral's ship, when it was resolved in God's name to attack the Spanish Armada if the latter were in the Bay of Jubaltar, we being well determined, even if it were in their own harbour, under the guns of the town and the castle. To that end orders were issued that if we found the foe there he should be first attacked by our Admiral and Captain Lambert Hendricksz., of Rotterdam, being the rear-admiral; these two were to get alongside the Spanish Admiral, and the Vice-Admiral with Captain Bras, of Hoorn, alongside the Spanish Vice-Admiral, and so each following.

Reaching then the Bay of Jubaltar and seeing the Spanish Armada there, we carried out our resolution with God's aid and in such order as was possible, finding there

twenty-one vessels, amongst which were French, English, Embdeners[1] and other merchantmen. The Spanish Admiral weighed anchor and drifted to the town close to four other galleons. The Spanish Vice-Admiral, who had 450 men on board, as the prisoners afterwards told us, remained where he was. The Spanish Admiral was joined by another 100 cavailleros from the shore who came to his assistance out of love, though he was well provided with men. Notwithstanding that the Spanish Admiral was protected by the guns of the town and castles, our Admiral Heemskercke and Captain Lambert, of Rotterdam, nevertheless approached him and stoutly attacked him, and so did further everyone where he could the Spanish Vice-Admiral and the other galleons. The furious attacks and cannonade did, by God's mercy, after four hours' hard fighting, give us the victory over our foes.

And as the galleons mostly ran ashore they were destroyed and their crews sent to the bottom; amongst these being the Spanish Admiral, a high galleon of 400 lasts,[2] named the *S. Augustine*, commanded by the General of the whole Armada, Don Juan Alveris d'Avila, born at Esturges,[3] and killed here—an old soldier who had long served on sea under Don John of Austria—together with his Vice-Admiral and the colonel of the soldiers, and nearly all the captains of the aforesaid Spanish Armada. The galleons and other Spanish war-ships were immediately burnt and sunk, two of them running ashore, but sufficiently disabled to render them useless, being so riddled with shot.

We captured the flags of the Admiral, the Vice-Admiral and the other galleons, with some loot, but we were unable to carry off any ships or cannon by reason of the great conflagration in the Spanish Vice-Admiral and the other

[1] From Emden, a sea-port of East Friesland.

[2] 800 tons.

[3] Astorga.

galleons, which took fire and sank. We were in great danger of getting the fire into our ships, some of which had enough to do to extinguish the flames that already broke out in divers of them, but God preserved us. Few people were saved from this aforesaid Spanish Armada; the bay or roadstead of Jubaltar looked as if it were sown with human beings by reason of the Spaniards who sprang overboard. On board the Spanish Admiral there lay two or three hundred dead, in addition to those who had sprung overboard. The Spanish prisoners admit that there were fully four thousand men in their fleet; there were few prisoners, about fifty, amongst whom is the son of the Spanish Admiral, named Juan Alvaris d'Avila, captain of the galleon the *S. Augustine.*

We have lost our Admiral Jacob van Heemskercke, who went into this battle with great honour and gallant determination, and was constantly and gallantly supported, through God's aid, by the Vice-Admiral and Captain Lambert, Captain Pieter Willemsz., and all the other captains of soldiers and seamen.

On April 26 we got our ships away from the town and the castles, as they were constantly doing us damage with their fire.

We sent some boats and men to some of the burnt wrecks and vessels that lay around us. The Spaniards on land, seeing this, themselves set fire to the Spanish Admiral, which lay aground disabled; so that they themselves did what we intended to do.

In defeating this Armada over eight thousand shots were fired from the big guns. The fighting was very hard and terrible, in addition to which the tremendous conflagration of the Spanish galleons was awful and wonderful to behold, especially when the fire reached the powder. It seemed as if new clouds and lightning rose from the sea to the heavens. From a skipper named Govert den

Engelsman, of Rotterdam, who says he is an Embden man, and was a prisoner in the Spanish Admiral, we learnt that the Admiral liberated him when he saw our ships coming, in order that he might deliberate with and consult the aforesaid skipper. He told us that the Spanish Admiral would not believe that we would be bold enough to attack him in the harbours and bays of the King of Spain, and especially under the guns of the town and castle of Jubaltar, which opinion we have indeed taught him to alter. The aforesaid Spanish General was perfectly well advised of our coming, also how many warships, victualling-ships and soldiers we had, all of which we found among his papers; also his general instructions and commission signed by the Spanish King *Yo el Re.* And therein we also found and saw with what outrageous tyranny the aforesaid King orders and commands that honest Netherlanders and those who consort with them be persecuted and tyrannized, especially Hollanders and Zeelanders, the other nations being in these instructions of his not regarded as entirely free or immune from molestation.

On the 27th of the said month we set sail from the Bay of Jubaltar to the coast of Barbary, first passing so close to Sceuta in the Bay that they in the town and in other places fired at us from the shore. Numbers of the Portuguese were on horseback, fearing a repetition of the game at Jubaltar, but insecurity and inexpediency led us to proceed further on to the Bay of Tutuan, 5 miles from Sceuta, in order to re-furnish our ships, many of which had sustained damage to bowsprits, masts, yards and sails (the latter being much pierced by shot), as well as in their sides whilst grappling the Spanish galleons, all such being much battered. On arriving off Tutuan, being a place under the dominion of the Turks and Moors, we were made very welcome, so that on the 28th of the said month the Governor came on board with many Turkish nobles,

bidding us welcome and offering us every friendship and aid we might require for our wounded or otherwise. The aforesaid Governor and all those of his country appeared to be very glad at the victory granted us by God over the arrogant Spaniards.

Here follow the names of the galleons and warships that were destroyed, some being sent to the bottom, others burnt and driven ashore, so riddled with shot and damaged as to render them unfit for further use.

The first galleon, on board of which was the Admiral, was called the *S. Augustine.*
The Vice-Admiral, *Nostra Signora del Vega.*
The Rear-Admiral, *Madre de Dios.*
The fourth, *S. Anna.*
The fifth, *Nostra Signora de la Regla.*
The sixth, *Nostra Signora de la Conceptione.*
The seventh, *S. Christoffel.*
The eighth, *Nostra Signora de los Doloros.*
The ninth, *S. Nicolas.*
The tenth, *Nostra Signora de Rosaros.*
The eleventh, *Nostra Signora de la O.*
The twelfth, *S. Pedro.*[1]

There were some smaller vessels, but their names are unknown to me; fourteen of them were destroyed.

On May 7th God granted us a favourable wind so that we got out of the Strait of Jubaltar and reached Cape St. Vincent, passing S. Lucas and Calis. We were told by some who were at Calis when the report of the defeat at Jubaltar arrived that there was such great wailing in the towns all around that it was like the shrieking of lean pigs, all crying aloud that Spain had never been so clawed as now by us, God be praised.

[1] It will be seen that most of these names are somewhat mutilated, but they are easily recognisable.

The ships that sail to India and Nova Hispania are seven in number, but the King, hearing of the brave exploit of the Netherlands ships, ordered them to proceed higher up to Porto Royal,[1] fearing that we might run them down or set fire to them. It was our intention, if there had been any warships in the Bay of Calis, to have visited them, but finding none we passed on and reached Cape St. Vincent this 9th of May, 1607.

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[1] Puerto Real, a little east of Cadiz, and more protected than that city.

THE VARIOUS TREATISES by other hands included in Speilbergen's Journal call for a word or two here.

1. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU,[1] "compiled by a Spanish prisoner, named Pedro de Madriga, a native of Lima," was, of course, written in that prisoner's own language, and subsequently translated into Dutch, probably by an officer of Speilbergen's fleet, and by one not too well versed in Spanish, as the large number of errors testify.

That treatise was in 1643 appended (with all its original errors, as printed in this Dutch edition of 1619) to the *Journael vande Nassausche Vloot, ofte Beschryvingh vande Voyagie om den gantschen Aerd-Kloot ghedaen met elf Schepen onden 't beleydt van den Admirael Jaques l'Heremite . . . in de Jaren* 1623, 1624, 1625 *en* 1626. *t'Amstelredam.* It was again appended to a later edition of the same work in 1648, and in both cases, although its authorship was properly ascribed to de Madriga, without acknowledgment of its source or of any indebtedness to Speilbergen or his publishers, the reader being thus led to suppose that de Madriga had really been taken prisoner by the Dutch Admiral, Jacques L'Hermite ; indeed, this misconception was kept up by the fact that when in 1646 Commelin published his *Begin ende Voortgangh vande Vereeinghde Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie,* to which it has already been necessary to allude (better known, as stated above, in de Renneville's

[1] Pp. 86-99.

French version, as the *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*) and included Speilbergen's *Oost en West Indische Spiegel*, de Madriga's treatise was actually excluded from the latter and placed at the end of the *Journael van de Nassausche Vloot*, as in the separate edition of 1643 of that work. It was strange for so careful an editor as Commelin to commit, or perpetuate this error, but it would have been stranger still to have found de Renneville rectify it; and therefore de Madriga's treatise also appears in his collection in the same collocation as in the *Begin ende Voortgangh.*

2. THE KINGDOM OF CHILI AND ITS CIRCUMSTANCES.[1] —We have the authority of Tiele for stating that this short description of Chili appended to de Madriga's treatise on Peru forms part of an unpublished "Declaration" made by Jacob Diricks-zoon van Purmerlant, pilot of a vessel in the fleet of Jacob Mahu and Simon de Cordes (the expedition of the Five Rotterdam Ships that set out in 1598) who was taken prisoner at Valparaiso by the Spaniards, and that the original is in the Rijks Archief at the Hague.[2] This statement does not appear to be quite in keeping with the facts related in the journals of that expedition,[3] but it is a small matter, and possibly Tiele had later information, and probably saw the MS. he mentions.

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[1] Pp. 100, 101.

[2] *Mémoire bibliographique*, p. 71.

[3] See Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Deel. II, No 5, p. 22.

3. A DISCOURSE BY THE VERY RENOWNED APOLONI SCHOT, A NATIVE OF MIDDELBURGH, IN ZEELAND.[1] —The author of this treatise appears to have been a man of many parts. Van der Aa[2] knew him only by his learning, quoting Grotius, Heinsius, Barlæus and Hooft as his friends, and laying more stress upon his Latin poetry and his jurisprudence than upon his geographical treatises. From him, too, we learn that A. Vorstius calls him "sidus fulgentissimum, omnium eruditorum fautor æstimatorque eruditissimus," and that J. Fr. Gronovius spoke of him as "vir doctrina et virtutibus prorsus incomparabilis, ac eo major, quo id magis tegit."

De Jonge, on the other hand, speaks of him as "the gallant captain" whom Admiral van Caerden,[3] in June, 1608, entrusted with the charge of the garrison at Taffasoho,[4] on the island of Macjan, after routing the Spaniards, the Dutch occupation of the fort securing the whole island for the East India Company.[5] There he remained as captain and chief factor until 1611,[6] assisting in a successful attack upon the Spanish fort on Batjan Island, November 25, 1609,[7] which resulted in an offensive and defensive alliance against Spain and Portugal between the King of Ternate and the Dutch on the one side, and the chief ruler of Batjan on the

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[1] Pp. 133-149.

[2] *Biographisch Woordenboek*, Deel. XVII, pp. 456, 457.

[3] *Vide* p. 135, note 2.

[4] *Vide The Discourse*, p. 136, in this volume.

[5] *De Opkomst van het Nederlandtsch gezag in Oost Indie*, Deel III, p. 66.

[6] *Op. cit.*, Deel III, p. 396.

[7] *Vide The Discourse*, p. 137, and *De Jonge, Op. cit.*, Deel III, pp. 104 and 332.

other. A copy of this treaty is given *in extenso* by de Jonge,[1] followed by a letter from Schot to the Governor of Banda, dated Jan. 3, 1610,[2] describing the conquest of Batjan Island in 1609.

The terms in which the *Discourse* is alluded to at the end of a subsequent treatise concerning the forts and abandoned places[3] would almost lead to the inference that Schot wrote it specially for insertion in the *Spiegel*, whilst from the fact that reference is more than once made in the text itself to "documents and letters . . . appended hereunto"[4] it would appear as if it formed some kind of official report. We have seen that Schot wrote to Hendrick van Bergel, Governor of Banda, relating the conquest of Batjan I., and in Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh*, included in a large number of narratives appended to the *Journael* of Pieter Willemsz. Verhoeven, there comes, after a copy of this *Discourse*, another, describing a voyage performed by Schot to "Botton, Solor, and Tymor," dated July, 1613, and addressed to Mathijs Couteel, at Bantam. Schot, therefore, as de Jonge leads one to suppose, was evidently as ready with the pen as with the sword.

There is a divergence of opinion concerning his later history. De Jonge[5] makes no mention of him after 1611, and the letter of July, 1613, to Couteel, was written on board the vessel *Der Veer*;"[6] Tiele[7]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, Deel III, pp. 328-330.

[2] De Jonge, *Op. cit.*, Deel. III, pp. 331-334.

[3] *Vide* p. 160. [4] *Vide* pp. 143 and 146. [5] *Op. cit.*

[6] *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Deel II, Pt. 15.

[7] *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs Néerlandais*, p. 176.

says that he perished in the river of Jacatra on the 25th November, 1613, and van der Aa[1] states that he returned to Middelburg, his native town, was appointed pensionary and councillor, and died 1st November, 1639.

4. A SHORT DESCRIPTION . . . OF THE FORTS AND CONCERNING SOME ABANDONED PLACES.[2]—This treatise has likewise been appended, in Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh*, to the above-mentioned[3] Journal of Verhoeven, without further indication of authorship than that of following immediately upon Schot's "Discourse." From the fact of its being dated July, 1616, which date coincides with that upon which the "Discourse" is interpolated in Speilbergen's Journal,[4] it appears very probable that this "Description" formed part of that treatise. It has, however, been left in this edition in the position it occupies in the Dutch one of 1619, to append it to Schot's "Discourse" being a bolder piece of editing than the evidence of its authorship would strictly warrant.

5. A LIST OF THE VESSELS,[5] from its date, style and matter, is manifestly an accompanying document to the preceding.

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[1] *Biographisch Woordenboek*, Deel XVII, p. 456.
[2] See pp. 154-160.
[3] See under 3, p. lix.
[4] See p. 133.
[5] *Vide* pp. 160-162.

N.B.—THE SPELLING of all proper names, with their numerous variations, is given as in the original, but, except where quite superfluous for the purpose of identification, the modern English appellation will be found in a foot-note, whilst every form used is comprised in the Index. In general, the names of native objects have been dealt with in the same manner.

The reproduction (opposite pp. 87 and 137) of two pages of the original text—in addition to that of May's important note (opposite p. 128)—will give an idea of the peculiarities of the Dutch version, and likewise show the liberties which the diarists, and possibly also the printer, allowed themselves to take with the Spanish language. May they also serve to show that an endeavour has been made to render faithfully, without embellishment, both the sense and style of the Dutch.

The Society is indebted to its Honorary Secretary, Mr. B. H. Soulsby, for the compilation of the Bibliography and Index.

Oost ende W

SPIE

Der 2. leste Navigatien/ghedaen ind
bertoont wooꝛt/in wat geſtalt Ioris van Speilberg
heeft/met eenighe Battalien ſo te water als
ende de cuſten van West-Indien/ het ghetal d

Met de Auſtraliſche Navigatien, van Iacob le Maire, die int ſu
ſo Landen, Volcken, ende Natien, haer ont

TOT LEYDEN, By Nicolaes

EAST AND WEST INDIAN MIRROR

Of the two most recent voyages performed in the years 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617 and 1618, wherein is shown in what manner JORIS VAN SPEILBERGEN circumnavigated the world by way of the Magellanes, with some battles, on sea and land, and two narratives, one of the East, the other of the West Indies, the number of forts, soldiers, ships and cannon.

With the Australian Navigations of JACOB LE MAIRE, who passed through a new strait in the South, with the many strange things they met with in countries, peoples, and nations, depicted in 26 copperplates.

Nicolaes van Geelkercken, Leyden, Anno 1619.

The wording of the preceding title-page, which is that of the Dutch edition of 1619, was, evidently also in Dutch eyes, so ambiguous that, on the publication of the edition of 1621 (which, so far as the text is concerned, is merely a re-print), the publisher thought it desirable to draw up a fresh one, and this is therefore, for the sake of its greater clearness, also reproduced here, with an accompanying English version. In the second, however, as in the first, the year 1618 was erroneously added.

EAST AND WEST INDIAN MIRROR,

WHEREIN ARE DESCRIBED

The Two most recent Navigations performed in the years 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617 and 1618.

THE ONE by the renowned Marine hero, JORIS VAN SPILBERGEN, through the Strait of Magellanes, and so around the entire globe,

With all the battles fought both on land and water.

To this are added two accounts, the one of the East, the other of the West Indies, with the number of ships, forts, soldiers and guns.

THE OTHER performed by JACOB LE MAIRE, who discovered a New Strait south of Magellanes Strait, with a description of all countries, peoples and natives. All adorned with fine maps and plates expedient hereunto.

Jan Janssz., Bookseller, at the sign of the Pas-Caert, op 't Water, Amsterdam, Aº MDCXXI.

TO THEIR HIGH MIGHTINESSES

MY LORDS THE STATES GENERAL

OF THE

FREE UNITED NETHERLANDS

AND

TO HIS MOST SERENE HIGHNESS

MAURICE, by the Grace of God, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, Catzenelleboghen, Vianden, Diets, Lingen, Muers, Buren and Leerdam; Marquis of Vere and Vlissinghen, Lord and Baron of Breda, the town of Grave and the lands of Cuyck, Diest, Grimberghen, Arlay, Noseroy, St. Vit and Daesborch; Hereditary Burgrave of Antwerp and Bezançon; Governor and Captain-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands; Admiral-General at Sea, etc.

HIGH AND MIGHTY SIRS AND MOST SERENE PRINCE,

The pleasure I derived from revealing and describing my previous voyages has served me as an incentive and caused me to omit nothing worthy of mention from this

narrative of my last journey, performed with six vessels through the Magelanes, along the coasts of Chili, Peru, Nova Hispania and California, the Manilles, Molucques, and other East Indian shores, but to observe and set down whatever the daily circumstances and a visit to the localities brought before our eyes; the more so as I deemed such to appertain to my office, since I had the honour of being employed on that journey as Commander-General, with a commission from Your High Mightinesses and Princely Excellency. I therefore beg that the Aforesaid may be pleased to accept the said work with a benevolence equal to the zeal and attachment with which the same is dedicated and offered to Your High Mightinesses and Princely Excellency by their most humble and faithful servant,

JORIS VAN SPEILBERGEN.

TO THE READER.[1]

GRACIOUS READER, having resolved to set before you as in a mirror some strange things that the art of navigation has brought to light—an art which in these our days has become so famous, and has, moreover, revealed to us many lands of which Strabo and Ptolemy make no mention, to wit, such lands as lie beyond the realms of Asia, Africa, and Europe, where in recent years we have received ample assurance, both from experience and from living witnesses, that there are various new-found lands that have been and are daily being discovered by Dutch navigators—I have therefore thought fit to depict for you, both in writing and copper-plates, the two most recent and most excellent voyages, in order to extol to the highest degree by this means those navigators, who, with their directors, will herein find for the expense, labour, danger, and trouble incurred by them, laurels which, in addition to the rich profits, will endure to the end of the world; whilst the

[1] This is obviously merely the publisher's preface, which the authors of the two Journals probably never saw in manuscript. It would otherwise be difficult to conceive how either could have allowed such glaring inaccuracies as *Mendura pana* and the *Straits of Tagima Sanguine* (*vide* p. 5) to pass into print.

reader will be greatly pleased to learn all things most pertinently, without risking his life in the investigation of these rarities, and obtain a very good knowledge of all foreign countries, peoples, nations and trade, just as if he had visited the same in person. I therefore set before you here in what manner Their High Mightinesses the States, His Princely Excellency Maurice of Nassau, and the Directors of the East India Company, equipped a fleet of six vessels, under the command of Joris van Speilbergen, to sail through Magelanes Strait and the Southern Sea to India. Thus it came about that the aforesaid Speilbergen, after setting out from these United Netherlands, did, by God's mercy, pass the Canarie Islands, the Cape Verde or Salt Isles, the equinoctial line, and the Tropic of Capricorn, skirt the coast of Brazil, from St. Vincent[1] to Cape Vergine,[2] pass through the Strait of Magelanes and along the coast of Schily,[3] touch at the island of La Moche,[4] Sta. Maria, Conseption, Quintera,[5] Valparisa,[6] and Arica, and engaging in an encounter or battle, first by night and afterwards by day, off Canjette[7] in Peru, with the fleet that set out from Lima under the command of Don Rodrigo de Mendosa, did enter the famous harbour of Lima, named Caljou,[8] the harbour of Guerme,[9] and capture the town of Peyta ;[10] and then, proceeding further along the coast of Nova Hispania, Aquapolco,[11] Selages,[12] St. Jago[12] and Natividat[13] as far as

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[1] S. Vicente, near Santos.

[2] Cabo de las Virgenes. [3] Chile. [4] La Mocha.

[5] Quintero. [6] Valparaiso.

[7] Cañeta. This town is some distance inland on the river of the same name.

[8] Callao. [9] Huarmey.

[10] Payta. [11] Acapulco.

[12] The two bays of Salagua and Santiago face the neck of land on which the town of Manzanillo now stands.

[13] Navidad, in 19° 13′ N.

the discovery of Californis and some islands thereabouts, we took our course to the Ladrone Islands or Islos de Velos, to Cape Spirite Santos,[1] Maneljos Straits,[2] the Island of Capul, Mendura[3] and other islands as far as the bay of the town of Manilja,[4] passed for the rest along Mendura[5] pana,[6] Cadera,[7] Mindenao,[8] the Straits of Tagima[9] Sanguine,[10] as far as the rich and famous Moluques Islands, and anchoring with the aforesaid fleet of six vessels off the town of Maleyen in Ternaten, continued our voyage to Java and this country. For the better elucidation of the following journal and narratives we have, in order more fully to instruct the kind reader, added hereunto, with great diligence, expense, and trouble, drawings of all the aforementioned places, and also an account of the whole voyage, with a description of the brave assiduity and care of the leaders and all others of this fleet, who at all times quitted them in true and manly fashion for the service and honour of our dear country.

Secondly, mention is made in the following Journal of a new thoroughfare or passage in the south, whereof we were assured by the most renowned Jacob le Maire, whose journey is added hereunto by reason of the fact that he died on Speilbergen's ship whilst returning, and also because our two voyages took place at the same time as the Australian Navigation was begun and completed by Jacob le Maire, which is likewise very pleasantly illustrated with his maps and figures.

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[1] C. Espiritu Santo, in the Philippines.

[2] The Straits of Manila.

[3] Mindoro.

[4] Manila.

[5] Mindoro.

[6] Panay.

[7] Cape la Caldera, the most westerly point of the I. of Mindanao.

[8] The island, not the town.

[9] Between the island of Taguima, the ancient name for Basilan I., and the island of Mindanao.

[10] Sangir I., called Sangnijn in the text (p. 127).

ODE[1]

IN HONOUR OF THESE FRESH NAVIGATIONS.

When Ceres started up with rich ripe ears becrowned,
And threshing-floors groaned loud 'neath many a golden mound ;

When Autumn still was stained with wealth of Bacchus' sap,
And dropped the luscious grape into each joyful lap ;

Equipped was then the fleet to ride the billows blue,
To sail around the earth and cut the ocean through :

How great the enterprise, how glorious the deed !
That on their long, drear way these doughty men did lead,

In honour of the Lord to view Earth's marvels all,
To see the landscapes fair that rose up at His call,

Adorned with fruits so sweet, with many kinds of creatures,
With mountains, woods and dales, and all such varied features

As Nature with her arts makes diff'rently appear :
Magellan's Strait, to wit, a passage much to fear,

Where oft they pay Death's toll who that false course would run,
A way with dangers set, which we had liked to shun.

Though biting cold came ever piercing through our skin,
Steadfast and ever true our purpose we did win.

Barbaric giants wild sprang up from out their lair,
Human in their shape, but of all human feelings bare.

We rode the blasting wind, the fearful tempests through,
Which caused us much delay these Straits to get into.

But honour was at stake, so one and all did fight
Most bravely and like men to steer our course aright.

So that we soon passed through, God granting this salvation,
For the fame and honour great of the Netherlandish nation.

We sailed the Southern Sea, where the Spaniard spied our trail,
And brought the King's ships up to fight us tooth and nail.

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[1] The jingle and metre of which have been retained.

Well armed with shot and shell, their Dons and colonels bold
Line up their men-at-arms, who glitt'ring halberds hold

To beat us off their coasts and drive us back again ;
But all that mighty force strove this to do in vain.

The Sacrament received, each blithely boards his ship,
Intending us to hang when we're smitten on the hip.

The vain hope Folly cherished their brav'ry could not win,
Who digs a pit for others, oft falls himself therein.

When now on earth all cares by slumber sweet were lightened
The darkness of the night the flash of cannon brightened.

The Spanish Commandant, Rodrigo de Mendoza,
Was loth to know us there and not approach us closer.

That arrogance of his we quickly turned to mourning,
Three-fifty cavaliers we drowned with little warning.

It was a gruesome sight, by hellish sounds attended,
As though the elements were eke thereat offended.

No brave or manly heart was wanting in the fray,
Each fought as if his deeds alone must win the day.

When black night by the dawn from heaven's vault was swept,
With shouts and cries of rage each man to combat leapt.

Full soon the Spanish arms with shame were turned to rout,
Their men, their ships, their wealth, left scattered all about.

The vessels that we took, the towns and forts we carried,
I need not here relate, nor how the land we harried.

The fortress Acapulco did pay us toll and tax
In numbers of fat cattle, ripe fruits in well-filled sacks.

Then joyfully our sails were set to hie away,
And California's coast we kept in sight by day.

God gave us wind so fair that we could scarcely fail
The islands of Ladrone within a trice to hail.

Here fruits of various kinds were brought us, and full soon
These healed our sick on board, and proved indeed a boon.

At Capul, 'tis an isle that's under Spanish rule,
Each native came with gifts our parching throats to cool.

Then further on we passed Manilla's Strait with speed,
And entering the bay in triumph took our meed

Of tribute from the Dons, for junks and sampangs came
With goodly victuals stored to set us up again.

And so the fleet was fed for many months right well.
When Mindenao was reached, the natives there did tell

That Spain their foeman was, and pressed us straight away
For friendship, favour, help ; how could we say them nay ?

Of poultry and of fruit they also brought great store ;
At length, when out we'd been of months about a score,

To Ternaten we came, for which we'd long looked out,
Where all were well received in blithe and friendly rout.

The Governor Reael did welcome us as friends
To the city of Maleye ; in praise then each knee bends

That we are brought thus far, with numbers undiminished,
In mercy and in love, with labours well-nigh finished.

They marvelled us to see, whilst we were glad to meet
A fleet that had just come from far Magellan's street.

When Governor Reael in July gave command
That Speilberg and some men in Java's isle should land,

The *Zeeland* was the one, the other *Amsterdam*,[1]
That set out for Japar, Jacatra, and Bantam.

How from Dutch lands we saw there many ships arrive,
All filled with wealth and men, is in our Narrative.

From Zumatra, Japan, Arabia, India, treasures
Came, captured from our foes, and all by warlike measures.

Off Jacatra, Bantam, nigh three months had we lain,
Ere all such cargo rich into our holds was ta'en,

At length, our anchors weighed, we set sail in December,
And took good care each man his duty should remember

To get us swift return, and God, so ends our story,
Did grant us this, wherefore to Him be praise and glory.

A. L. Z.

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[1] The rhymester was mistaken ; the vessels were not so named, but equipped by the province of Zeeland and the town of Amsterdam (see pp. 11, 132 and 153).

TO THE BINDER.

This is the order in which the plates should stand in relation to the pages.[1]

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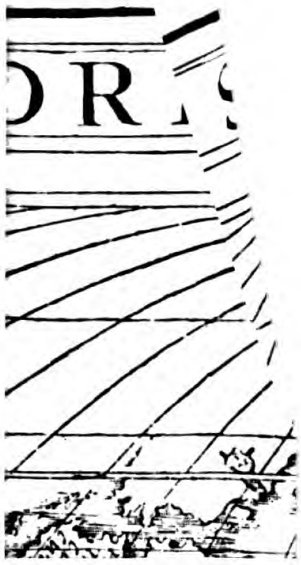
[1] The pagination has been transposed to that of this edition.
[2] S. Vicente, near Santos, on the Brazil coast.
[3] Valparaiso.
[4] Huarmey.
[5] Acapulco.
[6] Salagua.
[7] Navidad.



SPEILBERGEN'S JOURNAL.

Historical Journal of the Voyage

undertaken from out the United Netherlands with six vessels equipped by the Renowned Directors of the East India Company, to wit, the *Groote Sonne*, the *Groote Mane*, the *Jager*,[1] a yacht, the *Meeuwe*, of Amsterdam, the *Æolus*, of Zeeland, and the *Morgenster*, of Rotterdam, in order to sail

Through the Straits of Magallanes to the Molucques under the orders of Mister JORIS VAN SPILBERGHEN as Commander-General of the Fleet, with a commission from Their High Mightinesses the STATES-GENERAL and HIS PRINCELY EXCELLENCY.

ON the eighth of August of the year sixteen hundred and eighteen,[2] we sailed out from Texel with the help of God with four ships, the wind being south-east: may the same God grant us good fortune and prosperity on this voyage. Amen.

On the 9th ditto, the wind veered to the south-west.

On the 10th, the yacht and the *Meeuwe* got separated from us through a bad look-out.

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[1] This is frequently referred to merely as "de Jacht" (= the yacht); where there is danger of ambiguity this designation has been retained in the translation to distinguish the vessel from the other yacht, "de Meeuwe." The size of these two vessels explains the mention of only "four ships" in the opening paragraph.

[2] A slip for fourteen, as is later most evident.

On the 12th, arrangements were made for dealing out bread, and four and a-half pounds per week were ordered to be given each man.

Sailing in this fashion until the night of the 16th, we then saw one of our ships, the *Æolus*, of Vlissinghen, lying at anchor near the Zingels;[1] wherefore, with the consent of the Admiral, it was deemed proper by the skippers and mates to run to the Downs, which was done.

On the 1st of September, the yacht came back to us, having lain so long at Pleydmuyen,[2] for which the skipper could not find any excuse.

On the morning of the 2nd, we had a contrary or head-wind, and the *Æolus*, coming to the Admiral, informed him that she was leaking badly; wherefore we ran with all the ships and two other merchantmen to the Isle of Wight, and anchored at night off the Cow[3] before the Castle.

There we stayed some days, and on the 12th regulations were made regarding the beer, each man being allowed one tankard per day.

On the 15th, the Admiral held a general inspection of the whole fleet.

On the 16th, the Admiral having caused a shot to be fired as a signal for setting sail, we all weighed anchor and put out to sea.

On the 17th, the wind blowing from the west, we had a stiff breeze.

On the 18th, the wind veered entirely to the north, and we, steering our course north by west, made good progress for some days in this fashion.

On the 27th, the wind being again south-west, and our course lying south-east, we got along pretty fairly, and at mid-day we were in 18° of latitude.

On the afternoon we saw a drifting mast which had been

[1] The Shingles, Dungeness. [2] Plymouth. [3] Cowes.

struck by lightning, and some of our ships coming near it saw round about the said mast great numbers of fish, of which we caught so many that two hundred men ate their fill of them. Towards evening, we hauled the said mast on board, and it came in very handy to us for repairs.

Sailing further along until the 3rd of October, we were then in the latitude of the island of Madera.

On the 6th, the Admiral invited to his ship the two skippers of the merchantmen who were in our company, and after a friendly leave-taking many letters were given them to forward home.

The same night it blew a top-gallant gale from the east, our course lying south-west by south.

On the 9th we saw the high country of Canaria, and shortly after the land Gerensycque,[1] from which the peak mountain rises very high.

On the 17th, in the afternoon, we closed the starboard hatch, and sailed west, afterwards west by south.

And in the evening the Admiral sent the *Meeuwe* on in front, with orders to fire a shot as soon as they spied land.

On the 18th, the same breeze and progress continuing, we were at midday in 18° of latitude, and during the night the *Jager* and the *Meeuwe* sailed on in front.

On the morning of the 19th we saw no land, but Job Cornelissen, skipper of the *Æolus*, came to the Admiral, and earnestly assured him that the islands lay farther back ; wherefore the Admiral, hoisting his pennant, called a Broad Council, and by order of the same we closed the hatches towards night, and set our course east-south-east.

On the 21st we came in sight of Ile de Brave,[2] and afterwards of Ile de Fogue,[3] which lay very high. The Admiral then gave orders for the *Jager* and the *Meeuwe* to run on in advance, and lie close under the Ile de Brave, in order

[1] Teneriffe. [2] Brava or São João, in 14° 49′ N., 24° 45′ W.
[3] Fogo, in 14° 53′ N., 24° 30′ W.

to find a good anchorage there, and to signal the same by the flag and a shot.

In the afternoon we were in 15° 30′ latitude, and so we sailed past the Salt Islands, which are not placed in the right latitude in the maps, as we find them marked by Captain Vincent[1] in 17°.

On the 24th we were not far from the land, and sailed towards it all together; the *Jager* and the *Meeuwe*, however, a little in advance close in to the shore. But finding that there was no anchorage for the large vessels, we put out to sea again, taking our course south-south-east.

On the 25th, continual rain falling, we collected a deal of water in sheets, cloths, shirts, and other things, and it was very calm all day.

After deliberation, it was resolved by the Broad Council to put forth every endeavour to double Cape Frio, and proceed so to the Ile Grande, on the coast of Braseil, in order to lay in a stock of wood and water.

On the 26th, regulations were made for dealing out water and wine, and each man was ordered to be given twelve pannikins of water and two pannikins of French wine daily. The same afternoon we were in latitude 13° 34′, and we sailed on the whole night south by east.

On the 28th, early in the morning during the day-watch, we had a squall, with rain, lightning, and much wind, coming from the east-south-east, and our course lying south and south by east.

From October 30th until November 17th we had continually much calm weather, a deal of rain and variable winds, as often happens in that clime.

On November 22, the Admiral called up all the men,

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[1] Vicente Yanez Pinzon, Spanish navigator. He supplied Columbus with an eighth of the expenses of the expedition to discover America, and was himself in command of one of the vessels. He was the first Spaniard to cross the Line in 1499, discovered the mouth of the Amazon, and sailed along the coast of Brazil.

and told them with good reasons that each man could not have more than eight pannikins of water per day in addition to his usual wine.

The same afternoon we were in 2° 8′ latitude, and sailed with a south-east wind, our course being south by west and sou'-sou'-west.

On December 9th, after the whole fleet had hoisted their flags, a general prayer was offered up, and we all praised Almighty God that he had brought us so safely through the dangerous shoals of the Abroles,[1] which extend very far out to sea.

The same evening each mess was given a stoop of Spanish wine in addition to the usual allowance.

On the 11th, the wind blowing from the north, we sailed with a topsail west by south, in order to discover the land.

At dawn on the morning of the 13th, we came in sight of the land of Brasilia, and the mates were of opinion, judging by the latitude they had taken that night, and the appearance of the land that we saw, that it was Saint Clara[2] and Cape Santhome. According to guess, we were still about 4 miles from the shore, and we cast the line in 26 fathoms.

The land of Brasilia was rather high, full of hills, some very pointed, and others being big and massive, but on the coast it was flat. Towards evening it was thought fit and decided that we should again run out seawards, and return again to the shore at midnight, as was done. But finding there a great shoal, the vessel, the *Groote Son*, fired a shot in order to warn the other ships still to hold out for a while seawards.

About two hours before daylight we turned and sailed south-south-west, running along the shore.

On the 14th, we sailed almost the whole day along the shore, and in the afternoon it became very calm.

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[1] Abrolhos. [2] This name has disappeared from the maps.

Towards evening we came in for a strong squall, which lasted a long time, with continual rain, so that we had to take in all the sails. In the evening we cast anchor in 14 fathoms.

On the morning of the 15th, the Admiral had the white ensign hoisted, and shortly afterwards summoned the council.

Towards evening we set sail with a south-east wind, taking a sou'-sou'-westerly course along the shore until after nightfall, when, about two hours after the setting of the watch, we came in for such a variable breeze that we could not keep a steady course.

On the 19th, we sailed west and west by north, with a fine breeze from the east, and made good progress, gradually approaching the shore. The land was here rather high and peaked, wherefore the mates thought we were off Cape Frio, but the *Meeuwe*, which had sailed on in advance the whole night, coming up to us, brought us tidings that Rio Javero[1] lay in front of us, that there were three islands before the mouth of the river, and hoped that we might still come in sight of Iles Grandes that day, wherefore the *Meeuwe* was ordered to sail on again in advance.

On the morning of the 20th, we found ourselves close to the Iles Grandes, and ran straight to the roadstead, where we anchored in 13 fathoms between two large islands covered with trees ; the Admiral had himself put ashore here in order to inspect the place.

On the 21st, we sailed away with the whole fleet to another island about half a mile off, and anchored in 5 fathoms.

In these places we caught a large quantity of fish, with the net and otherwise, and among them were crocodiles the length of a man.

[1] Rio de Janeiro.

On the 22nd, several boats were sent out, each to a different channel, in order to sound the depths and seek a better anchorage.

On the 23rd, the Admiral had a pennant hoisted, and all the skippers and mates having come on board, it was resolved that we should again move our ships, which was done, and we ran in close behind another island, just under the shore, in 5 fathoms, where we found two small huts on land, with many human bones lying under a rock.

On the morning of the 24th, the Admiral and Captain Willem van Anssen, with the carpenters, went ashore, in order to set up the tents there for the sick; and towards the evening the latter were taken thither from all the ships, and were protected at night by three corporal's guards.

On the 28th, the Admiral hoisted the white ensign, and called a Broad Council on board his ship, wherein it was resolved that the *Jager* should be despatched to a river situated 2 miles from the fleet, in order to protect the boats which were to go there for water. This was accordingly done, and the *Jager*, setting sail, dropped anchor about 1½ mile from the fleet, so that the land was hardly within range of her fire; she was not acting therefore in accordance with orders, which were that she should anchor close under the shore, as a perfect protection to our boats.

At about two hours before daylight on the morning of the 29th, the boat and the Admiral's barge went off for water. A party was also sent with them to cut some firewood on the island off which we lay, and as the boat and barge returned to the ship at midday, they again set out, as soon as they had discharged, in order to lay in a further stock.

Having again discharged their water at night, they thought to come aboard, but being too fast aground, they could not get off, and had to spend the night there until

the tide rose; and having passed the night there in a hut which the men from the yacht had built, they came on board with the tide in the morning, declaring that they had heard some noise of men in the bush.

On the 30th, some boats were again sent out for water, one from the *Mane*, the *Morgenster*, and the *Jager*, with nine or ten soldiers, amongst whom was Franchoys du Chesne, lieutenant to Captain Roelant Philipsen, the rest of the mariners being, contrary to the orders which had been given them, without their arms.

About sunrise we saw the *Jager* was firing many a cannon shot at the land, and continued thus to do, wherefore we deemed there must indeed be something wrong and quickly despatched thither three boats, well manned and armed, which, on reaching the *Jager*, learned that five *canoys* (which are a kind of skiff), filled with Portuguese and mestis, had come and carried off by force three of our boats and massacred all our men, and that the *Jager's* own boat had been taken whilst distant but a musket-shot from the vessel.

Our men in the aforesaid three boats, seeing the place where the *canoys* still lay, set out for them; the latter, observing this, made off. Our men, pursuing them, gained upon them hand by hand, but on turning a corner close under a rock they discovered two frigates protecting the enemy, wherefore, perceiving their disadvantage, they came back on board with these sad tidings.

On the morning of the 1st of January the Admiral had the white ensign hoisted, and a Broad Council having met, four sailors were brought aboard the Admiral's ship as prisoners, they being accused of treason, to wit, of running away from the *Meeuwe* with the yacht, in order to make themselves masters of the latter and use her to their own advantage. They were very narrowly and separately heard, and we learnt that the accomplices were fourteen in number.

On the 2nd ditto, all the men of the *Meeuwe* were distributed amongst the other ships, on account of the treason, and a fresh crew were put aboard her.

And as we did not yet have our full quantity of water, the *Jager* was again sent about a mile distant from the fleet to lie there close under the shore as a protection for the boats, and the yacht, by reason of the dead calm, was towed thither by four boats; the said four boats, having been laden, again returned to the fleet, finding on the way the floating body of the boatswain's mate of the yacht, with some arrows sticking in it, and they buried it on land.

On the 3rd, the prisoners were examined, and a report of the matter drawn up.

On the 4th, an examination was again held by the Council. On the same day, the *Meeuwe* was ordered, by common agreement, to go and lie between the *Jager* and the shore, for the greater protection of our boats while fetching water.

During the night, two *canoys* full of savages came to inspect our yacht.

On the 5th, the Admiral had the Broad Council summoned, which found two of the prisoners guilty of *crimen læsæ majestatis* and sentenced them to forfeiture of life and property, wherefore each was to be hung up at the yard-arm and be shot through by six musketeers as he was being hauled up, and that on the vessel upon which each had served.

On the afternoon, the Fiscal, Christiaen Stulinck, and the Reader were deputed to acquaint the delinquents with the sentence of death; which was done, and they remained the whole night with the latter, in order to exhort them to a state of repentance and remorse for their sins.

On the 6th, the Admiral had the blood flag of the Company hoisted, and the Orange at the top-mast, as did also all the other ships. After breakfast, all the soldiers bearing

arms, the Fiscal read the sentence publicly; and after the Admiral with the merchant Cornelis de Vianen and Captain Willem van Anssen had gone on before, the provosts with the miscreants followed, and the execution was immediately carried out, the bodies being buried on land. The names of the condemned were Hieronimus Hendricksen, of Hamburgh, about twenty-four years old, and Jan Hendricksen, of Enckhuysen, about twenty-five years old, their examination, confession, and sentence being registered in the minute-book.

On the 8th, we got our last water in, and in the evening both vessels came back to the fleet.

Before the departure from Ile Grande, the Broad Council met and resolved upon the departure, as well as upon the *rendevous* in the Strait of Magellanes, which, unless it should happen that some of the ships went astray during storm or other cause, was ordered to be Cordes[1] Bay, and further all other bays and islands thereabouts, where a stake should be planted in passing, upon which each ship should hang a hoop or rope with some other direction, in order that the later comers might know which had passed there; and it was ordered that the stakes should be set up in the most conspicuous places and in the usual anchorages.

It was then also arranged how long one should wait for the other in the Bay; this was six or seven days. After that time, each one might pursue his journey to Ile Lamochie,[2] in the South Sea, in order to await further orders there.

On the 11th, the Council again met, and it was proposed that, since the necessary victuals were not to be got here, and the sick were still very weak, a run should be made to the Bay of St. Vincent,[3] the Admiral deeming this very

[1] Cordus on the map herewith, but see p. 43.

[2] La Mocha. [3] S. Vicente, near Santos.

necessary, and representing to all those on the Council how greatly victuals were needed, and how, moreover, sickness, and especially scurvy, was daily increasing, and that, according to human judgment, it was impossible to bring such heavy ships, which have to be tacked, turned, and often brought to anchor, through Magellanes Straits without first having sound and able-bodied crews. Some, on the contrary, proposed that the voyage should be continued without first seeking fresh provisions ; but the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and the majority of the Council resolved before all else to seek provisions, as appears from the minute-book, and this resulted in such great profit and advantage touching the preservation of our men that one and all had good cause to thank God therefor.

Accordingly to a resolution passed, we took down all the tents on the same day, and brought the goods on board.

On that shore, too, we made new boats in place of those which had been taken from us. And so we weighed anchor that night, and set sail, but with the dawn we had again to cast anchor on account of the exceeding calm.

On the 14th, the Admiral had the white ensign hoisted, and the Broad Council being assembled, the provosts brought the prisoners and accomplices of the treason on board, and all the officers having fallen on their knees and begged for pardon, this was granted them by the Council, and the prisoners were released on parole and distributed amongst the other ships.

The same day it was so very calm that the ships drifted without wind, the one here, the other there.

On the 15th, the Admiral held a general inspection of the whole fleet.

On setting sail at night, we set our course nor'-west by north, in the direction of the land.

On the 17th, we saw a great column of smoke rising

from the land, wherefore the *Jager* and *Meeuwe* were sent on in advance, the other ships following on behind.

Towards the evening, when the *Meeuwe* returned to the fleet, the Admiral sent his boat to it and Balten Stevens, of Vlissinghen, commanding the *Meeuwe*, who had been several times in that country, declared that he did not recognize this land, and that we must have come much too far. The Broad Council being thereupon summoned, it was resolved that the Admiral's boat, carrying two swivel-guns, sixteen soldiers and ten sailors, under the command of Lieutenant Coignet, should proceed two hours before day-break to the place where we had seen the fire, taking with them a basket of beads and other trifles, in order to see whether they could get into friendly negotiations; this was done, but with no result.

We cast anchor there, about a mile from the shore, in 16 fathoms.

On the 18th, the *Meeuwe*, flying a small white flag astern, approached the shore, on reaching which they saw many people, both on the beach and in the bush. After they had come still closer to them, the Portuguese called out that we should send one man only, and that we should not approach the shore with any boats; whereupon Jan Hendricxsz., boatswain on the *Mane*, sprang naked into the sea and swam towards them. The Portuguese and savages stood in great numbers on the shore, armed with bows and arrows, wherefore our boatswain, standing on a rock, called out that they should lay down their arrows, and that one of them should speak with him; this was done, and one of them coming forward and making the others draw back, asked our boatswain where we came from, what we wanted there, and whither we wished to go; whereupon he replied that we came from Flanders, that we had come thither in search of provisions for love and money, and that we wished to go to Rio de Plata. The

other replied that we well knew that, by reason of the King's prohibition, they might not trade with us, but that if we would promise to keep the matter secret and not to proceed to St. Vincent[1] to reveal it there they would provide us sufficiently with everything the next day.

At midday the Admiral's big boat, carrying two swivel guns and thirty well-armed men, was sent to the *Meeuwe*, with orders for the latter to go on in advance and search for the bay, and that having found it, to give some signal by shot. This having been done, the four vessels proceeded thither, the *Jager* remaining at anchor until further orders in the place where we had previously spoken with the Portuguese.

At daybreak on the morning of the 19th, we saw two canoes round the corner of the river and immediately turn back again; whereupon the Admiral sent the *Meeuwe* and two boats into the river in order to sound the depth there. But very soon after we saw a *canoy* bearing a small white flag come from the town of Sanctus,[2] which was situate there, and where there were many people on the beach; we at length approached so close to it that we could speak with it, and when we told them the reason of our coming there they said that we should write a letter to their governor and place it upon a stake on the beach and that they would bring us an answer to it. Amongst other things they warned us to be on our guard against the savages who dwelt near St. Vincent. Shortly after, the *Meeuwe*, having proceeded up the river in advance, fired a shot, wherefore our ships weighed anchor, and ran up the river.

In the afternoon we took a letter ashore, and placed it on a stake.

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[1] See note 3, p. 20.

[2] Santos.

On the 20th, the Admiral had the white ensign lowered, and the Orange ran up in its stead, both with and without the pennant; he also had the ships dressed. After that, some boats were sent to the spot where we had placed the letter on the previous day; on arriving there, two *canoys* full of Portuguese came up to our men, and delivered to them a letter, which, on being opened and read by the Admiral and Council was found to contain nothing of special import; it was therefore resolved to write once more, wherefore some boats again proceeded thither, taking with them two bottles of Spanish wine, two cheeses, and a parcel of knives with some beads, with which we presented the Portuguese who were standing there on the shore.

At the same time we saw on the shore of St. Vincent, being the place whither those of Sanctus had told us not to go, many people carrying a white flag, wherefore four of our boats immediately proceeded thither, and on reaching the savages were told by the latter that they durst not trade with us without the consent of the Governor, so that we presently again departed thence, and said that we should get some fruits from the adjacent island, which they neither consented to nor forbade.

Towards evening, two of our boats came from the *Jager*, laden with apples, lemons, and a little meat.

On the 21st, Captain Willem van Anssen, accompanied by his ensign and Lieutenant Ruffijn, proceeded to the shore with three boats full of armed men, in order to ascertain something definite. On reaching land, a letter was handed them, being written in the Governor's name, but not signed by anyone. They brought on board with them two Portuguese, a mesti and a Brazilian, being their slave and pilot, in the place of which Lieutenant Ruffijn, Dirck Voedt, ensign, and an assistant from the *Morgen-sterre*, had remained on land as hostages.

PLATE No. 2.

Number 2 is the ILLUSTRATION OF CAPE ST. VINCENT, IN BRAZIL,

Where our ships re-victual, marked with letters, as follows[1] :—

A. Are six boats or sloops, in which the men were taken ashore.
B. Are our soldiers drawn up in battle-array, so that we might be more protected whilst collecting provisions.
C. Is a small church called St. Maria de Negue, with a mill or sugar-house, which after having furnished us with an adventure, was burnt for reasons that you may read.
D. Is one of our ships lying on guard.
E. Are a number of armed Portuguese and savages making their appearance on the beach.
F. Is a view of the town of St. Vincent.[2]
G. Is a view of the town of Sanctus.[3]
H. Is the castle which lies inland on that river.
I. Are four of our boats that proceeded up the river for victuals.
K. Is one of four ships on guard, in order to see what might befall our boats.
L. Is another band of Portuguese and savages, who appeared on the beach.
M. A small Portuguese vessel which we captured.
N. Is a skirmish, in which four men were killed.
O. Is our whole fleet.
P. How the Portuguese barque was burnt.
Q. The mode of dress of the Brazilians, both male and female.
R. Is how some of them sleep in a net made fast between trees.

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[1] All the descriptions of the plates are loosely written, and evidently by a hand other than that of the respective diarists. See Introduction, p. xvi.

[2] S. Vicente. [3] Santos.

These persons, coming on board, were handsomely received by the Admiral, and were shown all over the ship; the commanders of the other vessels also came to visit them, and so they enjoyed good cheer the whole day.

Towards evening, when they left the ship, the Admiral accompanied them a little way, taking them round the *Mane* and the *Sonne*, which they gazed at with great wonder; and as soon as they were beyond musket range, a salute of three guns was fired from each of the two ships, and so they proceeded ashore.

Our officers that were on land requested to be allowed to go and inspect the town of Sanctus, but the Portuguese replied that they had no orders for this, and so they returned on board with our boats.

On the 22nd, the *Jager* returned to the fleet, and the Admiral, recognising that the Portuguese negotiations were naught else than deceit, and that they sought only to delay us, and make us lose time that was very valuable to us, summoned all the merchants, captains, and skippers, in order to deliberate hereupon.

Meanwhile, we were procuring from the Portuguese by secret negotiations various fruits, pigs, fowls, sugar, and some preserves.

At daybreak on the morning of the 23rd, seven boats full of armed men were despatched to St. Vincent, followed by the *Jager* and the *Meeuwe*, carrying large numbers of men, the Admiral and all the military commanders being on board too. On reaching the land, three persons advanced with a flag of peace and placed a letter on a stake and a white flag near it. After which, a Portuguese presently advanced, took the letter, and having read it, showed that it did not please him; he thereupon addressing our men in angry fashion, our flags of peace were hauled down and the Orange run up in their place. Shortly afterwards we rowed up the river, where we found

a mill into which they had all fled with their furniture, the said mill being large, strong, well-built, and inhabited, having a church named Signora de Negues; we understood from the Portuguese that it had been built by a certain family of Antwerp, named the Scotch ;[1] it was very pleasant in this spot, and the district all around was rich in sugar-cane.

We plucked a quantity of fruit here, and having placed it in a *canoy*, which we found there, and then in our boats, we all went back on board together.

On the 24th, the Admiral proceeded up the river to Sanctus with the *Jager*, the *Meeuwe*, and five or six boats, in order to see whether there was anything to be done there, but as it rained hard, and we saw no one, we came back again.

On the 25th, the Admiral again proceeded with six well-manned boats and the *Meeuwe* to the place where we had been on the 23rd; but as the *Meeuwe* was somewhat behind, we ran to a sand-bank, on which stood a dilapidated house that looked like a redoubt, in order to wait for her, and we found some fruit there. Whilst we were engaged in plucking this, the Portuguese and savages, standing behind the house, shot a great many arrows, but no one was wounded; thereupon our musketeers also shot very bravely with their muskets, and so drove them away. When we were leaving, the Admiral ordered thirty musketeers to conceal themselves in the said house, whilst the boats with the rest of the men should stop a short distance from the shore in order to see whether, according to their old manner and custom, they would come in numbers and shout after us; but they, suspecting something, sent a spy near the house, and he, perceiving our men, warned the others. So the boats returned to the shore and took in the

[1] "de Schotsen" in the text, but probably the same family as that of Apollonius Schot, Schotte or Scotte. See the Introduction, p. lviii.

musketeers, and as it rained very hard, we returned on board with a quantity of oranges.

On the 26th, it was resolved (since much time had elapsed) to make one expedition more, and then to set sail with a favourable wind, in accordance with which three boats proceeded to a small island in order to pluck some fruit, but as soon as they arrived they perceived a sail making straight for the bay, with which news they immediately returned to the fleet to give information to the Admiral. Thereupon four boats, filled with armed men, were at once sent out in advance, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral following them on board the *Jager*, and directly afterwards the *Meeuwe*. We were no sooner under way than we saw the little vessel coming along; the latter, perceiving our approach, turned seawards, but as it was quite calm, and therefore impossible for her to escape, she gave herself up to us without any resistance, Maerten Pieterssen, skipper of the *Morgensterre*, and his crew being the first to board her, followed immediately by the Admiral and Vice-Admiral.

The aforesaid barque was like a French ship in shape, being about thirty-six lasts[1] in size, came from Lisbona to Rio de Javero,[2] and belonged here. She had on board eighteen Portuguese, both crew and passengers, two guns, and a number of muskets and short lances. Her cargo was of no great consequence, other than a little iron, cotton, oil, salt, and such like.

As soon as we boarded her the Portuguese, fearing for their lives, said that there were still ten or twelve of our men prisoners at Rio Javero, amongst them being Lieutenant Franchoys du Chesne, who had been wounded by an arrow in his breast, but had recovered, and was lodging there with the Governor of the country.

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[1] A last was equal to two tons.

[2] Rio de Janeiro.

Towards the evening, one of the prisoners was sent ashore in the *canoy* which we had taken on the 23rd, bearing a letter which the Portuguese had written and signed between them, in order to find out whether an exchange of prisoners could be effected, or whether some could be exchanged for fruit or cattle.

On the 27th, we saw a peace flag on the shore, whither the Fiscal proceeded with two boats; on reaching the land, he found placed upon a small stake a letter, which he presently handed to the Admiral.

This letter smacked entirely of the Spanish style and temper, for the purport was that they would grant none of our requests, that they would, indeed, not release a single Flamengo for a number of Portuguese, but that if we desired ought we should come and fetch it ourselves at the point of the rapier, and that we should, moreover, make haste to depart.

On the 28th, the Admiral, being moved by compassion, although he might well have proceeded with rigour against the prisoners, and desirous of releasing his own men, resolved to make one more attempt to arrive at some agreement, wherefore he charged the prisoners to write some letters both to their friends and to the priests, which he despatched to St. Vincent by a prisoner with two little children. The latter, on reaching land, gave the letters up to a Portuguese, who promised to deliver them, and to bring an answer the following day.

In the afternoon, we unloaded the captured vessel and transhipped the goods, amongst which were some chests well filled with clothes, wherewith we provided our naked men. We also found therein many relics, crosses, grants of absolution, indulgences, and such-like foolery; moreover, some very fine written books containing matters of theology and law, a chest full of beautiful prints and paintings, a silver gilt crown and some more silver-work. We also

found in the vessel two slaves and some other goods belonging to the Society of the Jesuits established there ; all of which—including vessel and crew—our Admiral offered to return to them if we could have had our prisoners back instead, but all was in vain. So that it was plain that they preferred to have the life and blood of a Netherlands sailor than much property of which they are otherwise so superstitiously fond.

We negotiated with the Portuguese in all courtesy, wrote very politely, yea, the prisoners themselves, being in great fear and trembling that we might throw them overboard, wrote very earnestly to the Paters and clergy requesting the release of our prisoners, but there was no compassion, nay, not even with their own fellow-citizens.

On the 29th, we made another expedition with seven boats to the place where we had been the day before, and on stepping ashore with a peace flag, some letters were handed to us by the Portuguese, being of the same purport as the previous ones. Wherefore we proceeded to the building and plucked all around there oranges and lemons, as many as we could put in the boats, and on leaving we set fire to the building, the church, and all that was thereabouts, for the reason that the Portuguese had done naught else than fool us and had previously dealt very tyrannically with our men. As we were departing, some arrows were shot at us from the bush, but no one was hit.

On the 30th, the captured vessel was set on fire by common agreement.

From the letters we found in her, we observed how, not only here but in all places, they had long before been apprised of our coming, so that it must be true that there are some traitors in our country who give the King of Spain warning of all that takes place.

At two hours before daybreak on the morning of the 31st we made an expedition with four boats to a place

where we had not yet been, but as we found the mountain very rugged and sharp there, and guarded on all sides by men, we returned without doing anything.

The wind having meanwhile veered to the north, the Admiral fired a shot as a signal for setting sail, but no sooner had we weighed anchor than we had to cast it again, by reason of the wind veering, and its being very calm.

Immediately afterwards two boats, one belonging to the Admiral and the other to the *Jager*, proceeded to the land with five musketeers to fetch some more water, but whilst they were busy filling their casks, the savages ran forth out of the bush in great numbers, shooting arrows as thickly as if they were hail; the Portuguese remained behind, and drove the others forward with sticks, and after our men had fired a few shots they fled to the boats, but were pursued so stoutly that the *Jager's* boat was forcibly taken from them. Our men, taking to the other boat, rowed away from the shore, and meeting four of our other boats, which had followed them, and telling them of their mishap, all proceeded together to the spot; on their arrival, the savages again shot valiantly with their bows, but as our men began to charge with muskets they took to flight, and our men returned to the fleet with the *Jager's* boat, which had been sunk.

In this expedition we lost four men, whilst all the rest, three only excepted, were severely wounded.

This misfortune occurred through the fault of the skippers, in that they pay no heed to the orders issued, and carelessly send the boats to the shore without letting one wait for the other.

February.

On the 2nd, the Admiral caused four of the Portuguese prisoners to be released and set ashore, retaining the others for the service of the fleet.

Amongst these four was Pedro Alvares, skipper, who appeared to have had many dealings with our nation. He made great promises of getting our prisoners released, but we freed him, without paying much heed to his promises, because he had a wife and children, as also had the others, and out of regard for the fact that he had lost his ship and cargo. The Admiral gave him some money besides, for which act of benevolence they proffered us many thanks and expressions of gratitude, as is the custom of the Portuguese.

Two hours before daybreak, on the 3rd, the Admiral had a shot fired as a signal for setting sail, but a dead calm compelled us to cast anchor again towards midday. Whilst weighing, the Admiral broke his anchor. As soon as we had cast, a *canoy* came alongside with a Portuguese, who brought a parrot, a number of fowls, and some apples, and offered these to the Admiral, together with a request that he might deign to release his brother-in-law, who was a prisoner with us ; and because the latter had a wife and children, he himself, being still a single man, offered to remain in his brother-in-law's stead. This was refused him, and he accordingly went away with the presents, which the Admiral caused to be replaced in his *canoy*.

Before daybreak, on the 4th, we weighed anchor for the fourth time, but cast again about sunrise, on account of calm.

A fair breeze springing up after breakfast, we got out to sea.

After the Council had been summoned, it was ordered that each man should have but one pannikin of wine per day, and three pounds of bread per week.

On the 16th, we sailed constantly south-west by south, the wind coming from the north-east, for the reason that it had been resolved that as soon as we were in the latitude of Rio de Plate the Admiral should hoist the

Prince's flag as a signal, and that we should then direct our course more towards the shore. We were there in latitude 38° 46′.

We continued in the same course, and with the same wind, until March 1st, when at midday we were in latitude 46° 46′.

March.

On the 2nd it was very foggy, so that the ships fired a shot from time to time in order not to go astray, but as soon as it had cleared up again we perceived that two of our vessels, the *Mane* and the *Sterre,* had remained behind; wherefore we hauled down our sails and waited for them.

Here we were in latitude 47° 17′, and in a depth of 70 fathoms, the wind being north-east, and our course lying west by south.

On the morning of the 5th, we sailed on to the south-west, with a north-west wind, and made good progress until noon, when the wind veered round to the north; we were then in latitude 50°.

By the evening we had come so near the land that we could perfectly well see the smoke rising; directing our course to the south-west, we sailed along the shore, where the land appeared to be very bad and without hills.

On the 7th, the weather was very clear and bright, and at noon we were in latitude 52° 6′.

There we perceived that we were only about 2 miles from land, and we also saw some land in front of us with nine mountains upon it, the whole being uniform down-land. We saw smoke rising there, and so we continued to sail along the coast with a nor'-nor'-east wind, until we perceived that it was the river of Rio Galeges,[1] being a fine broad river, but very shallow.

[1] Gallegos.

On first seeing this country some thought it was the Strait of Magellanes, wherein they were deceived, since the said Strait lies in 52° 30′ latitude.

Then the *Meeuwe* and the *Sterre* were sent on in advance, because the skipper, Maerten Pieterssen, had been here several times.

Towards evening we all cast anchor in 15 fathoms, and that only half a mile from the shore, near a corner stretching very far out, which we deemed to be Cape Virginia.[1]

About midnight the Admiral's cable broke, so that he lost his anchor, wherefore he fired a shot, and showed two lights, finding no better measure to adopt than to keep out seawards under short sail.

At last the storm grew more and more intense, so that we all lost sight of each other.

Early on the 8th, the tempest increased very much, so that the *Meeuwe* alone found herself near the Admiral, the other ships being here and there. We were continually tacking, now directing our course seawards, and then to the shore, the constant use of the lead line showing us first 10, then 15, 17, 20, afterwards 25 fathoms, and finally, no bottom at all.

The weather then began to calm down, but only for a little while, for shortly afterwards the storm increased very much in intensity, so that we were not without great danger, and therefore tacked in between the shoals, constantly casting the lead to get our depth. Then the *Meeuwe* got separated from the other ships.

We also saw, lying sou'-sou'-east and south-east of us, a very high country, which we opined to be Terre de Fogue.[2] We were then not more than 4 miles from Cape Virignie,[1] lying nor'-nor'-west of us. But to all appearances we should have run straight upon la Terre de Fogue had

[1] Cabo de las Virgenes.

[2] Tierra del Fuego.

not God mercifully granted us a west wind, with which we sailed due north, thus gradually getting out into deep water, in order to avoid the shoals.

On the 8th, all our ships being together again, a Broad Council was held after the Admiral had given the signal with shot and flag, and it was resolved that we should have the same quantity of bread and wine as we had previously been accustomed to have.

Towards evening we sailed nor'-nor'-west, and the wind veering to westward at midnight, the *Jacht*, which sailed on in front and carried the light, fired a shot, whereupon we all tacked, and directed our course northwards and north by east.

On the 10th, the gale abating, it was very fine weather, and with a north-west wind, our course being north-east, we sailed on all night north-east by north.

At noon on the 11th we had sailed back one degree, for the boatswains could make it no more than 51° 30′. The whole night it blew very hard from the west-sou'-west.

On the morning of the 12th, the wind being west-sou'-west, and our course north-west, we tacked, and the gale increasing, we had to range along with only a try-sail.

At noon on the 13th, we were in latitude 50° 20′, with fine weather. The wind veering to the north towards the evening, we sailed during the night south and south by west.

Closing the hatches on the morning of the 14th, we ran towards the shore. At midday we were again in 51° 26′. Towards night the wind rose higher, wherefore we sailed all night to the north-west with a south-west wind.

From the 14th to the 20th we had much storm and foul weather, with very variable winds, so that, with much trouble and tacking, we got near the land at the same spot in which we had been on the 7th, to wit, in latitude 52°.

That same night, before daybreak, the *Jacht* and the *Meeuwe*, which had been separated from us since the 8th, came back to us, having been as far as the Straits, where they had left the *Morghen-sterre* lying near Puguine Islands.[1]

On the 21st the Admiral, in order to have fuller information, sent to those vessels Skipper Blauwen Willem, who learnt that, having got separated from us some time ago by the storm, they had come as far as Cape Virginia, where they had anchored in order to await better weather; and that on the 17th March they had come to the Piguine Islands, where they had again anchored 2 miles from each other. There a great tumult had arisen on board the *Meeuwe*, the sailors having made themselves masters of the ship, obtained possession of the gun, and compelled the skipper and ship's clerk to do as they desired, making the clerk their cook; and they would also have murdered him in the cabin had not the skipper interceded for him, submitting to them that his death could not help them, which to some extent satisfied them. But at last (being drunk and full) two of them jumped up and came into the cabin, each with a sword in his hand, in order to take the clerk's life. They two were young fellows, the one, named Warnaert, being from Friesland, and not more than twenty years old; the other from Dort, in Holland, a scamp who would have been strung up long ago had not his father obtained pardon for him. Continuing their knavery, they were minded to cut the cable asunder, but were again prevented by the skipper, so that the anchor being weighed, they drifted into the Strait.

The wanton spirit of these rioters having somewhat calmed down, a dispute arose as to who should be captain, and this quarrel gave opportunity and courage to the skipper, the barber, and some others who were innocent of

[1] Penguin Islands.

treason, to break, sword in hand, into the cabin, and to attack these two principal mutineers, wounding them, whereby, with more help and support of other guiltless ones, they obtained the mastery of all the others, who, easily made obedient, excused themselves, laying all the blame upon the two aforementioned.

This being done, it was agreed to throw those two overboard, which, too, was immediately done, and attestations were drawn up of all that took place.

Bringing such grievous tidings, the *Meeuwe* came up with us, wherefore the Admiral sent the Vice-Admiral to make further inquiry into everything. The Admiral also summoned the clerk and skipper to his presence, in order to hear everything from them verbally, and offered, if they had any further distrust of their men, to place them on other vessels, and put others in their stead; whereupon they answered nay, and that they trusted their own crew sufficiently, wherefore the Council decided to send them back, and to charge the Vice-Admiral to take heed that everything went on smoothly.

On the morning of the 25th, after much trouble, storm, and contrary winds, we came in sight of Cape Virginia, and making towards it, reached it about noon. But notwithstanding that we cast three anchors, one after the other, it was impossible for them to hold, on account of the softness of the bottom, whereby the whole afternoon was spent in re-weighing them each time; and towards the evening the Admiral, by two shots, gave the signal for setting sail again, directing his course west-nor'-west, but he was followed by none of the other ships.

On the 26th, the Admiral kept on tacking until he finally came near the land of the nine hills, where, finding no more than 10 fathoms of water, he again turned seawards.

On the 27th, the wind veering to the west, the Admiral again ran to Cape Virginia, sailing all the time along the

coast, which was low and flat, being very like the shores of England. At the same place, the Admiral sighted the *Meeuwe*, which, by firing a shot, gave a signal that it was dangerous to run so near the land, wherefore the Admiral again turned seawards, where, after much tacking, he found the three other ships, to wit, the *Mane*, the *Æolus*, and the *Jager*, all of which had anchored together near Terre de Fogue. The *Meeuwe* cast anchor in another place somewhat further off, so that in the night she was driven far back by the strong wind.

During these contrary winds, and whilst we lay drifting in this way trying to enter the Straits, many began to mutter that we would have difficulty in passing through in such big vessels. Some spoke of going to winter in Porto Desirado,[1] where Candis[2] and Olivier van Noort had been; others said that it would be better to make our way betimes to Cape de Bonne Esperance,[3] and so to the East Indies, and more such-like opinions.

There also came to the Admiral in his cabin Pieter Buers, a merchant, and declared in the presence of many others that he and his skipper would like to know whither they were to sail in the event of their being frustrated, and unable to get through the Straits. whereupon the Admiral replied: "Our orders and charge are to sail through the Magellanes; I know of no other way to show you; take heed to do your best and keep up with us." Through this prompt and resolute reply the mutterings were stopped, and each one did his best to get through these dread Straits.

After midnight, on the 28th, the Admiral fired a shot as a signal to set sail, and when daylight was come we saw the *Meeuwe* nowhere, neither before nor behind, whereat

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[1] Port Desire. *Vide infra.*

[2] Thomas Cavendish, the third circumnavigator of the globe, who, on his way to the Straits of Magellan, discovered Port Desire, so named after his own ship, the *Desire*, on 17th December, 1586.

[3] Cape of Good Hope.

we were not a little astonished, and of opinion that she had certainly deserted, on account of the two sailors who had been thrown overboard ; so that with four vessels we tacked into the Strait, the weather being fine and the wind west and west by south.

In the evening we anchored in 28 and 30 fathoms, nearer to the northern than the southern shore.

On the 29th, the wind being west and west by south, with fine weather, the stream ran with such force out of the Strait that we were obliged to lie at anchor the whole day. But towards the evening a strong gale sprang up, so that the cable of the Admiral's ship slipped its anchor, and whilst we were engaged in hauling in the loose end, we drifted over a shoal where there was a depth of not more than 16 or 17 fathoms, but finding greater depth shortly after, we let her drift out of the Strait the whole night.

On the 30th, we drifted without a sail until noon, when we unfurled the main- and fore-sail, and directed our course north by west, with a west wind, that is, of course, the Admiral alone, he having got separated from the other ships.

April.

On the 1st, the weather being fine, we crowded all sail, taking our course south-west, with a nor'-nor'-east wind.

On the 2nd, the weather was dark, and the wind veered to the north-west, but this did not last long, for very soon it turned to east-south-east, with fine weather, so that about midday we sailed into the Strait once more, taking our course south-east by south, and gradually somewhat more westerly, in order to get the weather-shore to the north. After that we sailed due west-north-west, constantly casting the lead until the first quarter was up ; we then dropped anchor, to our great good fortune, in 25 and 30 fathoms, for as soon as we weighed anchor in the morning, we found shallower water on all sides.

On the 3rd, we had a fine breeze from the north-north-

PLATE No 3.

Number 3 is the MAP OF MAGELLANES STRAIT

As it was navigated by Admiral Joris Spilberghen and his fleet. Here follows the explanation thereof, indicated by A, B, C :—

A. Is one of our ships that was mastered through the treason of some sailors, and finally made off with.

B. Are the five other ships successfully sailing into the Strait.

C. Is a human being who often made his appearance on the south side.

D. Shows how the savages surprise our fellows with clubs, and kill them.

E. Are a number of savages who came to us on the beach, and spoke with some of our men in a strange tongue.

F. Shows how the savages were treated to Spanish wine and were given other things, they giving signs that these pleased and were acceptable to them.

G. Are some red berries of very good flavour that grow there in abundance.

H. Is a penguin, which are to be seen in great numbers there.

I. Are some sailors shooting birds on land.

K. Is the shape of their *canoys*, or skiffs.

Tijpus Freti
MAGELLANICI
quod Georgius Spilbergiu
cum claſſe luſtravit.
54
40
20
55
A
K
Tierra de foge
C Orange
De Eerſte eyngt
C Virgine

east, and took our course all along the northern shore to the north-west and north-west by west. And as we came into the narrows, we found a reef a quarter of a mile in width, where we got first 98, then 76, and at last only 5 fathoms of water. Shortly afterwards it began to get deeper again, and then we first saw the channel of the first narrows, which was not wider than half a mile, and getting into calm water there, we were carried into the channel on a tide, and cast the lead in 40 fathoms, but without a good bottom for anchoring.

Here we saw on the shore of Terre de Fogue a human being of very big stature make his appearance several times, sometimes climbing up some eminence or little hill the better to see us.

This land of Terra de Fogue was very dry and dune-like in the first narrows, being not unlike the dunes in Zeeland.

As it continued calm we launched our boat, and were towed through the first narrows, casting anchor at noon between the first and second narrows in 16 fathoms, and thanking God that we had so passed, not without great trouble and danger.

At about noon on the 4th, we set sail again with a nor'-nor'-west wind, our course lying west by south, and so we continued with a fine breeze and good weather until late in the day, when we were obliged by contrary winds to anchor in 16 fathoms, near the tongue of the second narrows, off the northern shore.

On the 5th, the wind being west by south and the weather fine, we set sail again in the afrernoon, and continued tacking inwards, but we could not make much progress on that tide by reason of strong wind, wherefore we again cast anchor in 24 fathoms.

On the morning of the 6th, it began to blow very hard, so that at noon, one arm of our anchor breaking, we began to drift to the lee-shore, but we hoisted the fore-sail and

ran to the spot where we had passed the night on the 4th, dropping the anchor there behind a tongue of land in 25 fathoms.

On the morning of the 7th, the merchant, Cornelis de Vianen, went ashore, followed by the Admiral, in order to inspect the locality, but they found no living person, though they indeed saw two ostriches, which ran so fast that it would have been difficult to keep up with them on horseback. They found there a river of fresh water, being very large and broad, with small trees growing around it, bearing black berries, which were of good flavour. In the afternoon, we again set sail, with a north-west wind and fine weather; but as it grew calm we again anchored till in the night, when we continued our course, but with little progress.

The cape of this country was given the name of Vianen by our people.

On the afternoon of the 8th, we again set sail, directing our course towards the south-west as far as the corner of the second narrows, where we turned to the sou'-sou'-west. An hour or two after sunset we arrived near the Piguines Islands, of which there are three, and which were named by us as follows: that lying to the south, the Great Shore; the middle one, being the largest, Patagones or Giant's Island; and the most northerly, being the smallest, Cruyck's Island.

At daybreak on the morning of the 9th, the Admiral sent the Fiscal and some soldiers to Great Shore Island, in order to see whether he could find any signs there of any of our ships that might have been there. Coming on land, he found a stake, hanging to which was a hoop with a letter that the *Morghen-sterre* had left there, that vessel having departed thence into the Strait on March 25th.

These tidings having been received, a similar mission was sent to Cruyck's Island, where they found indeed a

stake with a hoop, but no letter, from which we presumed that the *Morghen-sterre* had set this up too.

Thereupon the Admiral proceeded in person to Great Shore Island, where he found two dead bodies that had been buried after a fashion, having a little earth over them, and enclosed all around with bows and arrows. The bodies were found in penguin skins, one being of about our average height, the other not longer than 3½ feet, and having round the neck a chaplet, very finely made of small shells, which shone as clear as any pearls. The Admiral ordered them to be put back in the ground, which was done, and so we returned on board. In the afternoon we set sail, always hugging the northern shore, until the evening, when we anchored in 22 fathoms, close to the land.

On these islands we found absolutely no means of subsistence, for the land appeared to be very barren, nothing growing there but some grass, and being burrowed out by penguins, just as the dunes in Holland are by rabbits.

At dawn, on the 10th, we set sail, with fine weather and a north-east wind. At about noon we came near a very fine sand bay, where the Spaniards had once built a town named Philippus, but which was entirely in ruins. We dropped anchor there in 15 fathoms, on a good bottom. It then began to blow very hard, so that we were obliged to take down our top-masts; but it did not last long, for shortly afterwards the weather turned fine again.

On the 11th April, the weather being very calm, the Admiral proceeded ashore with two boats, well manned and armed; but he found nothing particular there, except a place where there was fine fresh water, and round about it the footprints of animals, from which we presumed that the latter come to drink there. Near by there were also three huts, wherein no human beings appeared to have been for a long time.

About midday we again set sail, with a nor'-nor'-east wind, keeping our course along the north shore, where the land was thickly wooded, and in some places quite flat; so that it appeared as if the Spaniards had once used it for growing crops upon. Along the coast it was very deep, so that no bottom can be got for anchorage until one is quite close to the shore.

Towards nightfall we anchored in 30 fathoms, so close to the land that it was quite within musket range.

We were surprised to see here, on the south side, very fine green woods and many parrots, being then in 54° of latitude. We also saw here, to our great astonishment, a gap forming a thoroughfare or passage through which we could see the open sea, and if we had had the *Jacht* with us, the Admiral would have sent the same thither, for in our opinion we might very quickly have come through there into the Silean[1] Sea, but as that vessel had got separated from us before the first narrows, it could not be done.

Early on the morning of the 12th, we again sailed south and south by east, until we came to a great tongue of land, behind which there was a large bay which appeared to be a good roadstead. Here the land began to be high and hilly, with the snow lying as white upon the mountains as if it were midwinter.

And thus we sailed in a south-westerly direction to the third narrows; but as the wind was very variable, we cast anchor as evening fell in 42 fathoms, just before the third narrows.

On the morning of the 13th, the Admiral sent the smallest boat to a great inlet, where we supposed Mossel Bay to be. Moreover, the Admiral himself, with many others, went ashore, where we found nought else than fresh water. In the same spot were trees, the bark of which

[1] Chilean.

was as strong as pepper ; wherefore we gave the same the name of Pepper Bay, although similar trees also stood in other places. Very soon afterwards we went back to the ships, and set sail, but made no progress, indeed, rather drifting back on account of variable winds, which came blowing down from the high country, so that we had to cast anchor again.

On the 14th and 15th it blew very hard, so that we had to stay at anchor.

Two or three hours before daybreak, on the 16th, the wind veered to the east, whereupon we set sail, going first south by east, afterwards south, and finally south-west, because the land trends here in so westerly a direction, indeed, entirely towards the north-west. Thus we sailed past Mossel Bay, close to which lies a small islet. The land here was very high, hilly, and enveloped in snow. Towards evening the Admiral fired a shot, in order to let our ships hear it in the event of there being any about.

About eventide we saw smoke rising, wherefore we fired another cannon shot, and shortly afterwards we saw a boat come rowing along, which brought us tidings that our four ships lay in Cordes Bay,[1] having only arrived there that very day, and being still occupied in anchoring.

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[1] So called after Simon de Cordes, one of the chief commanders of the expedition of five ships of Rotterdam which set out from Goeree in 1598 and anchored here from April, 1599, until the end of August.

"Les peines qu'ils souffrirent en hivernant dans cette baie, alors nommée la Baie Verte, la disette où ils se trouvèrent, la perte qu'ils y firent de plus de six-vingts hommes, leur fit venir la pensée de la nommer la Baie de Cordes, en mémoire de tous ces accidents qui leur étoient arrivez sous le Général de ce nom." *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement . . . de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.* Amsterdam, 1702, p. 654.

Burney (*A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea*, Pt. II, pp. 189 and 332) professes to find some difficulty in identifying this bay with the harbour of Port Galan or Gallant ; this difficulty, however, does not arise out of the text of the *Spiegel*, either in the French version, which Burney saw, or in the original Dutch, but rather from the fact of Burney having written his note concerning this bay on the text of the Voyage of the Five Rotterdam Ships in 1598 and then subsequently referring his readers to that note without further consulting the text of the *Spiegel*.

It was a wonderful mercy of God that such big ships had come with such great trouble, contrary winds and storms through such narrow channels, various turns, and many whirlpools, at the same time and day to their appointed Rendevous, especially as they had got separated from each other, and had passed the first narrows at different times.

Towards the evening we cast anchor in 17 fathoms, and shortly afterwards the Vice-Admiral, with the merchants, captains, and skipper, came to welcome the Admiral; each telling what had befallen him, and thanking God for such a happy meeting.

During that day there were many savages with their wives and children on the shore, with whom Maerten Pieterssen Cruyck, skipper of the *Morghen-sterre*, and some others had spoken, evincing much friendship for them, and giving them some knives and other wares, treating them also to Spanish wine, whereupon they made signs that they liked it very much. In exchange, they gave our people certain pearl shells strung together, and very finely made. But these savages did not come back again as long as we lay there, the cause whereof we opined to be that they had been frightened by the shooting, for we went ashore daily with guns, in order to shoot geese, ducks, and other birds.

On the 17th, it was so calm that we had to be towed, in order to get to the other ships in the bay, where we cast anchor in 13 fathoms.

On the 18th, the Broad Council met, and resolved to abide in that place another week, and to provide ourselves in the meanwhile with water, firewood, and other necessaries.

On the same day, the *Jager* was towed by the boats behind a small island lying in the bay, and was cleaned there.

During the week, all the ships were well provided with

all that they required, and the crews well refreshed with mussels, which are very large and good there ; also with a kind called "clipcouses," superior in flavour and quality to oysters ; there was also much watercress, parsley, salad and many red berries.

For joy at our re-union, the Admiral invited all the principal officers to dinner on board his ship, and they were well regaled there with many fresh dishes of meat, pork, poultry, oranges, lemons, candied peel and marmalades, most of which we had procured at Saint Vincent ; also with olives, capers, good Spanish and French wine, Dutch beer, and many other things which it would take too long to mention here ; and, moreover, we enjoyed there a fine concert of various instruments, and music of many voices.

Before daybreak on the 24th, we set sail again, the wind being north by west, and so we tacked till past a corner. On the other side, opposite to us, we saw a number of people who had kindled a fire, and having by them some *canoys*, one of which rowed some way towards us, and made signs to us with an oar, but they durst not come on board. Towards evening, we anchored in 16 fathoms, under a small island, near which there were quite seven or eight islets more, to which such names were given as may be seen in the map of the Magellan Straits.

On the 25th, the Admiral sent out three boats, the one hither, the other thither, in order to seek a good roadstead and proper anchorage. They finally found a fine bay, situated about a mile and a-half distant from us, having good anchorage in 16, 18, and 20 fathoms, whither we sailed in the afternoon, with a south-east wind, that shortly afterwards veered round, so that we could not reach the bay, but had to cast anchor a little to the east in 25 fathoms.

At daybreak on the 26th, we weighed anchor again, and set sail with an east-nor'-east wind, and making a little

progress, but the wind soon veering to the north, with a strong gale, we were compelled to anchor to the south of an island, in 25 fathoms.

From this place we saw a passage and thoroughfare into the South Sea, and the Admiral and many others, going ashore, climbed up the mountains, whence they opined that it was a direct thoroughfare, as we have also narrated in other places, and especially in the entry of the 11th April; but our orders and instructions were always to follow the Strait of Magellanes, without trying any other passage.

We are sufficiently informed that there were passages on the south, as one may read in the History of the East Indies, written by Le Padro Josephus de Coste[1] in the Spanish language, and afterwards[2] translated[3] by Jan Huyghens van Lindschoten ;[4] and among other places at the end of his tenth chapter,[5] where he says that Don Gaua[6] Mendoza, Governor of Chili, having sent Captain Ladrillero with two vessels in search of the passage south of the Magellanes, the latter found the passage and entered the Sea, sailing from north to south, without continuing along the aforementioned Strait.[7]

Further, all other historians are of the same opinion, and hold it certain that there is in the Magellanes a way out by which one can reach the open sea, and in a short time the Silean Sea.[8]

On the 29th, at noon, the *Morghen-sterre* ran into the

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[1] Acosta (Joseph de), *Historia natural y moral de las Indias.* Sevilla, 1590.

[2] In 1598.

[3] Into Dutch.

[4] Linschoten (Jan Huygen van).

[5] Of the Third Book.

[6] Garcia.

[7] For a contemporary English rendering of the passage and its context, see Sir Clements Markham's edition of Acosta's work, *Hakl. Soc.*, Ser. I, 60, pp. 137 *et seq.*

[8] Chilean Sea.

bay which we had found on the 25th, casting anchor in 25 fathoms. This bay was very fine, having good anchorage, near which there grew very many red and blue berries, that were of very good flavour. There was also near by a fresh-water river that ran down from the hills through the bush into the sea. In addition to this, there was here an abundance of mussels, "clip-couses," and other things of that kind, wherefore the Admiral had this bay named after himself, to wit, Spilberghen.

On the 30th, the other ships entered the bay, and all anchored together.

May.

On the 1st, the Admiral sent out Maerten Pieterssen, skipper of the *Morghen-sterre*, and Hendrick Reyers, boatswain's-mate, with a boat, to look for the right passage.

Before these had gone very far from us they saw some fine birds sitting on the shore, wherefore four of the hands sought and obtained permission to go on land and shoot these birds. No sooner were they ashore than the savages, each bearing a club, suddenly pounced upon them with wild shouts, and slew two of the sailors from the *Morghen-sterre*, to wit, an arquebusier and the cabin-boy, whilst the two others escaped. The Admiral having been informed of this was not at all pleased that permission had been given the men to go ashore, no orders having been issued to that effect.

On the 2nd, fresh officers were appointed in place of those who had remained on Ilo Grande, and had died on the way.

About noon, we again set sail with an east-south-east wind and fine weather, and sailed until the evening, when we cast anchor in 10 fathoms, in a very fine bay, near which there was a fresh-water river.

During the night of the 3rd, one of the Admiral's ser-

vants named Abraham Pieterssen, of Middelburch, died; and we buried him in the morning on an island close to the river, wherefore we gave the latter the name of Abraham's River.

In the afternoon, the Admiral sent the boat of the *Æolus* on in advance, in order to sound the bottom, and look for a good anchorage.

Meanwhile, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, with three boats well-manned and armed, rowed into the river, in order to inspect the same; but as soon as they were in it they found that the tide was carrying them up with such force that they had enough to do to get each boat out again with eight oars.

Along this river we saw many small huts, which the savages had inhabited, but from which they had now fled. In the entrance to the river were a large number of stakes, looking like a fishery.

The Admiral then came aboard again and waited for the boat sent out, which did not return until the night, without having found any proper anchorage, for the reason that it was so deep all around that the least they had found was 130 fathoms.

On the 4th, the Admiral summoned all the pilots on board his ship to hear their opinion concerning the advisability of setting sail or not, and it was thereupon resolved to send out two boats again to sound the depths. This having been done, and the wind veering to the east in the afternoon, we set sail, and directed our course to the west-nor'-west.

On the northern shore we saw a big channel, nearly as wide as the Strait itself, into which the tide ran with great force.

Sailing thus, the Admiral ordered a shot to be fired from time to time in order to inform the boats, which had rowed on in advance, that we were under sail.

Towards the evening the two boats came back, saying that the channel extended west-nor'-west straight before us; wherefore they deemed it advisable that we should sail on the whole night, since wind and current served. Some were opposed to this, saying that it was better to cast anchor and await daylight; to which end Maerten Pieterssen, skipper of the *Morghen-sterre*, the mates of the *Mane*, the *Æolus*, and some others, came on board the Admiral's ship to get him to anchor, especially as we were becalmed between high coasts near Cape Maurity. But whilst we were busied therewith, the wind rose so much to our advantage that by the common agreement of all we proceeded through the Strait that night. Maerten Pietersen sailed on somewhat in advance with the *Jacht*, and it was very fearsome and awful to behold such great ships sailing between such high coasts without a bottom for anchorage, and that by night.

On the 5th, the channel began to get gradually wider, so that we could see straight out to sea, and as the wind dropped, the Admiral's ship drifted to the southern shore, wherefore he fired a shot as a signal for the boats of the other ships to come and help him get away from the lee-shore; but no sooner had the boats got alongside of him than the wind improved, so that we sailed on the whole day and night north-west by west, making good progress.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 6th, we had a strong wind and drizzling weather. We then saw the south corner, which is very steep and conspicuous, having some peaks that look like turrets.

So we sailed out along the southern shore, since against the north shore were many rocks and islets that were very dangerous. And the same day we came, with God's help into the South Sea, for which He must be praised in eternity.

In the afternoon, the wind increasing very much, we

tried to haul the boats on board, but the waves were so violent that the Admiral's big boat was smashed in pieces, and drifted away; we managed to get the others up with difficulty, and not without great danger of loss of life. The ships themselves were in no less peril on account of the islands that lay to leeward of us, and upon which we feared to be driven by the strong wind.

The whole night long the wind increased in force, with continual rain and hail.

These islets, lying in the South Sea at the end of the Magellan Strait, we gave the name of Sorlinges, because they were not unlike the Sorlinges[1] outside the English Channel.

The exit of this Strait of Magellanes presents a very fearful and dangerous appearance, by reason of the number of islets and rocks of great height that lie there, and there seems to be no place where, in time of peril, a ship could anchor or seek shelter.

The southern cape, called Cape Desirado, is of a very unusual shape, as may be seen by the map, and as soon as the same is passed the wind generally rises, and the sea becomes tumultuous, so that, in addition to the danger of passing through the Strait, one has still to endure various extremes and hardships, as bear witness thereto the narratives and journals of those who have previously passed here.

Towards evening, on the 7th, the wind blowing very hard, we ran towards the north, so that we took in our topsails and tacked the whole night, continually turning again and again.

On the 8th, the weather continued the same, but grew better on the 9th, and we, still tacking, found ourselves in latitude 50° at noon.

On the 10th, our Vice-Admiral, who had got separated

[1] Sorlingues, the French name for the Scilly Islands.

from us on the 8th by the storm, came back to us. We then set our course to the west, the wind being nor'-nor'-west, and increasing in strength during the night, with rain and fog.

Sailing in this fashion, we came in sight of the land of Chili on the 21st; wherefore we turned seawards again, west-nor'-west, and saw lying in that direction an island which we deemed to be La Mocha, and on casting the lead we found 38 fathoms, with a very good sand bottom. All the afternoon we had a boisterous wind from the nor'-nor'-east, with drizzly weather.

On the morning of the 22nd the same weather continued, with much rain; towards midday it grew calm, the wind veering to the west, and we took our course to the north-east.

Very early on the 23rd, we could see the Island of La Mocha distinctly, wherefore, the wind coming from the south, we sailed eastwards under full sail until noon, when, on account of the wind falling, we could make no further progress. The Admiral then caused a cannon-shot to be fired in order to summon the Broad Council. And towards the evening we took in the top-sails in order to make less progress, casting the lead in 60 and 70 fathoms until night-fall, when it grew quite calm.

Before daybreak on the morning of the 24th, we got the wind from north by east with a fine breeze, and set our course east by north, so that by daybreak we were two or three miles athwart the land, casting anchor in 18 fathoms upon a very good and proper bottom.

Since we could not get to the island on account of the contrary wind, we tacked the whole day long until night-fall, when we cast anchor in 17 fathoms, about a mile from the island, there being on the north side low land of great extent and on the south side many rocks, against which the sea dashed with a great roar.

On the morning of the 25th, we set sail again, trying to get up the river by tacking, but could make no progress the whole of that day until the evening, when we anchored half a mile from the shore in 13 fathoms, where the Admiral had the Broad Council summoned.

At daybreak on the 26th, the Admiral again summoned the Council, when it was resolved that four boats, well armed and manned, should be sent to the land with some merchandise. Wherefore, the Admiral himself and many others of the Council shortly afterwards proceeded thither. On landing, they found numbers of the inhabitants on the shore, having with them many kinds of provisions—such as sheep, fowls, and other poultry, both cooked and raw; and offering all these to us, they bade us welcome, evincing every kind of friendship and good-will towards us.

At noon the Admiral came on board with all the provisions, bringing with him the chief of the island and his son, who were very well received and entertained by the Admiral and other officers. After dinner, the Admiral had them taken all over the ship, showing them the guns and their use, and indicating to them by signs that we came to fight the Spaniard with these, which they gave us to understand was agreeable to them, as being enemies of the aforesaid. They remained all night with the Admiral, and they were regaled with good cheer as in the evening.

On the 27th, the Admiral had all his troops drawn up in order on the ship fully armed, which pleased these Chileans very much.

After breakfast, these two were accompanied ashore by nearly all the nobles of our fleet, and were honoured by a salute of a few guns.

On landing, we again exchanged some hatchets, beads, and other trifles for a large number of sheep. They gave us for a service axe two fat sheep, and received us with every amiability, but they did not permit any of us to

PLATE No. 4.

No. 4 is the ISLAND OF MOCHA,

With the explanations as shown under A, B, C.

A. Are our boats in which we rowed ashore to trade with them.

B. Is the manner in which we traded with the people of La Mocha, exchanging hatchets and knives for sheep, fowls, and fruit.

C. Is the manner of sitting with their legs cross-wise, like the tailors sit in Christian countries.

D. Is the manner in which our trumpeters and other musicians gave a grand concert on the beach.

E. Are the La Mochyanes who listened to that playing with great pleasure.

F. Are their houses or huts, into which they would not let our comrades come.

G. Is the manner in which they bring along their sheep and other commodities to barter them.

H. Was our yacht, which lay close to the shore.

I. Are our four other ships, with which the boats kept up constant communication.

K. Is their manner of dress or clothing.

L. Is the strange shape of some of their sheep, which have a hump on the back like a camel.

la Me
E
D

come into their houses or near their wives, bringing everything to the boats themselves. At last, they made signs to us with their hands that we should get into our boats and depart, which, by order of the Admiral, was immediately done, and at the same instance we weighed anchor and set sail with a southerly wind, taking our course to the north.

In this last journey we had made ashore we brought back on board a sheep of a very wonderful shape, having a very long neck and a hump like a camel, a hare lip, and very long legs. They till their land with these sheep, employing them instead of asses or horses. Of other sheep we procured here more than a hundred, which were very large and fat, having white wool as in our country, and in addition to these a large number of fowls and other poultry, by which our men were greatly set up, for which the Admiral gave them some hatchets, knives, shirts, hats, and other similar things, so that we parted from each other in great friendship.

These Chilenoises were well-mannered, very polite and friendly, very orderly in their eating and drinking, of good morals, and almost equal to Christians; and if the Admiral had been willing to tarry there longer, they would not have refused to provide us with more sheep and other things, but the resolution had been arrived at to pursue our journey in God's name.

On the morning of the 28th, we had a good wind from the south and sailed nor'-nor'-east, so that by midday we came in sight of the continent, which we opined to be Sancta Maria.[1] Meanwhile, the Admiral had the Council summoned to arrive at a further resolution; in doing this, the *Jager* collided with the Admiral's bow, doing much damage, breaking the spritsail yard and tearing some sails

[1] The island of Santa Maria, in 36° 59′ S.

to pieces, so that being locked together they were at last got apart with great difficulty.

Towards the evening, we were close under the shore, near which lay an island that we had previously taken to be Sancta Maria, being a very rugged rock and entirely surrounded by rocks. Wherefore we again put out to sea, moving to and fro the whole night whilst awaiting the day.

On the 29th, not being far from the land, we crowded all sail and proceeded along the coast until we came in sight of the real island of Sancta Maria, where we entered the roads in the afternoon, anchoring in 6 fathoms.

Shortly afterwards, there appeared here twenty-five or twenty-six men on horseback, each holding a lance in his hand and riding to and fro; wherefore the Council met, after a given signal, and resolved that the Fiscal should be sent ashore with four boats, well-manned and equipped, in order to ascertain whether it would be possible to deal in a friendly manner with these Indians. This was done, and the Fiscal presently returning, brought with him a Spaniard and an Indian, for whom he had left a sergeant as hostage.

These two hostages remained on board the whole night.

Upon our first arrival off this island, we saw a barque lying round the corner, which, as soon as she perceived us, had set sail and fled.

On the nor'-nor'-east side of this island lay a reef extending quite three miles out to sea.

On the morning of the 30th, the Admiral had all the men of his ship drawn up armed in battle array, and shown to the Spaniard, who observed them very closely. He was afterwards taken to the Vice-Admiral's ship, where the troops stood in like manner under arms, and was honoured by the Admiral with a salute of one gun, and by the Vice-Admiral with a charge of musketry.

The Spaniard having invited the Vice-Admiral and a

PLATE No. 5.

Number 5 is the ISLAND OF SANCTA MARIA,

With an explanation of all things shown in the plate, as follows :—

A. Is the continent of Chili, called Cabo de la Vapii.[1]
B. Are a number of Spanish horsemen who made their appearance in divers places with much defiance.
C. Are our soldiers and a number of sailors drawn up in battle array.
D. Is the small town of Sancta Maria, which is being burnt.
E. Are some skirmishes with the Spaniards, in which some were killed.
F. Is the spot in which our men landed and re-embarked with sheep and provisions.
G. Are our boats rowing to and fro with what they had obtained for their requirements.
H. Is one of our ships lying on guard close to the shore.
I. Is the rest of our fleet.

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[1] Punta Lavapié.

Cabo de la
Vapīja.
A
B
I

few others to dinner, they proceeded ashore together, to wit, the Vice-Admiral, a few merchants, and the captain.

They were no sooner on land and had not yet sat down to table, than the *Jager's* boat rowed off to them in all haste, informing them that their men had from the top-mast seen a troop of armed men marching straight for the place in which they were to go and dine; upon hearing which they put off from the shore in all haste, coming on board with the Spaniard, whom they brought with them a prisoner.

At daybreak on the 31st, the Admiral proceeded ashore with three companies of soldiers and some sailors, and drew them up in order there, but as soon as they landed the Spaniards fled from thence, after having set fire to their church.

Our troops, therefore, marched forward as far as their quarters, obtaining there a large quantity of sheep, fowls, and other necessary provisions.

In the skirmishes, only two of our men were wounded and four of the enemy killed, for as they were on horse-back we could not pursue them as we wished.

On leaving, being well provided with all kinds of food, we set fire to all their dwellings, which burn very easily and quickly, since they are made and covered with cane.

Towards the evening, we rowed back to our ships with our booty.

The island of Sancta Maria is very good, fertile, and healthy. It has no gold or silver mines, but abundance of wheat, barley, beans, sheep, fowls, and the like, whereof we brought away in this last expedition some five hundred sheep, and many other things.

ORDER

OF THE PRESENT FLEET IN THE SOUTH SEA, BEING IN ABOUT 37° LATITUDE FROM THE SOUTH POLE.

All captains and skippers in command of ships and crews are beholden to have the following order promptly carried out with all diligence.

The Constable, his mate and arquebusiers, shall see that all the guns are ready and fit for use, each in its proper and appointed place, as well as the mortars and other ordnance, with trained and experienced men near them, so that all may be done with order.

The cannon-balls, cross-bar shot, lanterns and other things, must be ready and at hand near each gun.

For each gun there must be at least ten cartridges, so that on no account shall it be necessary whilst fighting to go into the powder-magazine.

The cartridges must stand below in the hold, in order to be spared, as far as possible, from all accident, and whilst giving battle or fighting, experienced men must be near them to bring them up as they are required.

The ships' captains or skippers shall take care that each man of their crew shall in due order pay heed to his gun or piece of ordnance, some be in charge of the sails, others be in readiness with their guns for defence or attack.

The carpenters shall be holden to have all their tools in readiness, so that they may repair, if necessary, any leaks or shots piercing the ship, and during a battle or fight they shall give quick and careful heed in all places where any cannon-balls may enter, either above or below water.

The aforesaid captains or skippers shall endeavour to make all their other officers of the ships' crews take heed

that all the ship's rigging is in order, all the yards well secured with chains, the ships well provided with waste-cloths, especially in the top-masts, in order to protect the latter as much as possible from musket-shots, since it is mostly found necessary to place men in them to carry on all manner of attack and defence with muskets, fire-balls, grenades, and otherwise.

The mates shall especially be at hand and superintend the due observance of this order, paying good heed to loading and firing with the greatest and best advantage, according to time and opportunity.

The long and the short pikes, as well as broad-swords and other such things, must be fit for use, ready and at hand.

All watches at their appointed work, with the men of each watch, according as occasion may require, ready near their arms. Hatchets and other things at hand, to cut away any ropes, yards or other things for our safety or the foe's hurt.

The quartermasters shall see to it that all around the orlop or spare deck, both fore and aft, there shall stand ready divers tubs of water, with empty pails near them, in case of fire (which God forfend!), to quench the same, and whilst fighting, it is well for the ship to be sprinkled with water, lest, any powder having been spilt through haste, some matches might accidentally be dropped into it.

Whereas we heard in Sint Maria that in April last there were two great galleons and a *patache* there, having together one thousand men on board, all Spaniards and experienced mariners, the large vessel mounted with more than forty metal guns, the other in proportion, which aforesaid galleons were equipped and sent out to seek and find us, having been warned many months ago of our coming, as the detailed declaration and confession of the Spanish prisoner shows,

It has, therefore, been resolved to go in search of the aforesaid galleons—

Firstly, in the Bay of Conception, then in Valparese, thence along the coast as far as Arica, which might be captured, and so proceed to Pannanra.[1] Besides these galleons (according to what the Spaniard said), there are more such galleons in readiness, and waiting for us in Lima, for which many troops are ready, having also German and other constables, but as we hope to find the first galleons, these are postponed till further orders.

In addition to the foregoing order of the ships' captains or skippers, the captain or other officer of the soldiers shall hold himself in readiness, upon any ship that it may be, to inspire his men to put forth every effort for the foe's overthrow and the safety of our fleet.

The captain, lieutenant, or other officer, shall betake himself and move his men to any spot which the Admiral or Vice-Admiral shall point out. If the aforesaid Admiral be not there, it shall be done by the ship's captain or skipper, who should be acquainted with the manner and order of fighting on ship-board, so that the soldiers and sailors do not get mixed up in disorder, the authority of the super-cargo remaining intact and nought to occur without his knowledge.

During the fight or battle, no soldier or sailor shall be permitted to move from his appointed place, except by order of his captain, or other officer.

Those who happen to be wounded shall be carried away by others appointed to do so.

In the event of the fight or cannonade lasting a long time so that the cases got empty, no one shall be permitted to leave his place, but shall hand over his bandolier to the

[1] Evidently meant for Panama.

person appointed for that purpose, who shall immediately supply it with powder, balls, and other things.

In the event of the galleons being found to be higher or bigger than our ships, and seeking to grapple us and board us in large numbers, each commander, captain, or skipper, shall, according as the circumstances demand, take such careful measures as may prevent our soldiers and sailors from being killed where they can do no good, and shall place them in a safe spot under the quarter-nettings fore and aft, in order to annihilate the boarders by the fittest means, wherewith each ship is well provided in the shape of mortars and other things.

Should the galleons further get alongside of us and set their men aboard, the Constable, the mate and the arquebusiers shall make all haste to lower the aim of as many guns as possible and hit the galleon below the water-line; and in getting away, when the galleon has sent her men aboard of us, care must be taken to fire our guns as gallantly as possible.

In the event of the galleons keeping away from us, we must, after having exterminated all the men they have put aboard us, make them as unfit and disabled as is possible by means of our cannon as aforesaid, and we must see whether it is advisable and advantageous to board them in our turn, but not without notable advantage.

We must always take heed and remember that we have a further voyage to perform, as our detailed instructions show, well knowing that there is little or no chance of making good whatever we may lose, having come a long way, being surrounded by our foes and far from our friends.

If it chance that these two galleons and forces meet us, the Admiral shall give battle with the *Sonne* and the *Æolus* to the Spanish Admiral, bombard him, grapple him, and whatever else time and circumstance may demand.

The Vice-Admiral, with the *Mane* and the *Morgen-ster*,

shall deal in like manner with the Spanish Vice-Admiral, but the *Jager* shall proceed to disable the *patache* with her fire as far as possible, to obstruct its course in every way, and make every effort to avoid being grappled or boarded, all in the aforesaid order, as above.

This order is only in the event of our meeting the galleons at sea. Meeting them in any roadsteads, ports or bays, the attack shall be made in the following manner. Getting close alongside of them, if possible, and forcing them with our cannonade, it shall, if it seem advantageous, be permissible to board them in order to master, burn, or sink them, all according to circumstances, which the good God grant us.

Should it happen that six, seven or eight galleons met us at sea, which number we deem to be the very greatest that they could assemble in the South Sea, we shall shape our course according to the wind, keeping always a point or two away from the foe, but in such a way as conveniently to exchange shots with him. Should any one of the galleons, out-sailing the others, seek, with their usual audacity, to board any of our ships, we must in all vigilance endeavour so to meet that galleon that she may injure none of our company.

Should we be unable to keep these galleons off with our fire and they board us, in keeping with their courage and audacity, and having the advantage of numbers in their crews, we shall, nevertheless, trust firmly in God—our aid shall He be—and seek to damage the galleons by sinking them with our shot or setting fire to them; thus putting forth every endeavour in defence and attack, and surrendering no ship under any circumstances, except to the Lord God, in whose honour we all promise to fight to the death with ship, means, and body, in which God help us!

With regard to any galleons laden with merchandise, or any other particular ships in the South Sea and else-

where, we shall act as may be best and most proper on the occasion ; whoever comes in sight of any by day or night shall give due signals by shots, lights, and other means, and shall, moreover, endeavour to overtake such galleon, ship, or barque.

In order that these aforesaid regulations may be obeyed in the best possible manner, all commanders, especially ships' captains and skippers, shall diligently admonish their crews, officers, and others, to pay heed to their honour, and especially exhort all mates, second mates, and quarter-masters, to be on their guard, and keep a diligent look-out, lest by want of care and negligence we lose one or other of our fleet.

All the aforesaid regulations and precepts should be carefully observed, as well as any that we may still frame and order to follow hereupon.

June.

On the 1st of June, in the afternoon, we again set sail, directing our course first to the continent, and afterwards to the north-east, until the evening, when we anchored in 30 fathoms at the end of the great reef, of which we have already spoken.

In the night the wind veered to the north, so that we were compelled to remain lying there.

Here we were not far from Auroca,[1] being a small town, in which there is ordinarily a garrison of some five hundred Spaniards, who are in daily warfare with the Chilenoises. In this spot the Spaniards have their strongest force, but the continual fighting prevents them from using this to obtain complete mastery of the country.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 3rd, we again set sail, keeping with a south wind along the shore until the

[1] Arauco.

afternoon, when we found ourselves near an island not far from the mainland and named Quiriquina, round about which we sailed to a hamlet called Conception, in which, as we learnt from our prisoners, there lay some two hundred Spaniards, besides many Indians, but as the wind was not strong enough to carry us to the hamlet, we cast anchor in 26 fathoms.

In these quarters, situated in latitude 33° 23′, we remained until the 11th of the same month, without doing anything in the meantime. On that day the Vice-Admiral visited the Admiral, and it was resolved by them to shape our course straight for the land, which was done; and we arrived at a cape lying near a valley running down from the top of the mountains, which we opined to be the roadstead of Val-Parijsa, but afterwards we discovered the contrary, wherefore we sailed on until sunset, and then cast anchor in 40 fathoms close to another cape, similar to the first, and being a beautiful spot and country. As soon as we were at anchor the Council met, in order to pass resolutions concerning all and sundry matters; and meanwhile Maerten Pieterssen, skipper of the *Morghen-sterre*, came on board, declaring he had heard a horn on land, and had also seen fire. The Admiral therefore sent three boats in haste to the shore, well manned with armed crews. The latter, on landing, found only a few persons coming down from the hills, and on the beach they saw a few animals; near the hills they saw some huts, but no one went to them, since the Admiral's orders did not permit of it, and so they came on board again.

At daybreak on the 12th, we set sail again with a southerly wind, hugging the coast all the time. About midday we entered the aforementioned bay of Val-Parijsi,[1] where there was good anchorage for many vessels.

[1] Valparaiso.

PLATE No. 6.

Number 6 is CONCEPTION,[1]

With an explanation thereof indicated by A, B, C, as follows :—

A. Is an illustration of the Bay of Conception,[2] in latitude 36°40′.
B. Is the island of Quiri-quyna,[3] upon which stood some straw huts that were set on fire.
C. Is the hamlet of Conception, in which were many Spaniards.
D. Is our fleet, lying in 26 fathoms.
E. Are some wild horses, which are there in numbers.
F. Is their manner of dress.

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[1] La Concepcion.
[2] Now also known as Talcahuano Bay.
[3] Quiriquina I.

Number 7 is VALPARIJSE,[1]

Which is the harbour of the town of St. Jago,[2] situated 18 miles inland; the explanation is, for the rest, alphabetically indicated.

A. Is the harbour of Val-parijse, as it is in reality.
B. Are our forces on land, drawn up in order of battle to fight the Spaniard.
C. Is a Spanish ship which was burnt between the rocks.
D. Is our fleet, which occasionally fired upon the Spaniards.
E. Are divers troops of Spanish horse, with lances.
F. Are our musketeers, who had some skirmishes with the Spaniard.
G. Are some houses which were set on fire.
H. Is the spot at which our men landed and re-embarked.
I. Is the form of the natives there.

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[1] Valparaiso. [2] Santiago.

PLATE No. 7.

On the shore we saw three houses, and a ship lying at anchor before them, but the crew of the ship had no sooner seen us than they let slip their cable and set fire to the vessel, drifting in this manner all aflame into a little creek lying amid many rocks. Seeing this, we sent some boats out with armed men in order to capture the said vessel, but they could not well get to it, since many Spaniards lying behind the rocks opened a heavy musket fire upon them ; yet they finally advanced by force as far as the said ship, in which the fire had already made such progress that it was impossible to save it, and so they came back to our ships, which lay anchored right in front of the aforesaid houses, the *Jager* alone remaining near the burning ship.

The Council having met concerning these matters, the Admiral, the Vice-Admiral, and many others, went ashore, accompanied by about two hundred soldiers. By the time these landed, the Spaniards had already set fire to the aforesaid houses, and drawn themselves up, moreover, in battle array, both on horse and foot, without, however, daring in any wise to approach us, fearing our cannon very much, which was constantly firing upon them.

At last, as they did nothing, but only withdrew the more we advanced towards them, and as, moreover, the evening was approaching, the Admiral determined to sound the retreat, and so all came on board again, and we immediately weighed anchor, and proceeded under full sail out to sea.

At midnight we hauled down the sails, fearing that we might pass the harbour of Quintero.

In all these places, in Val-Parijse as well as in St. Jago and Sancta Maria, they had already long before been warned of our coming, as we likewise understood from Josephi Cornelio, our Spanish prisoner, who declared that Rodrigo de Mendozza had already been three months in

search of us in Baldavia[1] and some other places in the South Sea, with two galleons and a *patache.*

We have also already mentioned the letters written from Rio Gevera[2] in Brazil, from which we could likewise observe that they had already, long before, had tidings of us and of our coming.

The above-mentioned place of Val-Parijse is the bay or harbour of St. Jago, situated 18 miles inland.

On the 13th, it was very calm, so that we did our best to make the land again.

At noon we were in latitude 32° 15′.

In the afternoon, we entered the Bay of Quintero, being a very fine and pleasant place, in which ships lie in such security that no wind in the world could hurt them. We anchored there in 20 fathoms.

The same evening, the Admiral rowed ashore with three boats, full of armed men, partly to inspect the locality and situation, and also to look for fresh water, of which we were already in great need.

In this country, we saw from afar many animals which at first we deemed to be cows and sheep, but at last we perceived that they were wild horses, coming there to drink at a small river into which the fresh water ran down from the top of the mountains. These horses had no sooner caught sight of us that they fled with great rapidity, and never returned while we lay there.

The next day, the 14th, the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and some captains proceeded ashore again with a large number of soldiers, in order to guard the rivulet, so that the sailors might get in their supply without any danger. The Admiral had a half-moon thrown up close to the rivulet, so that we might take shelter behind it in the event of the enemy surprising us.

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[1] Valdivia.

[2] Rio de Janeiro.

PLATE No. 8

Number 8 is QUINTERO,

With its explanation all well indicated as follows :—

A. Is the Bay of Quintero, well sheltered, and situate in 18 degrees.
B. Is Crevecuer, a half-moon made by our men for protection whilst getting water.
C. Is our entire fleet lying at anchor.
D. Are our soldiers trying to lure on the Spaniards.
E. Are a number of Spanish horsemen who came to surprise us each day.
F. Are a number of our soldiers guarding the west side whilst the water is being got.
G. Are our boats bringing the men to and fro.
H. Are a number of wild horses.
I. Is their manner of dress, as is customary there.

Quint
E
A
B
C
I

The foe made his appearance with some mounted troops, but although we lured them on, they durst never attack us, either from fear of our heavy guns, or for other reasons, and remained without budging in a valley at the corner of a wood.

On the 16th, we released and sent ashore two Portuguese we had brought from St. Vincent, and an old Chilenois from St. Maria, who were overjoyed at this unexpected release of theirs, for which they thanked both the Admiral the whole Council with all humility.

The Bay of Quintero is fine and pleasant, having a well-situated anchorage, and in addition to that, one could not find in the world a better place for getting water, the latter being very clear and sweet of taste.

In this spot Mr. Candijs[1] likewise got in his supply of water, but with the loss of many men. So far as we are concerned, we lost not a single man, nor was anyone injured.

The half-moon which we had thrown up was strong and defensible enough, wherefore we named it Crevecœur.

In this place we also found yet another river, in which we caught a large quantity of all kinds of fresh fish.

There was, besides this, a good opportunity for laying in a stock of timber, so that this place must be regarded as the fittest of any for re-victualling and getting the necessary supplies.

On the 17th, having shipped all our stock, we set sail and proceeded right out to sea with a favourable wind, pursuing our way for the rest of this month without encountering aught.

July.

On the 1st of July, we sailed along the shore until the evening, when we hove to in order not to pass the hamlet of Aricqua.

[1] Thomas Cavendish. *Vide supra*, p. 37.

On the 2nd, we arrived, with a favourable wind, towards evening off the aforesaid hamlet of Aricqua, situated in 18° 40′ latitude.

On one side of this hamlet there is a high mountain, and on the slope of the latter a widely-extended village, consisting of many houses, and on the other side a pleasant green spot, planted with all kinds of trees, amongst others, oranges and citrons.

To this place, Aricqua, all the silver from the whole of Potesia[1] is brought, and is again trans-shipped thence to Pannama, and afterwards taken by land to Porta Vela,[2] or otherwise re-shipped and sent direct to Spain.

And as we then found no ships or galleons for shipping silver, we set sail and put out to sea.

On the 10th, it was very calm and drizzly weather, which set us wondering, since the Spanish prisoner informed us that it was always fine weather here, and that for many years they had known of no rain here.

The Vice-Admiral, having boarded the Admiral's ship, said he had seen a sail afar off, wherefore two boats well manned were presently sent out to obtain tidings thereof. The said boats, having rowed for some time, could make out no vessel, except one very small sail; with these tidings they returned aboard towards the evening. We opined that the small sail must be some spy, in order that our coming might be made known on all sides; this we afterwards found to have been the case, for in Lima, the capital, they had each day and every hour had tidings of what we did, and in what spot we were.

On the 11th we were in 13° 30′.

In the afternoon, the aforesaid sail again made its

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[1] Potosi.

[2] Porto Bello, on the N. coast of the isthmus of Panama, the terminus of a paved way constructed by the Spaniards to connect Panama and the Caribbean Sea.

appearance, when the *Jacht* turned its course towards it, meaning to overtake it, but it was in vain, since it rowed on very rapidly.

In the evening it grew quite calm, so that we made no progress.

On the 12th, we made straight for the land, where we anchored in the evening in 50 fathoms.

On the 13th, we set sail, but by reason of the intense calm we had to cast anchor again, without having gained aught.

On the 14th, the Admiral sent two shallops full of soldiers ashore with some merchandise, in order to see whether any friendly dealings could be held with the Indians.

As soon as our men came near the land, they saw many houses and buildings, so that it looked like a town or fortress, and on getting still nearer we saw two edifices, after the manner of some monastery or castle, in front of which there was a high wall, serving as a defence, that was very old and dilapidated. Behind the said wall there was a troop of armed men, both mounted and on foot, firing bravely on our men with muskets, in order to prevent them from landing ; but their orders were not to go ashore and give battle under these circumstances.

These horsemen, amid continual beating of drums, came several times to the edge of the sea-shore, riding to and fro with great bravado, and three or four of them were hurled on the sand by the musket-shots of our men, thus compelling them to run back behind the wall without making their re-appearance, so that all our men came back without anyone having been hurt or wounded.

In the afternoon, we weighed anchor and sailed along the shore, though this did not last long, for a sudden calm forced us to cast anchor again.

On the 16th of this month of July, 1615, at the first

peep of day, we saw a ship out on the open sea, to which the Admiral immediately despatched four boats filled with armed men, who had no sooner come alongside the said ship than she was given up to them without resistance. The skipper, with the greater part of the sailors, intended to make off in the shallop, but they were soon overtaken by our men and all brought at the same time to the fleet. They were nineteen persons in all, and amongst them some passengers. The cargo they carried was of little importance—among other things, some olives and the like. There was also a good sum in copper coin, the greater part of which was distributed and shared among the soldiers and sailors.

The skipper, Jan Baptiste Gonsales by name, a very good and honest man, was on his way from Aripica[1] to Caliou de Lima.

As soon as we had unloaded the ship, we knocked a hole in her and sank her.

The same evening, we saw eight sail out at sea, and, to all appearances, of wonderful size; in order to know something of them, the Admiral asked our Spaniards what they thought of the said vessels, and whether they did not know whence and with what intention they were come. Whereupon they, and especially Jan Baptista, replied that they were certain it was the fleet which had been equipped already a long time ago by the King of Spain expressly to await us, and that it would undoubtedly attack us. As it indeed did, although we afterwards heard from the prisoners that the Grand Council of Peru had been very much opposed to it, alleging that it was inexpedient for a royal fleet to betake itself beyond its advantages and forts, and that it would have been more expedient to await our coming, of which they were certain, in Caliou, and

[1] Arequipa.

that, in order to fight with greater advantage, some pieces of ordnance should be placed on the shore, so that under cover of the same they might overpower all our ships. Which proposition had been opposed by Don Rodrigo de Mendozza, Commander-General of the Fleet, being a cousin of the Marquis des Montes Claros,[1] Viceroy of the kingdoms and provinces of Peru and Chilli, who replied (being more impelled by a frivolous imagination and youthful wantonness than by any experience of war) that two of his ships were powerful enough to conquer all England, how much more us, whom he regarded as chicks or hens.

Amongst other things, he also submitted that the long voyage which we had performed must have weakened and tried us to such a degree that probably a large number of our men were already dead, ill, or at least disabled.

That our ammunition and provisions must be greatly diminished.

Finally, he assured the Council of Peru that he was quite certain we would not dare to await his coming, and that upon his first attack we would easily surrender to him, as, he said, many others had done before.

This having been heard by the Viceroy there, who was not less puffed up by ambition than this Rodrigo, he said: "Go, then, you have nought else to do but to bind them hand and foot and bring them here." Mendozza, encouraged by these words to a still greater degree, took an oath, and promised never more to return unless he had beaten us, or at least brought some of our ships into the harbour of Cailiou,[2] taking the Sacrament on this condition.

These proposals having been made on the one side and

[1] Burney, *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea*, Pt. II, p. 338, calls him de Monte Castro; but see p. 86.

[2] Callao. The reader is reminded that all proper names are reproduced as they stand in the original.

the other, the Council was of opinion that Rodrigo de Mendozza had good reasons, and that what he had alleged was not without a sound basis.

And as he had received his orders, he set sail with this royal armada, putting out from the harbour of Cailiou with eight great gaileons on the 11th of July.

Here follow the names of the enemy's ships, and the particulars of each, whereof we afterward received a detailed account from Caspar Caldron, the captain who was taken prisoner.

The Admiral's ship, called the *Jesu Maria*, mounted twenty-four big metal guns, was proportionately well provided with all ammunition and material of war, had on board three hundred men, sailors as well as soldiers and arquebusiers, and, amongst others, two captains, one sergeant-major, one ensign-in-chief, and in addition twenty-four ensigns and sergeants on half-pay, each with his pages and servants, excepting the person of Rodrigo de Mendozza, who was besides accompanied by many Dons and Cavalleros, all amounting to four hundred and sixty souls.

This vessel had cost the King a hundred and fifty thousand ducats.

The second, named the *St. Anna*, mounted fourteen big metal guns, besides many small metal pieces.

She was commanded by the Vice-Admiral Pedro Alvares de Pigar,[1] renowned as one of the best and most valiant soldiers that had ever been sent to these parts, it being he who had some years ago captured an English ship in this Southern Sea.

He had for his second Caspar Caldron, upon whom the command would have devolved in his absence.

She carried two hundred men, sailors, soldiers, and arquebusiers, and in addition a captain in command of the soldiers, an ensign, a sergeant, and many other

[1] Pilgar. Burney, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, p. 340.

volunteers, with their pages and servants, the number being three hundred men in all.

This was the most powerful and finest ship that had ever been in the Indies, having cost the King a hundred and fifty thousand ducats.

The third was also a fine and powerful vessel named the *Carmer*, commanded by Captain the Field-Marshal Don Diego de Strabis, carrying eight big metal guns, two hundred men, both sailors and soldiers, besides all the officers, suites, and other followers.

The fourth, named the *St. Diego*, was of equal size and strength, carrying also eight metal guns and about two hundred soldiers and sailors, besides six captains from Chilli, and other half-pay officers and their retinue in proportion, especially commanded by the Field-Marshal Jeronimo Peraca.

The fifth, named *Le Rosario*, commanded by Don Mingo de Apala, carried four big metal guns, and about a hundred and fifty men.

The sixth, named the *St. Francisco*, was commanded by Captain St. Lowys Albedin, and carried a crew of seventy musketeers and twenty sailors, and no cannon, which vessel was, during the first encounter by night, sent to the bottom, as will be narrated hereafter.

The seventh, bearing the name *St. Andries*, was commanded by Captain Don Jan de Nagena. a native of Germany, and carried eighty musketeers, twenty-five sailors, and many other officers, but likewise had no big guns.

The eighth was a vessel which the Viceroy had despatched after the departure of the others, in order to render them assistance if it were necessary, but how it was mounted, or how many men it carried, those of the fleet themselves did not know.

The next day, July 17th, the said armada began to

approach us, as we did them, so that by the evening both fleets were not far from one another, which being observed by the Vice-Admiral, who, as has been said, was an old and experienced warrior, he was of opinion that this could not bring them any advantage, but that, on the contrary, it was temerity on their part to get so near the foe during the night. He therefore quickly sent a small fisher-boat, which they usually had by them, to Rodrigo, the Admiral, in order to warn him that he should on no account attack us by night, but that if, on the contrary, he did so, that he protested his guiltlessness, and would not hold himself responsible for any hurt or damage that might result therefrom.

All this notwithstanding, Don Rodrigo, with great self-conceit, came up with our *Groote Sonne*, on which was our Admiral, at about ten o'clock at night, and after some words had been exchanged between them, they fired upon each other, first with a salvo of musketry, and afterwards with the guns, which seemed not only strange, but horrible in the hour of night. After our Admiral had got all his musketeers to fire in good order, he hurled himself so forcibly with his cannon upon the said Mendozza that the latter sought every means of escaping from the fray, but the total absence of wind for a long time prevented these two Admirals from getting clear of each other, there being in the meantime constant charges on both sides of cannon and musketry, continual beating of drums, sounding of trumpets, and amidst it all the indescribable yelling and shrieking of the Spaniards.

The Spanish Admiral having now passed by, there followed another ship, which, sailing somewhat more swiftly, got away with better luck, and without sustaining much damage.

Then followed the third, called *St. Francisco*, and commanded by Captain St. Lovis Albedien ; this, by reason

PLATE No. 9.

Number 9 is the BATTLE BY NIGHT,

With its illustration and explanation in what manner the Spaniards approached us, and how we gave them battle, all alphabetically indicated.

A. Is the Spanish admiral; the vessel was named *Jesu Maria*, upon which was D. Rodrigo de Mendose.[1]

B. Is the Admiral Joris Spil-berghen, who bravely attacks the Spanish Admiral in the night.

C. Is the Spanish Vice-Admiral; the vessel was named *St. Anna*, upon which was the Vice-Admiral, named St. Pedro Alvares de Piegaer.[2]

D. Is the Spanish Rear-Admiral.

E. Was another Spanish ship, as is narrated in the *Journal*.

F. Is our Vice-Admiral, den Hovelingh by name.

G. Is the *Morghen-sterre*.

H. Is the *Æolus*, which, becalmed, could not well get near the Spaniard that night.

I. Is a Spanish ship that was engaged with our Vice-Admiral.

K. Are two Spanish ships which fired a shot from time to time.

L. Is the *Jagher*, which sank a Spanish ship with its fire.

M. Is a Spanish ship which sinks after being repeatedly struck.

[1] *Vide* p. 69.

[2] *Vide* p. 70.

of the calm, drifted alongside of our Admiral, who riddled her so with the force of his cannon that it seemed as if she must presently sink, but the said vessel, still drifting until she came near our *Jacht*, fired a charge of musketry at the latter and grappled her, thinking easily to mastet her. The *Jacht's* crew, however, drove them back with great force and courage, so that their vessel going to the bottom, the greater number of the Spaniards were slain by our men, to the great good fortune of the *Jacht*, since the Spanish Admiral, during this fight, had also drifted near, and was beginning to fire bravely upon her, for which the *Jacht*, the fight with the other vessel being ended, soon took her revenge. Nevertheless, she would still, by reason of the strength of the Spaniards, have finally come to an ill end, had not the Admiral, observing this, sent to her aid a boatful of well-armed men, and ordered the Vice-Admiral to do the same ; this was done, but as soon as our aforesaid Admiral's boat came near the *Jacht*, the latter, not recognising the occupants, although they repeatedly cried "Orange, Orange!" fired a cannon-shot upon them, which was so well aimed that the boat presently sank, whilst its crew were saved by the *Jacht*, with the exception of one man, who was drowned. Meanwhile the boat from the Vice-Admiral arrived and rescued the *Jacht*, so that she escaped without suffering much damage.

The same evening, some Spanish ships also attacked our Vice-Admiral, but were greeted by him in such fashion that they had no desire to return the next day.

During the whole of the night we could nowhere see the Admirant, or Spanish Vice-Admiral, accompanied by some other vessels, wherefore we were of opinion that he must be engaged with our ships, the *Æolus* and *Morghen-sterre*, which, by reason of the great calm, had drifted so far from us that we could get no news of them in the darkness of the night.

This calm, continuing all night, prevented the *Æolus* and *Morghen-sterre* from joining the fleet, and therefore, at the approach of day, being the 18th of July, the said vessels were attacked by the Spanish Admiral himself, who hoped to have better luck there, but he met with such a stout resistance that all he sought were means to escape.

The wind rising in the meantime, five of the enemy's ships got together and repeatedly sent their shallops to their Admiral to assure him that they were resolved to get clear of us by every means in their power, as we were afterwards informed by our prisoners, and amongst others by a captain and the chief pilot. These ships, too, had been so attacked and damaged in the night that they had lost all desire to commence afresh by day.

Our Admiral and Vice-Admiral remarking this, made straight for Rodrigo, the Spanish Admiral, and for his Vice-Admiral, or Admirant, the two being separated from the other ships, and they, seeing this, took to flight; Rodrigo, however, noticing that his Admirant could not keep up with him, waited for him with lowered sails, so that our Vice-Admiral, coming up with them first, began to charge them with great fury until he was supported by the Admiral's arrival, when a very hot fight ensued between these four ships, the one riddling the other with shot and musket-fire. At last, our *Æolus* also arrived on the scene, discharging its guns upon the Spaniards, who finally laid their vessels right alongside of each other, and so gave our men a great advantage in being able to attack them from all quarters. This, indeed, reduced them to such a state that the crew of the one sought safety on board of the other, and a large number of the Vice-Admiral's men sprang into the Admiral's ship, fearing that their own, being quite riddled, would soon go down; but on coming into the Admiral's ship they found therein not more than forty or fifty men alive, who had collected together in the

PLATE No. 10

Number 10 is the BATTLE BY DAY,

Showing how the Spaniards take to flight after some of their ships have been shot and sunk, all properly indicated.

A. Shows how the *Halve Maen*, through absence of wind, got in between two Spanish galleons, and how bravely they defended themselves.

B. Are those two galleons fighting the *Maen*.

C. Are two boats which are being sent to the aid of the *Maen*.

D. Is the *Morghen-Ster*, which, becalmed, had to be towed by two boats.

E. Is the Admiral, Joris Spilberghen.

F. Is the Spanish Admiral, which was thoroughly riddled.

G. Are two of our ships that still pursued the Spaniard.

H. Is a Spanish ship that fired many rockets whilst sinking, and whereof the crew shrieked piteously.

I. Is another Spanish ship, which, after much firing upon, also went down.

K. Are the Spanish ships that were left, taking to flight.

L. Is the third Spanish ship, sunk whilst fleeing.

PRÆLIUM
Battaly

fore part of the vessel, as we afterwards heard from their own narratives.

In the meantime they hoisted a white flag as a sign of peace, which flag was several times hauled down again by some cavaliers, since the latter preferred death to giving themselves up to us. Wherefore we kept up a continual cannonade upon them, and the deserters from the Vice-Admiral seeing this, returned to their former ship, and, being inspired with fresh courage, resumed the battle. Finally, the waves carried our Vice-Admiral in between the two ships of the enemy, who fired heavily upon him from either side, though this did not prevent him from taking his revenge on both.

But as he at length got quite close to the Spanish Admiral, the enemy boarded him in a great heap, and were so well resisted by our men from under the quarter-nettings with short pikes, swivel guns, and other arms that the greater part were slain.

Meanwhile, we did not desist from doing our best with the big guns, so that the two enemy's ships gradually began to part company, and the Spanish Admiral to show his heels, but he was constantly pursued by our Admiral, and bombarded until the evening, when darkness shut him out from sight, after which we never saw him more. And in all probability he could not have got so far away from us that night, but that we should still have seen him, as we did the other vessels, the next day, especially as it was quite calm that night, wherefore we were of opinion that he had met with the same fate as had previously befallen the *St. Francisco,* and which also befallen the Admirant, of whom we shall speak hereafter; as, indeed, we subsequently received a complete account of the same from the Indians in Guiarme[1] and Peyta.[2]

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[1] Huarmey. [2] Payta.

Our Vice-Admiral and the *Æolus* remained in constant pursuit of the Spanish Vice-Admiral, riddling him so with shot that no means of escape was left him and that it appeared as if he must go down every moment. He therefore at length hoisted the white flag as a signal of peace, offering to hand everything over to us if we let them off with their lives. This being observed by our Vice-Admiral, he despatched two boats full of armed men to board him, charging some captains to bring back with them the Spanish Admirant in person. But when these came on board and explained the purport of their charge, the Admirant would not consent, declaring that he wished to remain still that night on his ship unless some captain would remain in his place as a hostage, which was declined. Our men therefore warned him again that he should no longer trust himself in a ship which looked as if it would seek the bottom every hour. But all this notwithstanding, he remained obstinate, finally agreeing to go if the Vice-Admiral came for him in person, but declaring that otherwise he would rather die with honour in his present capacity, and on his ship, in the service of his king and country. During these negotiations one of the sailors of the *Æolus* climbed the rigging and hauled down the Admirant's flag, and so our boats, seeing that there was no chance of agreement, came aboard again, leaving behind ten or twelve of our men who had, contrary to orders, boarded the Admirant's ship in the hope of being first at the loot.

Night having fallen, the Spaniards, aided by our sailors who had remained there, attempted by pumping and other means to keep their ship above water, but, seeing that all was of no avail and that they had nought but death to expect, they kindled many lights and torches, and amidst much shrieking, weeping and wailing to move those who might hear them, they finally went down in our presence with all aboard.

The next day, being July 19th, our Admiral sent four boats to the spot in which the Spanish Admirant had gone down, in order to ascertain whether the said Admirant or any other officers had not saved himself on some planks, masts, or the like.

These boats, on coming to the said spot, found about sixty or seventy men drifting on planks, spars, and other objects ; these, on the arrival of our men, thinking them to be Spaniards, shouted only for help and assistance, but, on finding they were enemies, all shouted " Misericorde ! Misericorde ! "

As our boats could not find the Admirant, who, they were told, had gone down in the night, he having, moreover, received two wounds in the last battle, they rescued the chief pilot and his mate, with one captain and a few soldiers, leaving the rest to the mercy of the waves, although some of our sailors slew a few Spaniards, contrary to the orders they had received.

Behold the result of this battle, for which God must be praised and thanked in eternity in regard to the victory and mercy granted us, since the power of the Spaniards was most considerably weakened by the loss of these three ships.

With regard to our dead and wounded, they were, God be praised, few in number, most of them being on the *Morghen-sterre*, our Vice-Admiral, and amounting in all to sixteen killed and from thirty to forty wounded, these casualties having mostly occurred at thetime that the Vice-Admiral was thrown in between the two Spanish ships.

The whole remainder of all the other vessels did not amount to more than twenty-four dead and sixteen or eighteen wounded.

On the same day we sailed straight for the island Caliau de Lima, but as it was very calm we could not make much progress.

On the 20th, the wind being favourable, we passed by the aforesaid island and sailed straight to the harbour, where we saw about fourteen vessels of all kinds which carried on trade with Peru, continually going and coming along the coast; for which reason we could not get near them, since it was not deep enough for us so near the land.

We therefore decided to carry out our first intention of anchoring in the roadstead of Caliau de Lima, in order to learn whether perchance the Spanish Admiral might not have escaped, but not finding him there, we felt certain that he must have gone down, whereof we were fully assured in Gwarme[1] and Peyta, as will be told hereafter.

When we had now come nearer Lima de Caliau, our Admiral, sailing in advance of the others, cast anchor in 9 or 10 fathoms, and that close to the shore. But no sooner had he anchored than the enemy, having planted on land a gun firing thirty-six pound iron shots, and a few other small ones, fired many times upon him, but still without doing him any damage. Our *Jagher*, also lying at anchor beside the Admiral, got a shot from the aforesaid gun right through her, so that she was very near having been sent to the bottom.

Meanwhile, as we saw upon the shore a large number of troops, amongst whom, as we afterwards learnt, was the Viceroy himself, escorted by eight companies of horse and four thousand men on foot; as we further heard that the ships lying along the shore had also troops and the necessary means of defence on board; and as, moreover, we were, by reason of the land-firing, like to lose our masts or rigging, which might have retarded our voyage: it was, therefore, after mature deliberation, resolved by the

[1] Huarmey.

PLATE No. 11.

Number 11 is CALIOU DE LIMA,[1]

A very fine bay, with its explanation alphabetically indicated.

A. Is the battery on the beach, with a few heavy guns.
B. Is a fine building in the town.
C. Is a church in which they perform their ceremonies.
D. Are two troop of horsemen with lances.
E. Are two regiments of infantry on either side of the batteries.
F. Are two troop of Spaniards, both horse and foot.
G. Another band of Spaniards appearing on the beach, on the other side of the river.
H. Is a number of Spanish ships lying at anchor.
I. Is our Admiral, Joris Spilberghen.
K. Is the *Jagher*, which kept sailing to and fro near the vessels.
L. Is the *Æolus*, which was struck by a great iron ball.
M. Is the *Morghen-sterre*.
N. Is the *Halve Maen*.

[1] Callao.

Admiral and all the officers, since no advantage was to be gained here, to retire a mile or two, which was immediately done, as appears from the minutes of the General Council. Also, that we cast anchor at the entrance to the harbour of Caliou de Lima, where we lay until the 25th of this month of July, meanwhile making every effort to capture some of their ships; but this was in vain, since the said vessels, going and coming along the shore, sailed more rapidly than ours, so that we gained no advantage, except that our boats captured and brought to the fleet a small vessel that was scarcely of any value.

On the 26th, we once more set sail to continue our voyage, hugging the shore as closely as possible until the afternoon, when we saw a small vessel quite near the land, to capture which our Admiral sent out three well-manned boats, our fleet not waiting for these but proceeding on its course until the evening, when we cast anchor in 15 fathoms. This having been done, our boats returned, bringing with them the aforesaid little vessel, which was laden with salt and about eighty tons of syrup, this being divided amongst us in equal shares.

On the approach of our men, the Spaniards on the vessel had fled on shore, taking with them as much as they had been able to carry.

The Admiral, deciding to keep this vessel with our fleet, placed upon her a crew consisting of a few sailors, with Jan de Wit as captain.

HERE FOLLOWS THE ORDER.

The following Order has been framed, and shall be obeyed as closely as possible, in the event of our falling in with the Armada of Pannama:—

Attacking the same with all our strength of ordnance, which is our greatest and also our most advantageous

force, in order to injure the enemy. And keeping free of their ships as far as possible, for the reasons narrated above.

We may not push matters so desperately as may our foe, mindful and knowing well that we are in strange seas and surrounded by our enemies; so that if we got into any difficulties—from which God preserve us—we have no means of escape, as in a harbour, from the harm which might befall us, except only that which we carry with us. Considering also the long voyage we still have to do, and the service which the seigniors of this fleet expect from it in the Manillies and other places, for which purpose this fleet was despatched, and whereas in the battle we already fought with the Armada of Lima, it was much to our disadvantage that we were not together, and that the calm prevented us from assembling, it is therefore necessary to keep together as far as wind and weather serve us.

In the event of God granting that we might force some of the enemy's ships to surrender, it is expressly commanded that all ship's captains, skippers, mates, and others shall remain aboard their ships, and that neither shall the captains of the soldiers leave their ships to go aboard any enemy's vessels. But they shall compel them to come aboard in their own boats, so that we may not get into confusion, as happened lately, losing our advantage and causing a loss of life amongst our men by carelessness and unseemly looting. In the event of its being considered advisable and approved to send some of our boats to the enemy's ships, this shall be done by command of the Admiral, or, in his absence and according to circumstances, by the Vice-Admiral, and for that shall be appointed competent persons acquainted with the Spanish tongue, who shall carefully execute what they are charged to do.

No. 12 is GUARME,[1]

Where our ships re-victualled, and brought their water across the beach in barrels with great difficulty.

A. Is a ruined castle, occupied by our men.
B. Is how our men got the water.
C. Is our ship the *Jagher*, lying close in to the shore.
D. Is a captured Spanish vessel.
E. Is our fleet, with the boats coming to and fro.
F. Are a number of our soldiers, in search of provisions.
G. Is the village or hamlet of Guarme, which our men entered in search of provisions.
H. Are some Spanish horsemen taking to flight.
I. Is how they fish in the fresh water.

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[1] Huarmey.

PLATE No. 12.

On the 27th, we once more set sail, the wind being north-west by north, with fine weather.

On the 28th, we reached the roadstead of Guarme,[1] situated in the latitude of 10° south of the Line.

This town of Guarme is very fine and pleasant, and has a very large and well-situated harbour, in which many ships can lie. There is also a constant pool of fresh water, from which we got our supply.

On first arriving, the Admiral sent a troop of soldiers ashore, but they found only empty dwellings, since the inhabitants, being informed of our coming, had fled to the woods, so that our men got little booty.

As long as we lay here the Admiral repeatedly sent ashore Jan Baptista, skipper of the little vessel we had captured the day before the battle, in order to examine all the commodities and obtain some supply of provisions. But after the aforesaid had examined everything, he found in the end only some oranges and other fruits.

The sailors also found in the houses some fowls, pigs, and meal. A faithful and discreet man was also sent out to obtain tidings of Don Rodrigo and his fleet, and at last he learnt with certainty that both the King's galleons had gone down, and that not a single individual had been saved.

August.

On the 3rd of August, the Admiral released and set ashore some Spanish prisoners, who expressed much gratitude to him for this favour.

In the afternoon, we unfurled our sails and shaped our course to the north-west in very fine weather, proceeding thus until the sixth. On that day, we came in sight of the

[1] Huarmey.

island de Loubes,[1] where we passed between the mainland and the aforesaid island, situated in 6° 40′, and having received this name de Loubes from a sort of fish[2] of which there is great quantity here.

On the 7th, we continued to hold a nor'-nor'-westerly course until the evening, when we saw a strange sail, of which we lost sight on account of the darkness coming on, and pursuing it no further in order not to delay our voyage.

Towards evening, on the 8th, we cast anchor in a fine, well-situated harbour, near the town of Peyta.[3]

On the 9th, after the Broad Council had met, eight shallops were sent to the shore with three hundred well-armed men, who marched in good order straight to the town of Peyta; but, as they found the enemy entrenched on all sides, and were of opinion that they would not be able to overcome him without a great loss of men, they all came back on board after some skirmishes, in accordance with the orders of the Admiral, who was especially careful regarding the preservation of his men.

In the skirmishes we lost only one man, Pieter Evertsz. by name, and had only three or four wounded. And from the same quarters orders were given for the *Æolus*, the *Morghen-sterre* and the *Jacht* to set sail, and to betake themselves close under the town of Peyta, which was done, and they blockaded the same as closely as possible.

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[1] The Lobos Islands. These are divided into two groups—Lobos de Tierra and Lobos de Afuera, the first, consisting of one island, situated in 6° 29′ S., the second, consisting of several, in 6° 56′. As the writer speaks only of one island, it was probably Lobos de Tierra at which the expedition touched.

[2] Lobo, a small fish, a kind of loach; it is also the Spanish name for the sea-wolf, and Burney (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 341) assumes the latter, calling them sea-calves. This seems absurd, in view of the text and especially of the illustration D on Plate 13, where the natives are seen with jars, evidently to hold the fish.

[3] Payta.

PLATE No 13.

Number 13 is PAYTA,

As it was besieged, stormed, and captured; and how the Spaniards fled, and the town was finally set on fire; also some of their vessels, with a wonderful bird of incredible size.

A. Depicts how our men were brought ashore and enter the town in battle array.

B. Shows how the Spaniards, whilst retreating, fight our men.

C. Are three of our ships, to wit, the *Æolus*, the *Sterre*, and the *Jagher*, bombarding the town.

D. Is one of the savages' vessels, called *balsem*. Here they have fish aboard, and they can sail swiftly with these vessels in the wind.

E. Is a small *balsem*, without a sail.

F. Are our *Son* and *Maen*, lying at anchor.

G. Is the captured Spanish vessel.

H. Is a bird two yards in height and three yards broad, captured on Loubes Island, near the town of Payta.

In the afternoon, a fisherman came in from the sea, to whom Jan de Wit was immediately sent with his little vessel, and, returning in the evening, he brought the said fisherman with him, the latter having a boat and sails very wonderfully made, and in it were Indians, all young, strong, and robust men ; they had been out fishing for two months, and had a great quantity of dried fish of very good flavour, which was distributed amongst the fleet.

On the 10th, we again sent our troops ashore, but in greater force than on the previous day, and our three ships bombarded the aforesaid town so furiously with their cannon that everything around shook ; this lasted until our troops, marching in good order, had come close up to the town, when, finding the said town already open and empty, all the inhabitants having fled to the mountains and taken as much as possible with them, they immediately carried out the Admiral's orders to set fire to it, so that in a short time the greater part of the aforesaid town lay in ashes.

In the evening, all our troops and others came back on board.

On the 12th, the Admiral sent the *Jacht* a mile and a-half to the south of us, in order to anchor and lie on guard there. In the meantime, we left the harbour of Peyta with the whole fleet, and all anchored together at a corner near an inlet, to await there those three ships that were to come from Pannama, and we lay there some time.

Meanwhile, the Admiral sent Jan de Wit and his little vessel out to sea daily, in order to look out for the arrival of any ships, as well as to find out, concerning the fleet from Pannama, the place at which it might be stopping.

The said Jan de Wit came back to the fleet every night. There were also sent ashore five of our Indians, both for the purpose of plucking some fruit, as also to obtain further

news concerning the Spanish Admiral; these at length brought us some tidings that the latter had gone down with his vessel and all aboard, except five or six persons who had miraculously saved their lives.

There was one among these Indians of ours who revealed to us many secrets and matters of importance, to which we gave the more credence, since we had found the man to be a very faithful and discreet person. The Indians also delivered letters written by Captain Caspar Caldron to Dona Paula, wife of the Commander of Peyta, who had taken refuge in the town of St. Michiel, situated twelve miles inland, to which letters they brought back a reply from the aforesaid Dona, expressing the great compassion she felt for the said captain and all the other prisoners, and declaring that, were she not kept back by important reasons, she would herself have come to our Admiral to intercede for them in person. She sent us great abundance of lemons, oranges, cabbages, and other provisions, which were all distributed in proper order.

This Dona Paula is very renowned on account of her beauty, good grace and discretion, having great authority throughout the land of Peru. She made frequent intercession and supplication to the Admiral to release some of the prisoners, but this was courteously refused her, with thanks for her gifts, and assurances that, had we in the beginning been acquainted with her courtesy and kindness, we would, for her sake, have spared the town of Peyta.

This town was strong and well entrenched, especially on the side of the sea, where, with all the strength of cannon it would not have been possible to make a breach.

In it there had been two churches, a cloister, and many other fine buildings and dwellings. They also had the best port of the whole country, at which all the ships and armadas that come from Pannama arrive and dis-

charge, making their way from here to Caliau de Lima, as being the most expedient on account of the contrariness of the constant currents.

The Viceroy had warned the people of the town of our coming, and had sent them many arms, banners, and such like, in order to resist us, but although they all made a sufficiently manly defence the first day, they all finally lost courage.

During the time that we were at anchor, the Admiral, seeing that our victuals were beginning considerably to diminish, sent four well-equipped boats to the aforesaid Island de Loubes, in order to catch some of these fish named loubes. This they did, bringing a large quantity, some still alive, others dead, and which, when cooked, were of good flavour, and afforded perfect nourishment. This enabled us to save our other supply of food, until some wranglers (of whom there are generally some to be found at such times of difficulty) incited the others to set themselves against it, contending that these fish were not eatable food, and that they might easily make some of us ill, so that the Admiral, in order to avoid further bother, had no more caught, although they brought them daily in great abundance.

On the island, our sailors also caught two birds of marvellous size, having a beak, wings, and claws shaped like an eagle, a neck like a sheep, and combs on the head like cocks, being formed in a very wonderful manner.

The Admiral, seeing that the greater part of our prisoners were very incapable and unfit, set a large number of the same ashore free, and we kept only the chief pilot, Caspar Caldron, the captain, and about thirty other persons.

The above-mentioned Indians were also released, and their vessel was restored to them.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU,

Compiled by a Spanish prisoner, named PEDRO DE MADRIGA, a native of Lima.[1]

The Kingdoms of Peru, Chili, and Terra Ferma are at present governed by Don Joan de Mendosa and Lima, Marquis Montes Claros,[2] Viceroy, Stadholder or Lieutenant, in the place of the King of Spain, and wielding the same power here as His Majesty does in Spain, both in bestowing gifts and conferring offices, which are called *corrigimentos*[3] in these kingdoms, as well in the administration of the Indian revenues and the appointment of Alcaldias, being the masters or governors of the mines.

This aforesaid office of the Viceroyalty is conferred by the King for six or eight years, or for as long as he pleases, the appointed Viceroy receiving an annual grant of 40,000 ducats, besides a sum of 1,000 pesos ensaiados (each peso worth twelve and a-half reals a-piece) every Christmas Day, Twelfth Day, and on each of two other Festivals, being those of the Holy Ghost and Easter, since he then entertains all the Councillors of the Audiencia ; in addition to this, the Viceroy, on going annually to the harbour of Galao,[4] in order to despatch the fleet of the King's silver, receives from the King 2,000 pesos ensaiados to defray

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[1] See the Introduction for further facts concerning this treatise.

[2] "Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis de Montesclaros, Viceroy of Peru, 1607-1615, the fourth Viceroy of this illustrious house."—Sir Clements Markham, *History of Peru*, pp. 172, 173. A full account of his life is given by Mendiburu, *Diccionario*, 1885, tom. v, pp. 227-296.

[3] The Spanish words, even when mutilated, have been allowed to stand as in the Dutch text.

[4] Callao. The names of places given in the notes are the modern appellations, and it is not intended to suggest that the original writer was always incorrect (where he differs) for his period; in some instances, as in the modern mutilation of Casmala (a barren, desolate district) to Casma (see p. 99), the change is to be deplored.

his expenses, besides his above-mentioned salary. The Viceroy is served in his palace by many nobles and warriors of every sort and quality, for kings hold the offices of major-domo or steward and maystro de sala, or captain of his guard or watch, as well as that of chamberlain ; besides these, there are also a large number of pages, who serve in and out of doors, and many servants who wait upon the aforesaid gentlemen. When he goes out, he is accompanied by all the state nobles, and has thirty soldiers, who are here called halberdiers, and if he goes outside the town, there go with him a hundred pikemen and fifty musketeers, these being soldiers who are here called the watch of this kingdom. The pikemen get 800 pesos ensaiados, and the musketeers 400 a-year, for their services, or king's salario. In this kingdom there are four Audiencias, being one in Pannama, one in the Province of Quito, one in Charlas,[1] and the fourth in Lima, although the kingdom of Chili also possesses an Audiencia, so that His Majesty constantly provides that kingdom with a governor, the present one being named Don Alonso de la Ribera. These Audiencias are counsellors of the king, who decide all cases, both civil and criminal ; but when an appeal to a higher tribunal has been allowed and is to be heard, all the civil matters are finally determined by oydores, who are appointed as commissioners for that purpose, and the criminal ones by alwaldas.[2] All of these wear the same costume, for which each one enjoys an annual payment of 3,000 pesos ensaiados of twelve and a-half reals. The town in which the Viceroy lives is called Civita dos de los [*sic*] Reyos,[3] or King's Town ; it has been built in a fine large valley, and is in my opinion a mile and a-half in length, and three-quarters of a mile broad. It has more than 10,000 inhabitants, besides those who daily come and go

[1] Charcas. [2] Alcaldes. [3] Ciudad de los Reyes, *i.e.*, Lima.

in large numbers to sell their wares. This town has four places or markets; the first is where the Royal Council-house stands and the justices assemble, and where the merchants foregather and conclude their contracts; and in these places all the necessary provisions and victuals are sold. In this town dwell many Indian artizans, such as tailors and shoemakers, and they dwell in a place called Cercado, which is situated close to the aforesaid town. And in that settlement there are many laborers who live by tilling the soil and sowing such produce as grows there; axicoca,[1] cabbage, salad, radishes, cucumbers, melons, also maize, camotes, which in Spain are called patates, and all such things, are sold in the aforesaid big places or markets. The Indians who live in this settlement of Cercado number about 2,000, more or less; the second, called St. Anna, is also very large; the third is named St. Diego, and is somewhat smaller, and yet another place is called El Sato de los Cavalles, because horses, mules, and asses are daily bought and sold there. In this town resides the Archbishop, named Don Bertholome Lobo Guerrero,[2] who enjoys an income or revenue of 50,000 or 60,000 pesos, according to the rise or fall of the tithes, and if tithes are high it is about 60,000 pesos, and if they are low about 50,000. The great church has twenty-four prebendaries, one archdeacon, schoolmasters, canons, priests and chaplains, who receive 2,000 pesos or more, according to the state of the tithes. This church has four priests, and each one has an income of 1,500 pesos from the king to live upon; this great church is called Don Juan Evangheliste. Besides this parish church, which is the metropolis, there are four others, one called Sinto Marcello, with two priests, each having an income of 1,000 pesos; another, Jan Sebastiaen, with two priests and

[1] "Axij" in the original, but see p. 91.

[2] Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, Archbishop of Lima, 1609-1622. See Mendiburu, *Diccionario*, 1885, tom. v, pp. 55-62.

the same income ; another, Santa Anna, with two priests and the same income ; and the last is the Orphan Hospital with one priest, who is at the service of the four priests of the cathedral church, they giving him a salary of 500 pesos. This town has the following monasteries of monks, being S. Francisco, S. Domingo, S. Augustin, and one of Nuestra de les Marsedes, and each of these has two monasteries ; S. Francisco has three, to wit, its principal monastery, the second that of the barefooted friars, and the third that of Our Dear Lady of Guadelupe. Besides these, there are two of the Jesuits, who are called *Teatinos*[1] in this country; in each of these principal monasteries there are two hundred and fifty monks, and in the monastery of the Minores, twenty. In addition to these monasteries there are five belonging to the Beguins, one called La Incarnation, the second La Conception, the third the Santissima Trinedada, the fourth St. Josepho, and another St. Clara ; in addition to these monasteries there is a church of Nstra Montecorate, one of N'stra Prado, and one of Loretto. There are four hospitals, the first called St. Andries, in which poor people are treated gratis ; in this hospital there are generally more than four hundred patients. Another hospital is called St. Anna, in which the Indians are treated ; another is called St. Pedro, in which priests and churchmen are treated ; and yet another called La Caridade, in which poor women are treated. There is also a house called San Lasaro, where men having no income are treated for old sicknesses ; there is another called El Spirito Santo, where seafaring men are treated. There are in this town more than six hundred mass-priests, besides some thousand students more. In addition to these, there are three colleges of students ; the first is the King's, where there are twenty-four students, whom the king supplies with board, clothes, and whatever they may require ; the second

[1] Theatins, a religious order founded by Pope Paul IV.

college is named St. Torinio, after the Archbishop, where there are also twenty-four students, who are supported by the Bishop; then there is one called Jan Martin, where are more than four hundred students, each of whom has to pay 200 pesos ensaiados for board and tuition. The University, in which all the liberal arts and canon law are taught, has thoroughly instructed in the Holy Scriptures more than two hundred licentiate doctors, both theologians and jurists, for which the professor annually receives 1,000 pesos ensaiados from the king.

Besides that, there are still two classes or auditoria, in one of which canon law is thoroughly taught in the morning, in the other in the afternoon; there are two masters, each receiving 600 pesos ensaiados annually. The teachers of the liberal arts receive 400 pesos ensaiados annually, as do also those entitled "La Instituta;" these doctors annually elect a Rector whom they call Jues, or judge, of all the students. In this town there are within and without the walls more than 20,000 slaves; there are many more women than men—that is to say, Spanish women. The Indians of this country are as free as the Spaniards themselves, except that they are bound to pay every six months to the king, or to whomsoever he appoints, two pesos ensaiados and a fowl worth a real, one fenega of maize, which is worth 8 reals, and half a piece of cloth of which they make their clothes. And if the Indians live in the valley or in the plain, the material must be cotton, but if they live in the mountains, they make it of wool. Each Indian is bound to serve the king for thirty days in the year; they begin to serve in the mines in May, until the end of November, and not at any other period; those who live near the mines serve in the latter, and those who do not live near them must serve in agricultural work, and the master who employs them is bound to pay them 2½ reals per day as wages, and to feed them on bread, meat

axicoca[1] and salt. They must also serve in the fields in order to tend the cattle, which are here in great number, for, in addition to there being many Spanish sheep, there are also large numbers of others belonging to the country, as large as a half-grown horse, and the shape not unlike a camel. And these have been from time immemorial down to the present day, employed in place of horses and mules in this country, but principally in Potosi, for there they employ those sheep to bring down from the mountains the ore that they extract from the mines.

From the harbour of Arica to Potosi these animals carry wheat-meal, maize and axicoca,[2] which is a kind of green herb that the Indians usually put into their mouth, and greatly esteemed by them. The Spaniards transport all their merchandize on these animals, notwithstanding that there are horses and mules in abundance. The Indians of this country make a drink from maize, and call it "tchica;" it is wholesome, and is drunk cold. For the rest, this town of Los Reyes[1] is abundantly provided with victuals, bread,

[1] In the original "axgen," but see next paragraph.

[2] In this treatise the word appears in three forms: axij (p. 88), axgen (p. 91, line 1), and as above; there is little doubt that the herb meant is coca (*erythoxylon coca*), as described by Sir Clements Markham in his *History of Peru*. "The coca leaf was the great source of comfort and enjoyment to the Peruvians, and is now in demand for medicinal uses throughout the civilised world. Coca is cultivated between 5,000 and 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, in the warm valleys of the eastern slopes of the Andes, where the only variation of climate is from wet to dry, and where frost is unknown. It is a shrub from four to six feet high, the branches straight and alternate, leaves alternate and entire in form and size like tea leaves, flowers solitary with a small yellowish-white corolla in five petals. Sowing is commenced in December and January when the rains begin, which continue until April . . . After eighteen months the plants yield their first harvest, and they continue to be fertile for about forty years . . . No Indian is without his *chuspa* or coca bag, and he derives great enjoyment from chewing the leaves. The smell of the leaf is agreeable and aromatic, and its properties are to enable a great amount of fatigue to be borne with little nourishment."

A much earlier but not more authoritative description of the coca plant and its uses is to be found in Joseph Acosta's *History of the East and West Indies*, Book IV, chap. xxii.

[3] *i.e.*, Lima.

meat, and fish, of all sorts; 16 ounces[1] of bread costs a real, whether wheat is cheap or dear. Wheat generally costs three pesos, although in the last few years it has been up to ten and twelve pieces of eight. Meat costs four and a-half, sometimes five, reals per aroba,[2] according to proclamation made in the town. A pound of fresh fish costs three-quarters of a real. There is a good deal of fish here of various sorts, taken from the sea, and also caught within the town walls. By these walls runs a river, which in the rainy season, or during a rush of water, becomes very violent, for a bridge which was built over the said river, of hewn stone, with nine arches, and as strong as one could imagine it, was carried away by the current; it has also many and various sorts of toothsome fish. In this town there is an assembly of twenty-four councillors. There is a King's House, the contractation,[3] with four royal officers, being the Treasurer, Condador,[4] Factor, and Medoor. In that house is the king's treasure and revenue; here is also a tribunal of the Inquisition, with two Inquisitors, who have an income of 3,000 pesos, and their own prison, their mayor and two notaries, each of these receiving 1,000 pesos a year. Here is also a tribunal of St. Crusada, with indulgence and relics, and having similar incomes. In this town are sixteen companies of soldiers, eight mounted and eight on foot, and it is situated two miles from the sea.

The harbour of this town is named El Callao, where reside about eight hundred Spaniards, more or less; close to this there is a small village of about two hundred Indians, all of whom speak Spanish well, for they have mostly been brought up among the Spaniards and serve them, helping them to till the land for wheat and other

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[1] Evidently Spanish, 16 ounces forming a pound, whilst in a Dutch pound there are only five.
[2] A Spanish weight of 25 pounds.
[3] Contratacion.
[4] Contador = accountant.

necessary things, although quantities of wheat and wine come by sea from Pisco, Yca,[1] and La Nacha.[2] This town[3] transports to Potosi all kinds of Spanish wares, both cloth and other stuff for garments, and also native wares, which are made around Lima, for the dress of the people. This place of Potosi is named La Valla Imperiael, and has within its limits a very high mountain, upon which is found the metal for making silver. It is fearful and wonderful to enter these mines, which descend by quite four hundred steps into the earth ; and upon entering, it is so dark that no one can go without a candle. In these mines there are more than twenty thousand Indians at work, who excavate the metal, and then there are others who bring it down to the river in the mills, of which there are quite a hundred, to crush and refine it, and extract the silver. And when it is well ground to powder, they put it into a square trough with water, add to it salt, broken wheat, and a certain quantity of quicksilver, which is a material that separates silver from the earth ; and when it is separated from the earth it mixes with the quicksilver, whereupon, in order to separate these two materials, silver and quicksilver, they have made an oven, such as that in which copper-founders melt their metal, except that it is open at the top, and is heated from beneath, like a pan. A cowl is then made of clay or loam, to hang loose over it and free of the oven, and through the heat from the fire the quicksilver is driven up into this aforesaid cowl hanging there, whilst the cleansed silver remains in the oven. The aforesaid quicksilver is collected out of the cowl, and used again for refining. This place is cold, so that no fruit grows for 4 miles around, except a herb which the Indians call ycho ; all supplies of bread, wine,

[1] Yca or Ica, situated in a valley on a river of the same name, 180 miles S.E. by S. of Lima ; it was ruined by earthquakes in 1644 and 1647. [2] Nasca. [3] *i.e.*, Lima.

meat, and maize, and all sorts of fruit, are mostly brought there by carts and animals from Arica, which is the harbour of Potosi ; it is, indeed, sometimes dear, but there is no lack of anything. There are in this village about six thousand men, more or less, without reckoning some two thousand who make their living here by bringing supplies of food from Arica, and also from some valleys near Potosi ; each brings wine and flour, according to his resources. The wine of Peru costs 10 reals of eight, the wine of Castile 20 reals, and an aroba of meat costs a real. Bread costs 2 reals a pound, and often more, but not less ; but this town is situated about 180 Spanish miles from Arica, its harbour, and on the way there are many villages inhabited by Indians, one every 8 or 10 miles, and also many that have been destroyed. In this town there is a corrigidor, appointed by the king for six or eight years, if it so please him. On the way from this place to the interior lies the town of Chuquisacas,[1] where there is a King's Audiencia that has four Ceydores[2] and a Fiscal ; it has also a President, who occupies the same position there as does the Viceroy in Lima, and he, too, has the same power there in the country, but does not bestow any offices or incomes, administering only justice. The ordoros [*sic*] of this Audiencia fill the offices of the alcaldes de corte, and have cognisance of both civil and criminal matters. This town is very good, although not very large ; it has also a bishop, who has an income of 30,000 ducats. The great church has also its dabildo[3] or assembly, like that of Lima ; and the same monasteries, although the monks are not there in such numbers. The inhabitants number between three and four thousand ; and were any disorders to occur in the country, or on the coast of Peru, the inhabitants are bound to come down to Potosi, and thence accompany

[1] Sucre. [2] Oidores, see p. 87. [3] Cabildo.

the inhabitants of Potosi as far as Arica. There are in the town of Potosi about fifteen hundred loafers, who hold no office, but go occasionally to Arica, and then return to Potosi; they play cards, and cheat the folks who come to trade, getting hold in this way of the foreign merchants' goods. About 70 miles on one side of this place is another, where are mines that are called Oruro, from which much silver is got of the same alloy as that of Potosi. This place has about two thousand citizens, and many people who come and trade, bringing all kinds of food and drink. Still somewhat further, and closer to Lima, is another place where are mines, and called Chocoloichora;[1] but here not so much silver is obtained as at Oruro or Potosi. There are about five hundred Spaniards and between three and four thousand Indians, who work in the mines. The climate here is as cold as in Potosi. Still closer to Lima is another place called Castro Vireyna,[2] where some silver is also extracted, and here are also about five hundred Spaniards and three thousand Indians. These places are supported and victualled by the town of Yla,[3] which lies in the valleys; their seaport is Pisco, whence they get wine, flour, and maize for the Indians. In each of these places is a governor, who is appointed by the Viceroy, and receives a salary of 2000 pesos ensaiados; 20 miles distant from these places is a town named Juamabeluca,[4] which is a place with houses, like Potosi, although 2 miles from there many cattle are raised, and much butter and cheese is made. These places are furnished by Pisco and other valleys with wine and other necessities; from Juamanga,[5] too, preserves are brought,

[1] The town known to-day as Corocoro.

[2] Still so known to-day.

[3] Ica; see p. 92.

[4] Huancavelica.

[5] Its name was changed to Ayacucho in 1824, in honour of the victory over the Spanish in the neighbouring plain of Ayacucho in the War of Independence.

that being a district in which much sugar cane grows. From Potosi to Cusco is about 150 miles, all consisting of poor valleys called callao, and everywhere studded with Indian villages, each 10 or 12 miles from the other; indeed, so many that one has scarcely left one village before seeing another. In these parts there are many merchants plying their trade, and also many gamblers who proceed from one tambos to the other in order to cheat these folk. These tambos are inns that are called ventas in Spain, and in our country as above. Cusco is a town almost similar to Lima, for it is very large, but rather barren and uneven, by reason of being built at the foot of a high mountain; there is much rain here. It has about six thousand Spanish inhabitants, and round about the place are many Indian villages, having altogether about two thousand inhabitants. There is a corrigidor and bishop, and monasteries as in Lima; also two colleges of students, with about six hundred of the latter. The bishop has an income of about 30,000 ducats. The great church has also a cabildo, there being, moreover, a cabildo belonging to the town with alcaldes, or royal officers. This district has many fine valleys, in which quantities of victuals, such as wheat and meat, are collected at cheap prices. The wine is brought hither from Araquipa,[1] a seaport situated about 100 miles from Cusco. In this district are many Spaniards carrying on trade, and in this valley are many sugar-mills.

Fruit, such as apples, pears, quinces, etc., and other fruit called dierasno melocotones,[2] are preserved here to be sent to Potosi, and to all the other mines. These Indians have commanders appointed by the king, whom they recognise as their masters, paying the latter taxes, as

[1] Arequipa, on a river flowing into the Pacific.

[2] This obviously read in the original Spanish of de Madriga, durasnos *y* melocotones, *i.e.*, nectarines and peaches.

mentioned above. Guamanga[1] and Cusco are about 60 or 70 miles distant from each other, a very bad and stony way. The former is a very large town, and is also a bishopric; the bishop is named Don Fray Augustijn de Arbatal. The country around is not rich, because there are no mines near; there is therefore not much money in circulation, but all the necessities of life are cheap. Much wheat is produced here, and other native herbs for the Indians. There are also large numbers of oxen and sheep, and many fine big horses are bred, which become very strong, and are much transported to Lima, Chusco, and all the provinces. Juancabelica[2] is a town in which, as I have already said, quicksilver is manufactured. Here is also a high mountain, as near Potosi, similarly rugged and steep, with corners, for, in order to descend from the summit, they climb down ladders made of rope, like those used for getting up the masts. The mine is fearfully deep, and the specie is brought out at the top upon the shoulders of the Indians. This specie is stone from which the quicksilver is then extracted, and it sometimes occurs whilst the Indians are climbing up and down, for they all go one behind the other, that when one of them falls all the others under him must also fall; from the top to the bottom there are between three and four hundred steps. This place has a river which turns into stone everything put into it, and whoever drank of this water would immediately die. From Juancabelica one descends to the Xaura,[3] which is situated 40 miles from Lima. Here is a goodly valley, with a fertile soil yielding abundantly, and a healthy climate. Much Spanish cattle is also raised here, and the Indians of this valley sow much wheat and maize, a good deal being sent to Juancabelica; much pork is also sent

[1] Ayacucho; see p. 95.

[2] Huancavelica.

[3] Jauja, town and river. The whole valley was evidently so called already in early times.

to Lima and other places. There are in this valley more than 40 Indian villages, in which there are ten thousand Indians. Amongst these dwell many Spaniards who take provisions in exchange for combs, knives, needles, beads, ear-rings, and other things of smaller value. They give these wares for fowls, maize, and other things, and these the Spaniards sell at Lima and Juancabelica, getting their living and amassing riches too thereat. From Valle de Xaura one comes to another named Quorogerij,[1] situated 12 or 14 miles from Lima, but the district is entirely inhabited by Indians, no Spaniards dwelling among them, except here and there. And thence to Caljou de Lima are these places—Aburco, Pachacama, and Chica Abia, these being Indian villages, thinly inhabited and very poor. For the rest there is barren country as far as Cannetto,[2] a village inhabited by Spaniards; there are about eighty families, who make some wine, sow wheat, and raise much cattle, to wit, cows and oxen, as well as many mares and mules, which they sell at Lima. Along the coast, from here to Arica, there are many villages on the way inhabited by Spaniards, such as Pisco, where a great quantity of wine is made; that village, with the valley, has about fifty men. Then follows Yca,[3] which has the same trade; thereupon follows La Nasca,[4] where much wine is also produced. After that we get a number of Indian villages, and then come to the town of Ariquipa, which is a fine town, and has more than two thousand Spanish inhabitants; there is also a corrigidor, a bishop, and a cabildo of each kind. For the rest, the way from here to Arica is mostly lonesome, and without many inhabitants. Further, we have knowledge of some places below[5] Lima. At Chaucay[6] there live about as many Spaniards as at

[1] Huarochiri.
[2] Cañeta.
[3] Ica; see p. 93.
[4] Nasca, on the R. Grande.
[5] But meaning beyond, northward of Lima.
[6] Chancay.

Cannetto, and round about it live some Indians, who support themselves by sowing crops, and especially by raising cattle, many Spanish sheep and goats, and by curing pork. But this coast has few Indians, though these speak Spanish very well. Immediately after this, lower down,[1] follows Guara,[2] which has about eighty inhabitants, or a few more; here are few Indians. Its trade consists of sugar, meal, or syrup, which is conveyed thence to Lima. From Guara one goes to Varancas,[3] which is an Indian village with about two hundred families; its trade consists of wheat and maize, which is sent to Lima; then comes Guarmey,[4] which has the same trade, but in these villages there are, strange to say, no Spaniards, except one here and there. From Guarmey one comes to a place called Casmala;[5] high, barren country, few inhabitants, and totally desolate.

Then follows Santa, a small Spanish town, with somewhat more than a hundred families and a few Indians. Hereupon follows the town of Truxillo,[6] a fine place, where there is now a bishop. The country is poor, and has about two thousand Indians; its seaport is named Guanckaco.[7] In this district are many sugar-mills, and much wheat is sown; much flour is made here, which is taken to Panama, and in the interior many Spanish cattle are raised, and farms kept for breeding horses and mules. Fruit and provisions are cheap, but there is little money in circulation.

Here you have what we were able to learn concerning the circumstances of this country from our Spanish prisoner, who declared that he had good knowledge and cognisance thereof, especially as he was born in the said country, and had been brought up in it since his infancy.

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[1] Higher up, we should say.
[2] Huaura.
[3] Barranca.
[4] Huarmey.
[5] Casma.
[6] Trujillo.
[7] Huanchaco.

WE HAVE ALSO DEEMED IT EXPEDIENT TO ADD HEREUNTO WHAT WE HAVE LEARNT OF THE KINGDOM OF CHILI AND ITS CIRCUMSTANCES.

The capital town of this kingdom is St. Jago, which is inhabited by the Indians; in the said town is a gold mine, from which the king derives no profit.

The second town is Coqunibo,[1] having abundance of copper, of which all the cannon and the bells are made in Peru.

The third is Waldavia,[2] being very rich in gold; the inhabitants of this town stormed and captured it in 1599, killed all the Spaniards, and kept their wives, to the number of eight hundred. Any one of these can be re-purchased for a pair of spurs, a bridle, a rapier, or a pair of stirrups, but this has been expressly forbidden by the king, in order to prevent the Chilenese from getting hold of any arms.

Having, as has been said, obtained possession of the town, and driven out and slain the rest of the Spaniards, they took the governor alone prisoner, and poured molten gold into his mouth and ears, afterwards making a drinking-cup of his skull, and a trumpet of his shins or legs, as a sign of the victory they had gained over their foe.

The fourth town is Auraco,[3] close to which the Spaniards have a fort, which is held by a company of soldiers who can with great difficulty find enough there to feed them, and they would often be in danger of perishing were they not assisted by the ships. It is about a year and a-half ago that a Biscayan captain came in a small vessel with thirty men, expressly to provide these men with food, but he was so cast about by the current that he fell, against

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[1] Coquimbo. [2] Valdivia. [3] Arauco.

his will, into the hands of the inhabitants there, who slew the captain and all the others, excepting only the trumpeter, named Laurens, born in the town of Berghen, in Norway, of Dutch parents.

In the town of Conception, of which we have already spoken, resides a Spanish governor, who is generally accompanied by four hundred soldiers, and in the town are some pieces of ordnance for his defence. Notwithstanding that the soil of this district is the most fertile in the whole kingdom, the Spaniards cannot raise any crops on it, or till it, on account of the great ruin and havoc wrought there by the savages themselves before their departure.

Chilue is a town situated on the extreme limits, being also under the dominion of the Spaniards, but of little importance, for a captain named Anthoni Swart, from the Netherlands, overpowered the said town some time ago with thirty men, and captured it.

A vessel, too, named the *Trouwe*, lying at anchor off the said town in order to await the tide, thirty Spaniards gave themselves up to the crew of, the aforesaid ship, and being afterwards set ashore at Guayaquyl, they were apprehended by the Viceroy of Peru, and sent back to Chili, where they were hung up by the feet and shot with arrows.

In the said kingdom there are still a few other places, but of no great importance, as far as we could understand from one of our prisoners; and making an end hereof, we shall continue our story.

On the 21st August, in the afternoon, we again set sail,[1] shaping our course out to sea towards the north, with mild and very fine weather.

From Payta Point; see p. 83.

On the 22nd, we again turned towards the shore, where we anchored early in the evening in 40 fathoms. From that time onward we observed that the current was so violently opposed to us that it was scarcely possible to make any progress, except with a very favourable wind.

On the 23rd, the wind blowing strong and in our favour, we set sail, constantly keeping close to the shore until the evening, when we anchored just before the river named Rio de Tomba,[1] which river it is impossible to enter even in boats, on account of its shallowness, as well as by reason of the strong stream that flows out of it.

At daybreak on the 29th, we weighed anchor, but the calm and the contrariness of the current compelled us soon to cast it again.

On the 24th, the General Council assembled, when it was resolved that we should shape our course direct for Coques Island,[2] situated in 5° south[3] latitude, for the reason that the said island is very convenient, and offers advantages for re-victualling, as some of our men knew from their own experience. So the wind veering to the west in the afternoon we set sail, shaping our course to nor'-nor'-west.

On the 27th, we still kept the same course until the evening, when we sighted a vessel in front of us, and made every endeavour to overtake it; but the darkness of the night caused us to lose sight of it, so that we again set our course as before. Here we were near the Cape of Santa Helena, 1½° south of the Pole.[4]

In this fashion we continued the 28th, 29th, and until the afternoon of the 30th, when we set our course more to the west. In this locality we were much subjected to all kinds of tempests, whirlwinds, rain, lightning, and the like.

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[1] R. Tumbez.

[2] Cocos I.

[3] Really 5° N. lat.

[4] A slip for Line.

September.

On the first day of September we had a very favourable wind, so that at night we were again in the latitude of four degrees.

On the 2nd, the wind remaining in the same quarter, we gained the latitude of 4° 30′, and from that day until the 7th we were constantly searching for the aforesaid Coques Island, but could not find it, by reason of the continual tempests, rain, thunder, and the like. On the same day, Jan de Wit had to leave his little ship on account of her having sprung a bad leak through the strong winds and waves, and no sooner had we transshipped the provisions and crew than she sank.

From the 7th to the 13th neither the storm, rain, nor lightning abated: this gradually beginning to cause various maladies amongst us, the more so since we had obtained no fresh food for so long a time.

The 14th was the first day that the tempest abated, with very fine calm weather. Here we were in the latitude of 8° 10′.

On the 15th, the weather being clear and bright, the pilots found at night that we were just in the latitude of 10°.

On the 16th the wind rose high, with continual rain, from the south-west, our course being north-west.

On the 17th we were in the latitude of 12° 30′.

On the 18th, it was fair and favourable weather by day, but in the night a storm arose, with continuous rain, which caused the wind to veer to the north, so that we shaped our course to the west.

On the 20th, we came in sight of the land named Nova Hispania, which at first appeared to be quite flat, but is covered with hills and mountains of wonderful height.

On the 21st, we were in the latitude of 13° 30′, and the

wind then veering to the south, we set our course northwards again until midday, when it grew quite calm.

On the 22nd the said calm continued, without our making much progress, until the evening, when such a furious storm and whirlwind arose that the ships were driven together, the yacht colliding with the Admiral's ship, and breaking the bowsprit for her, tearing many of the sails, and doing other damage.

The same wind continued blowing until noon on the 23rd, when we were in the latitude of 14° 50′.

On the 24th the wind fell a good deal, veering to the east, wherefore we set our course west by north.

On the 25th, the aforesaid storm again arose with such sudden violence that it tore the Admiral's mainsail to shreds, so that we could scarce retain it.

At the same time the wind also veered right against us, wherefore we tacked first on one, then on the other side, until midnight, when it grew quite calm.

On the 26th the wind turned again to the east, wherefore we shaped our course west by north, sailing with good progress, and gained the latitude of 14° 42′.

On the 27th, we kept up the same rate of progress until the evening, when the weather grew quite calm, and continued so the whole night and the following day.

On the 29th, the wind being as before, we proceeded west by north without ever losing sight of the aforesaid land.

At midday we were in the latitude of 15° 30′.

In the evening we gradually approached the shore of the aforesaid land, but the wind veering to the west, we again proceeded out to sea under full sail.

On the 30th we again attempted to make the land, but as we could not get along according to our wish, we once more put out to sea.

October.

The first day of October we tacked all day and night in order to make the land, so that on the approach of day we found ourselves very near the coast.

On the said day, being the 2nd, we saw smoke rising in various places on the shore, wherefore the Admiral sent out a boat with armed men in order to learn fuller tidings.

Our yacht was also sent on in advance in order to sound the bottom in all directions, and to look for a proper anchorage; she at length returned, and told us that there was no fit place anywhere, and that she had found no harbour or roadstead.

This caused us some surprise until the evening, when our boat came alongside, and informed us that a very convenient bay had been found close to the shore, where we could anchor quite comfortably in 15 or 16 fathoms.

We also learnt that the men in the boat had spoken at a distance with the people on land, and that the latter had promised them all kinds of victuals if they would only come and fetch them, but as their orders did not permit of this, they had been unwilling to undertake it.

As the wind was so very much against us that we could not make the roadstead that night, we were again compelled to put out to sea.

This country appeared to be very fine and pleasant, being planted with many kinds of trees and verdure.

On the 3rd we were in latitude 16° 20′, and on the same day we put forth every endeavour to make the roadstead and to anchor, but in vain, and we continued so to do until the 5th.

On that day we saw numbers of masts, bound fast together, floating out in the open sea; these we imagined

at first to be some ship, but at last we got to know what they were by a boat we sent out for that purpose.

Another boat was also sent to the shore in order to inspect the locality and find out whether it was possible to land some troops and obtain a supply of food, of which we were greatly in need. But they came back with the reply that it was impossible, since the waves beat against the shore with such violence that they would easily have capsized our boats.

On that day we nevertheless cast anchor with the whole fleet in 40 fathoms, our latitude being 16° 40′.

On the 6th, after the Broad Council had assembled, it was resolved that we should send three boats to the shore to look out for some means of re-victualling, but these, on coming near the land, found, as has been said, the violence of the sea to be so great as to render it impossible to put in. They saw some people standing on the shore, who motioned to them to approach, but it was not to be done; they also saw several herds of cattle grazing in the pastures.

On the 8th, three boats were again sent out in order to seek some profit, but it was labour lost for them as well as for the others, except that a few sailors undressed, sprang into the sea, and swam ashore, where they saw some millions of does and stags, which, being very wild, ran off very swiftly as soon as they perceived our men.

On the 9th we again proceeded further, always sailing along the shore.

We continued to do so, too, on the 10th, until the evening, when we anchored near a tongue of land behind which lay the town of Aquapolque,[1] having a fine and well-situated harbour.

On the 11th we set sail, making every endeavour to get

[1] Acapulco.

Number 14 is AQUAPOLQUE,[1]

With its explanation in what manner the Spanish prisoners were ransomed.

A. Is our fleet, consisting of five ships and a small Spanish vessel, which is lying on guard outside the bay.

B. Is the first meeting, each holding a small white flag as a sign of peace.

C. Are our boats, with the Spanish prisoners, who are released and set at liberty.

D. Are a number of asses, bringing our men victuals from the Spaniards.

E. Are a number of sheep, oxen, and other animals being shipped.

F. Is a castle occupied by Spaniards, and well provided with cannon.

G. Is the church or monastery.

H. Is the hamlet or town of Aquapolque.

I. Is a wonderful fish that is caught off the coast there.

K. Are some horsemen we saw with some more victuals that are being brought to us.

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[1] Acapulco.

PLATE No. 14.

into the harbour, which, by reason of the great calm, we did not enter until the afternoon, and cast anchor with all our ships close to the castle, from whence about ten cannon shots were fired at us without damaging us in any way. To stop this, the Admiral sent out a boat with a white flag, in token of peace, and the Spaniards, seeing this, came to meet our boat, not only offering us every friendship, but also promising to give us what they could to help and assist us. In conformity with which there came for the same purpose on board our Admiral's ship two Spaniards—to wit, Pedro Alvares, serjeant-major, and Francisco Menendus, ensign, being well versed in the tongue of the Netherlands, as having travelled and served there many years. These gave our Admiral repeated promises of help and assistance, and after some compliments they returned to the town.

During the night we towed all our ships up and anchored them so close under the castle that we could distinctly see their guns and every detail.

On the 12th, we conceived the opinion that the Spaniards were intent on some mischief against us, wherefore we placed our ships opposite the castle, getting ready the cannon and all that belongs thereunto. But as we had sent out a boat to obtain more certain information, the above-mentioned persons came aboard again, offering to place themselves in our hands as pledges and hostages for the performance of what they had promised us, and after many fine words, it was agreed that all our prisoners should be released and placed in their hands, and that they should deliver us for the same thirty oxen, fifty sheep, and a quantity of fowls, cabbages, oranges, lemons, and the like.

As soon as this contract was made, there came on board to visit us many other captains and cavallieros, amongst them Captain Castilio, who had served in the Netherlands

for more than twenty years, all of whom showed us much kindness and courtesy.

On the same day we sent many men ashore in order to obtain a supply of both fresh water and wood for the kitchen, and the like.

On the 13th we again obtained a similar supply, and in the evening the Spaniards sent a row-boat to us, with promises that they would send us the promised cattle and fruit the following day.

On the 14th, the inhabitants of the town, after having fired several cannon shots in our honour, brought us the promised oxen, sheep, and fruit, which caused incredible joy and recuperation amongst our men.

On the 15th, there came aboard our Admiral's ship Don Melchior Harnando, a cousin of the Viceroy of Nova Hispania, being charged to inspect a fleet which was powerful enough to conquer a royal armada such as that of Don Rodrigo ; he was received and entertained by our Admiral, who had all our troops drawn up armed and in array in order to display them to him.

Meanwhile, our Admiral's son had gone ashore with the Fiscal, and was very honourably received and entertained by the Governor.

In the evening each ship fired three cannon shots, besides some charges of musketry.

The next day all our Spanish prisoners were released, for which the inhabitants of the town thanked us very much, promising to do the like in the event of any of our people happening to fall into their hands.

During this anchorage we were most diligent in getting in our supply of water, wood, and such like.

This re-victualling, too, was most necessary for us, since sickness was daily increasing largely, and especially in the vessel the *Sonne*, in which there were more than sixty sick ; wherefore we had even resolved, in the event of the

Spaniards not having amicably allowed the provisions to go to us, to obtain the same by force of arms, though such would have been sufficiently difficult for us to do, since they had seventeen metal guns in the castle, besides many muskets and other arms and ammunition sent there expressly on our account, they having been informed of our coming already more than eight months before.

The Governor of this town, named Don Gregorio de Porreo, had under his command for the defence of the castle four hundred men, besides many nobles and volunteers, whilst he had previously been used to have no more than forty men and three pieces of ordnance.

This town of Aquapolco has no abundance of food supplies, since they have to fetch everything from very far in the interior, and also because all the ships from Manilles take in their cargoes and provisions here ; wherefore we were surprised to receive such kindness and courtesy from the Spaniards, contrary to their usual manner and custom, for although we should have attacked them with force of arms, and have managed to overcome them, this would not have availed us aught, since they had means for getting away from the town, and escaping with all they wished into the woods and wildernesses.

On the 17th, we began to make preparations for our voyage.

On the 18th, we sailed out to sea with a favourable wind until the evening, when it grew very calm, continuing so until the 20th and 21st.

From the 21st until the 25th we tacked again and again without making much progress, by reason of the calm still continuing, when in the evening we saw in front of us a ship, which we hoped to be able to overtake that night.

The next day we saw that the said ship lay at anchor close under the shore, and four well-equipped boats were

sent out by the Admiral to take it. But as soon as the crew of the ship saw our men approach, they cut away the masts and sprits, and, binding these together, twelve persons made their way ashore on them and escaped.

Eleven persons were still left on board the vessel, amongst these being two monks and a pilot, who had not dared to trust themselves upon the aforesaid masts. On the approach of our boats they fired a few musket shots, but this did not deter our men from attacking them, taking them, and bringing them, ship and all, to our fleet.

This vessel was laden only with a few pieces of furniture of little importance, and with some provisions, which were dealt out amongst our ships. She had been out fishing for pearls, but had caught nothing; was well equipped with four metal guns and two small mortars, some hooks and other arms and ammunition, so that she seemed to have been fitted out for war rather than for fishing.

Here we were in the latitude of 18 degrees, and 10 or 12 minutes.

On the 27th, Jan Hendricksz., boatswain of the *Maen*, and twenty-two men, both soldiers and sailors, were placed on the aforesaid vessel to navigate her, and follow the fleet.

November.

On the first day of November mild and perfectly calm weather set in, and continued until the 10th. Towards the evening of the latter day we cast anchor immediately before a seaport named Selagues,[1] situated in 19°. Our prisoners informed us that there was a river here full of all kinds of freshwater fish, besides many lemons and other fruits,[2] and that two miles from thence there was a pasture

[1] Salagua.

[2] In Dutch colonies the expression "in the river" includes also the land for some distance back on each bank.

PLATE No. 15.

Number 15 is S. IAGO,[1] SELAGUES,[1] and NATIVIDAET,[2]

Very carefully indicating how our men fought with the Spaniards.

A. Is the Bay of S. Iago, where our fleet lay.
B. Is the small Spanish vessel lying on guard.
C. Is Selagues Bay, where the *Jagher* lay, with the places where the Spaniards are attacking our men.
D. Is how the Spaniards came running out of the wood.
E. Is their reception on the other side.
F. Are a number of dead left on the spot.
G. Are our sailors guarding the boats.
H. Is a place or bay a little way off, named Natividaet.
I. Is a very fine river of fresh water.
K. Is another sort of fish which is much caught in this country.

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[1] The two bays of Santiago and Salagua ; they face the neck of land on which the town of Manzanillo now stands.

[2] Navidad, in 19°

in which the cattle graze. In order to ascertain this, two boats filled with armed men were sent to the shore, and on arriving there they found the aforesaid river and fruit trees, but also saw on the bank the footprints of many men who went shod ; therefore they durst not go farther, but came back on board. This made us think, by reason of the shoes, that it must be the Spaniards of Aquapolco ; because our prisoners assured us that hereabouts there dwelt but two or three Spaniards in all, and that the country was inhabited by Indians.

For this reason the Admiral sent one of our prisoners ashore in a boat with a letter, in which he expressed his sole desire amicably to obtain some cattle and fruits for the nourishment of his men ; but as there was no one, the letter was hung upon the branch of a tree on the shore.

On the 11th we proceeded ashore with two hundred soldiers, placing some white flags in the bows of our boats as a sign of peace ; but the Spaniards on the contrary, standing on the banks, waved a blue banner, and showed by signs that there was nought for us but war.

As soon as we had come on shore a great band of Spaniards sprang out from the wood in which they had been concealed, falling with loud cries very suddenly upon our men, who, in the first moment, took fright, and, but for the presence of some of our officers, would have fled ; but afterwards, having taken courage, they stoutly charged the foe, so that he shortly after took to flight, our men not pursuing him further through fear of another ambush, but returning to the boats, especially as some had little powder left.

In this encounter there were killed of the enemy one captain and many other Spaniards, there being moreover some wounded, and of our men there were only two killed and six or seven wounded.

On the 15th, the wind serving us, we weighed anchor

and sailed to the port named Natividaet,[1] which was situated only 3 miles off, and we relied upon getting supplies of fresh water and fruits there without any danger.

As the wind dropped very much we did not enter the aforesaid port until the next day, when we anchored towards the evening in 20 fathoms, and our yacht went to lie a stone's throw off the mouth of a freshwater river, so that we could get in our supply of water sufficiently under her protection.

On the 17th, the Admiral went ashore with many soldiers and sailors, in order to take the superintendence and secure himself the more against an attack from the enemy and as he found the place free on all sides he sent the boats back to fetch all the empty casks, which were at once filled with water.

On the same day, the Admiral sent the youngest of our monks ashore to some of the Indians' huts, in order to procure some victuals from them by friendly means.

The aforesaid monk stayed with the Indians until the next day, being the 18th, when he returned in the afternoon with two persons laden with fowls and various kinds of fruit and promising to bring us as much again the next day, which he faithfully performed.

He also informed us that at that moment there was not a Spaniard thereabouts, but that the band which had previously attacked us had passed through that place in search of us.

During the going to and fro of our monk we obtained all the desired supplies of water, wood, and other necessaries, so that we began to make preparations for our departure.

During the night of the 20th we set sail and left the

[1] Navidad.

harbour for the open sea, pursuing our course until the 24th with a fairly favourable wind.

On that day, being not far from Cape Corentien,[1] we were in the latitude of 20°.

On the 25th, the Broad Council met, and it was finally decided to shape our course for the Bay of St. Lucas.[2]

On the 26th, we were in latitude 20° 26′.

And whereas they of the Council were of opinion that it would delay us too much to await the coming of any ships or advices from the Manilles, it was resolved to sail direct for the Ladrone Islands, praying to God to grant us His aid herein.

On December 2nd, we set our course to the west-sou'-west, making good progress.

On the 3rd, we saw two islands,[3] which caused the pilots surprise, they finding it strange that there were islands situated out in the open sea so far from the land.

On the 4th, at break of day, we saw afar off a rock,[4] which we at first thought to be a ship, to the joy of us all, being of opinion that we were then encountering what we had so long expected, to wit, a vessel from the Manilles, but on coming closer to it we found that we were deceived. This rock was situated in the latitude of 19°, and more than 55 miles out from the mainland, having no other land at all near it.

At noon on the 6th, we were in latitude 18° 20′. On the same day we saw another island having five small hills, each of which looked like a small separate island.

January.

From the 6th until the 1st day of January, 1616, we proceeded, with a favourable wind, constantly in a west-by-

[1] Cape Corrientes.

Cape St. Lucas, the southern extremity of Lower California, but as will appear later, that course was not kept.

[3] San Benedicito and Socorro.

[4] Rocca Partida.

westerly direction. Meanwhile, complaint was made to the Admiral that the officers on board the foreign vessel had been indulging in wine to excess, and had given the ordinary seamen only water in place thereof; the Council having inquired more narrowly into this, it was found to be true, for they had lavishly used two-thirds of their stock, drinking as much in thirty-six days as ought to have served them, according to the regulations, for four months.

Notwithstanding the good fortune and progress that had marked our voyage, sickness, nevertheless, increased very much in our fleet, so that many began to die, and amongst others the Admiral's chief gunner, named Jan Otten, of Essen, Thomas Jansz., provost, Joris Jansz., of Medenblick, mate, and many others, of whom we shall make no mention here.

Towards evening on the 23rd, we came in sight of the land of Ladrones, for which we all thanked God Almighty. This land was very low and flat, wherefore, since night was approaching, and we feared we might be nearer the land than we indeed thought, we lowered all the sails, drifting all night without making any progress.

On the morning of the 24th, we found ourselves close to the land, and being perceived by the Indians on shore, they came rowing all around our fleet in their little skiffs, without coming quite close to us. The Broad Council therefore having met, it was resolved to make for the shore with the whole fleet, which was immediately done, and as soon as we were on land we traded and bartered with the Indians in all friendship.

At midday on the 25th, our supercargo of the *Morghensterre*, Sybrant Cornelissen, whilst seated at table in good health, was suddenly seized with a fainting fit from which he presently died, to the great astonishment of all who were present.

Our Admiral having been informed of this, he had the

PLATE No. 16.

Number 16 are the ISLAS DE LAS VELAS, or LADRONES,

With its explanation, of ships, people, and their lettering.

A. Is our Admiral, the *Son.*
B. Is our Vice-Admiral, the *Maen.*
C. Is the *Morghen-ster.*
D. Is the *Æolus*, of Rotterdam.
E. Is the *Jagher*; the savages in their canoes, or skiffs, came swarming round these vessels in such quantities as if they were bees.
F. Is the captured vessel, navigated by our men.
G. Are the canoes, which they row; and the things which are attached to the sides are for keeping them balanced.
H. Are their ships, or canoes, in which they sail.
I. Is the way in which the savages, or Ladrones, go about.

Broad Council summoned, when orders were given to weigh anchor in the evening and to keep away from the shore until the next day, which was done. Meanwhile, the Indians kept continually coming and going, bringing us all kinds of fruits and herbs, by which our sick were much refreshed and restored.

On the 26th, we traded all day with the Indians, whereby we obtained a good supply of many fine fruits and other victuals.

On the same day we buried the supercargo, firing many rounds of big guns and muskets, which frightened the Indians so, notwithstanding that they had been previously warned for what reason it would be done, that they dis-dispersed themselves with their skiffs, one here, the other there, and durst not come back. Therefore we hoisted our sails the same day, and shaped our course straight for the Manilles.

But as it was very calm all night we did not make much progress, so that we were not very far from the shore the next day, which being seen by the Indians, they came again in large numbers in their skiffs, following us very far out to sea, and bringing with them all kinds of fruit and other necessaries, until the wind began to rise, and it became impossible for them to follow us further.

On that day there died and was cast into the sea Dirck Voet, ensign on the yacht, born at Harderwijck.

The whole of the following night we proceeded under full sail, so that by the next day we had lost sight of the land.

These islands, the Ladrones, were first discovered in the year 1519 by Ferdinandes Magellanes, who called them the Velos on account of the large numbers of sailing-boats that are to be seen there, very cunningly made.

These Indians have not their equal in the whole land in the art of swimming, for they get into the sea and dive down to the bottom, which we have seen on many

occasions, throwing some pieces of iron into the sea which they fetched from the bottom and brought up.

They are also much addicted to thieving, which was probably experienced by the aforesaid Magellanes, and therefore the name of Ladrones was given them.

Both men and women are very robust, also most intelligent and clever in all matters ; they go about quite naked, except that some wear hats made of straw, and that the women cover their privy parts with some leaves.

These islands are also very abundant in fowls and other poultry, and especially full of fisheries.

With regard to their laws and religion we could learn nothing, but we could only observe that they served idols and worshipped images.

On the 31st, half an hour before daybreak, Job Willemsen, Provost-General of the troops, lying ill in bed, got up secretly and went below to one of the ports, acting as if he wished to do his needs ; but before anyone had knowledge thereof he lay in the sea and was drowned, leaving us in ignorance whether it had occurred intentionally or by accident.

February.

For some consecutive days we sailed with fair progress until daybreak on the 9th of February, when Cape de Spirito Santo came in sight, and sailing past the same we made that day such progress still that we anchored in the evening in the mouth [*sic*] of the Cape des Manilles,[1] in 13 fathoms and 15 minutes, the island of Capul being there according to our computation.

On the 10th, we went ashore, making signs of peace, and on holding converse with the Indians, they told us that the island of Capul was situated still further out, showing us

[1] Their anchorage was in what is now known as the *Embocadero*, or *S. Bernardino Passage*.

C
Est
Cebova

Number 17. MANILLES STRAIT,

As it was navigated by Joris Spilberghen.

PLATE No. 17.

this by signs. We desired from them some victuals, in order to refresh ourselves, but these were refused us, they saying that they well knew we came for no other purpose than that of fighting the Spaniards, their allies. And in spite of many friendly entreaties we made they would on no account accede to them, and so the Admiral and the Council not deeming it expedient to use violent measures, all the boats were called back to the ships.

Before daybreak on the 11th we weighed anchor, sailing to the island of Capul, near which we arrived at midday, and cast anchor in a very safe harbour, near some houses standing at the water's edge.

We were no sooner on land than the Indians bartered and traded with us, although they well knew that it was our intention to wage full war upon the Spaniard to his hurt.

They brought us at first fowls, pigs, and the like, promising to do the same next day, which, too, they did, but all in exchange for some small trifles.

We remained in the same place until the 19th, and then we weighed anchor, shaping our course north-west by north, and sailing straight into Magellanes[1] Strait, doing so well with the help of two Indians, who served us as pilots, that in a short time[2] we made the harbour and cape of Manilles.

During the time that we were proceeding through these narrows we went ashore every day to gather nuts and other fruits, which were very good and wholesome for our sick ; therefore we also laid in big supplies of the same.

The inhabitants hereabouts were folk of fair intelligence, clad in long frocks made after the manner of a shirt. They showed great respect for ecclesiastics, which we

[1] Should, of course, be Manila.

[2] *i.e.*, the 28th February ; see *infra*.

noticed in regard to one of our monks, for as soon as they saw him they came and kissed his hands, behaving in a very meek and humble manner towards him. Their women did not make their appearance before us, but hid themselves in the woods and other places.

On the evening of the 19th we came to anchor close to the large island named Lucon,[1] upon which the town of Manilles is situated.

Here we saw a house very cleverly built on the tops of some trees, which from afar appeared to be the house of some noble or chief.

The same evening the Broad Council assembled, in order to consider what was best to be done in the present circumstances.

At daybreak on the 25th, the Council having again been assembled, four boats well manned were sent off to procure fuller details concerning the aforesaid house, and these, returning, explained that it was an old dilapidated building and that they had found no living creature near it.

It was our intention to capture some Spaniard in order to obtain information from him concerning what we had heard at Capul, to wit, that a Spanish armada, any certain news of which we had until now been unable to obtain, had already for a long time been awaiting our arrival in the Manilles.

The same day we proceeded under sail along the coast (passing a mountain of incredible height, named Albaca,[2] that was constantly burning and was full of sulphur and such-like things) until the evening, when we anchored in 25 fathoms, close to a tongue of land upon which the

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[1] Luzon.

[2] Albay, one of the most active volcanoes in the archipelago. The first partial ascent was made by Esteban Solis in 1592, and the first complete ascent by Paton and Stewart in 1858.

inhabitants had kindled a fire to inform their neighbours of our arrival.

On the 21st we again set sail, proceeding constantly along the Strait.

We continued doing the same, moving by night and day with fair progress, until the evening of the 24th, and then we saw the mouth or exit of the Strait, looking very narrow, and at the approach of night we cast anchor there.

On the 25th three boats were sent on in front in order to find the channel through the mouth, and they very soon made signs, whereupon we followed with the whole fleet, and with the help of the current we got through and so into the open sea again, without lowering our sails in the least the whole of the ensuing night.

On the 26th we did our best all day to reach the harbour of Manilles, but as it was quiet and the wind against us, we could not attain our object.

We saw fires and other lights at various places on land, from which we opined that our arrival had been everywhere revealed, and we felt the more certain of this, since, during our passage through the Strait, and even after it, a small skiff had constantly followed us, sailing to and fro with such rapidity that it was impossible for us to overtake it, which skiff had been watching us, and spreading the news on all sides.

From the 27th to the 28th we were constantly at work tacking to and fro to reach the harbour of Manilles, but we made very little progress, and finally cast anchor in 40 fathoms, about a mile from the harbour, close to a tongue of land which extended as far as the port.

We did not remain lying here longer than midnight, for then the Admiral fired a shot as a signal to set sail again, which was done, and we tacked the whole night without getting any further, and similarly the next day; but all

the same we did not get in, and in the evening we anchored outside the entrance to the harbour, off the island named Maribela,[1] which has two very high rocks, and behind which the town of Manilles lies.

A watch is generally kept at night on this island of Maribela, and the pilots lie there, awaiting the ships from Cyna,[2] in order to bring these up to the town of Manilles, since the entrance is very dangerous in some places, whereof we were warned by our Spanish pilot.

March.

Early in the morning on the 1st day of March we saw two sail running from one shore to the other and sent three well-manned boats after them, with orders to do their best to obtain some prisoners out of whom we might get some information, but the said boats having performed their labour in vain by reason of the rapid progress of the aforesaid ships, returned to the fleet towards the evening.

On the 2nd, after the Admiral had called together all the pilots, skippers, and other officers, it was resolved that as soon as we might get some advantage from tacking we should weigh anchor and do our best to get into the harbour.

On the morning of the 3rd we weighed anchor and after having tacked the whole day we had advanced but little by the evening, so that we again anchored close to a small island extending along the main land.

Behind the said island we saw four sampans, to which four boats were immediately despatched, and these showed

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[1] Undoubtedly the island of Corregidor, as a comparison between the chart herewith and a modern map will show. Mariveles is the name of a village situated near the extremity of the promontory on the north; for the romantic legend attached to its appellation see *The Philippine Islands*, by John Foreman, F.R.G.S. 1889, pp. 495, 496.

[2] China.

PLATE No. 18.

Number 18 is the BAY OF MANILLES,

With the immediate surroundings very correctly explained and indicated.

A. Is the Bay of Manilles.
B. Is the harbour in which many of their vessels lay.
C. Is the town of Manilles, very populous.
D. Is a fort named the Cabitta.[1]
E. Is the island of Maribella.[2]
F. Is our fleet, consisting of six vessels.
G. Are our boats, with which we were very diligent to obtain some prisoners.
H. Are some of their vessels, which they call junks.
I. Are two of our vessels bringing two of their sampans to our fleet.
K. Is one of our boats making one of the Indian sampans haul down its sail, and bringing it to the fleet.

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[1] Cavite.

[2] I. Corregidor. See note 1 to p. 120.

such diligence that they came rowing back to our fleet with the former, and this, too, without any resistance, since those who had been in the aforesaid sampans, seeing our men coming, had taken to flight, carrying with them all the cargo of three; but the fourth, being the largest, was laden with rice, oil, fowls, fruit, and other food, which was very serviceable for the sick in the fleet, since want was daily on the increase.

The following day, being the 4th, all the merchants came aboard the Admiral's ship, and apportioned the captured goods in equal shares.

And as we considered it, above all, necessary to get hold of some living person in order to obtain from the same positive information both of the country and other matters, four boats with a good number of armed men were again sent ashore, and these found on the beach a sampan laden only with chalk, without any crew; but afar off they saw a large number of people who would hold no parley with them, and so they came aboard again towards the evening.

While the sun was setting, we saw close to the land a sampan in full sail, after which two well-equipped boats were sent out in all haste, and these overtook and captured the former in the night; but as the wind was very boisterous, and the sampan only laden with timber, of use for carpentry, they left it lying at anchor, bringing with them six Chinese whom they had taken prisoners; wherefore the Broad Council was summoned, in order to examine these men as to what they might have knowledge of.

In the first place they revealed to us that there were more sampans in these parts laden with all sorts of food and with merchandise, wherefore two boats were again sent out, with orders to make every endeavour to find the said sampans.

At midday on the 15th,[1] we saw two sail coming in from sea straight towards us, whereupon our *Jager* and the other small vessel (which we named the *Perel*) were sent to capture the same.

During the night our two boats attacked and captured two sampans which were manned by some Chinese and a Spaniard, whose duty it was to collect the tribute which the surrounding places annually pay the town of Manilles.

These two sampans were laden with rice, fowls, other victuals, and some merchandise.

On the 6th the yacht and the *Peerle* came back, bringing with them three sampans, two of these being laden with deer-skins, tobacco, fowls, and other merchandise of less importance, which were shared out amongst all.

From those who were in these sampans we heard all the particulars concerning the Spanish armada fitted out in the Manilles; that it had sailed under the command of Don Jan de Sylves[2] to the Molucques, in order to wage war against our countrymen, and that, too, with ten galleons of wonderful size, two yachts, four galleys, and two thousand Spaniards, in addition to the Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, also in great numbers. God grant that their intention may not be realised, and that they be frustrated.

On the 7th, our Admiral sent three Chinese in a sampan to the town of Manilles, with letters to the principal councillors there, offering to exchange some prisoners, Spaniards, Chinese, and Japanese, for any prisoners from our country whom they might have there.

On the 8th, our yacht proceeded to the shore with some boats, in order to fetch four sampans which had been previously captured by our men, but which had been left at anchor there on account of the boisterous weather.

The next day, being the 9th, the yacht came back with

[1] Really March 5th.

[2] Juan de Silva.

the boats, bringing also the four aforesaid sampans, laden with nuts and other fruits, and, moreover, two oxen and a deer, which they had shot with a gun.

On the same day the Great Council assembled, and it was resolved that, in the event of the Chinese not returning, we should set sail next day, and go and help our countrymen in the Molucques.

The Admiral having learnt that Don Jan de Sylves, equipped in the manner related above, had not started upon his voyage to the Molucques until the 4th of February, decided, after mature deliberation by the whole Council, not to lose any time, seeing that the monsoon did not change here till the month of April, which would otherwise have delayed us another six months.

It is true that about the middle of April the junks from China make their way here, and that we might have got much booty and profit out of them, but it was considered more advisable for the common weal not to tarry longer, but immediately to shape our course for Ternata, to aid and succour our countrymen there in accordance with the tenour of our commission.

We were the more animated to do this by the consideration that our fleet still consisted of six vessels, manned by good sound soldiers, and that we had still our full complement of ammunition. And the intention of Don Jan des Silves was, as we had been informed, to make himself master of all the Molucques on this occasion with so powerful a fleet that he had spent more than three years in its equipment; in this we hoped (with the help of the Almighty) to frustrate him, and bring our friends every help and assistance.

On the 10th, having received no tidings of the Chinese, we weighed anchor and set sail, shaping our course direct for the Molucques.

On the same day all our Chinese and Japanese prisoners were by order of the Admiral, released, and sent ashore

with their sampans, and we kept only the aforesaid Spaniard and an Indian, whom we took with us to the Molucques.

On that day we made little progress, by reason of intense calm, and towards the evening we anchored close to the land.

Very early on the 11th we set sail again, making very little progress in the forenoon, but in the afternoon the wind sent us along with such a topsail breeze that we came to the many islands by the evening, and there we found ourselves in the midst of such numerous islands that we could perceive no thoroughfare either on one side or the other.

We therefore summoned the Spanish pilot, who, knowing the place, advised us not to proceed any further on account of the approach of night; and so we lay tacking first on one side and then on the other.

At noon on the 12th we sailed with a favourable wind and with the aid of the aforesaid pilot through all the narrows right into the open sea.

Before we were yet properly out at sea, we saw in the direction of the shore a small barque, to which three boats with armed men were sent; but the crew of the barque, perceiving the approach of our men, made for the shore, abandoning everything and taking to flight.

Our men brought the barque into our fleet, where it was unladen of rice, some fruits, and a few chests.

On the 13th we sailed the whole day and night to the sou'-sou'-east, and sometimes to south-east by south, with a fairly good wind.

On the 14th we lay still just off the island of Paney, because our Spanish pilot warned us that hereabouts were many sand-banks, which we should be unable to pass at night without danger.

On the 15th we proceeded all day along the shore,

making good progress until the evening, when we again hauled down some sail, in order to avoid all peril during the night.

On the 16th we again set all sail, going along with good progress, and our course being south-east.

And so we continued until very early on the morning of the 18th, when we found ourselves off the island of Mendanao, and then we sailed along the shore until the evening, since some declared that hereabouts were some hidden rocks, and therefore we again put out seawards.

The following day, the 19th, we again sailed towards the land, but by reason of the calm we made little progress. In the evening we cast anchor in 36 fathoms, close to an arm of the land, where a skiff from the shore immediately came to one of our ships, promising us that they would bring on board next day all kinds of victuals without its being necessary for any of our people to proceed ashore.

On the 20th the people from the shore, in accordance with their promise, brought us in their canoes much victuals, and amongst others fowls and fresh fish, which they sold us very cheaply ; and had it not been for the wind, which was blowing greatly in our favour, they would still have brought us a great number of pigs, but it was found expedient and most advisable to set sail again and continue our voyage, which we did with such progress that we made in a short time the Cape de Cadera,[1] where Spanish ships going to the Molucques take in their supply of water.

As soon as we had arrived there, some boats were sent out to obtain news of Don Jan des Sylves, but the inhabitants did as if they knew nothing about him, saying only that two days before a Spanish ship and a yacht had been there, sailing for the Molucques, and that they had taken in supplies there.

[1] Cape la Caldera, the most westerly point of the I. of Mindanao.

From the 20th until the 23rd it was very still and calm, so that we made almost no progress, except only with the current, which having slackened, we again cast anchor from time to time. Between the two islands of Mindenao and Tagimo[1] we encountered strong and opposing currents, which delayed our progress the more.

On the 23rd we got a topsail breeze, so that in a short time we came through the narrows of these islands.

During our delay here the canoes from the shore brought us quantities of fowls, pigs, goats, fresh fish,[2] tobacco, all kinds of fresh fish[2] and other provisions, for which our merchants gave some money, linen, knives, beads, and the like, wherewith the savages were very well satisfied.

The Admiral, too, permitted each one privately to barter for something, such as tobacco, fruit, and the like, for it was a place surpassing all others in abundance and fertility, and the inhabitants of which, too, evinced great friendship for us and enmity to the Spaniards. Of this we had greater certainty by the fact of their chief offering our Admiral to accompany us with fifty small vessels, equipped after their fashion, in order to assist us against the Spaniards.

They also showed us an open letter signed by Laurens Reael,[3] in which he informed us that these inhabitants of Mindenao were great friends of ours, and requesting us

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[1] Taguima, the ancient name for Basilan I. [2] *Sic*, again.

[3] Laurens Reael, born at Amsterdam 22nd October, 1583, proceeded to the East Indies in 1611 in command of four vessels and established himself at Ternata as Governor of the Molucca Islands, defending himself stoutly against the Spaniards under Don Juan de Silva. On the death of Reynst, the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, in December, 1615, Reael was unanimously appointed in his stead. He resigned his charge in 1618 and was succeeded by Jan Pieterszoon Coen. He returned to Holland in 1619, was subsequently appointed Vice-Admiral of a fleet to act in conjunction with the English against Spain (but which effected very little) and also a Director of the Dutch East India Company. In 1626 he was sent to England as Envoy Extraordinary at the coronation of Charles I, who created

that we, on our part, should show them every courtesy and kindness in return.

And so we continued on our way until the 26th, sailing always to the south-east, and sometimes to the south, with good progress.

On that day, in the afternoon, a rough, boisterous wind arose, and that, too, with continual rain, tearing the Admiral's sail to pieces, and also doing damage to the other ships and sails.

On the 27th, having the wind in our favour, we passed the island of Sangnijn,[1] keeping our course towards the south-east. Near this island we obtained a view of many others, both large and small, specifically to name all of which we have deemed it unnecessary, on account of their number.

On the 29th, we reached the island of Ternata, upon which is situate the town of Maley, being part of our dominions.

As soon as the inhabitants of the town became aware of our arrival, there came aboard the Admiral's ship Captain Hamel and Franchoys Lenimens, the Governor's secretary, bidding us all welcome ; and so we came into the harbour, casting anchor just in front of the town. In the afternoon, the Governor himself[2] came on board, and after compliments and toasts had passed between him, our Admiral and other officers, they all went on shore together, in accordance with the orders of the Directors.

It must be noted that upon arriving at Ternata on the

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him a knight, his arms henceforth being enriched with the English rose. He died of the plague, at Amsterdam, in 1637.

Reael was not only a great patron of the arts and sciences, but his versatility was such that he became renowned both as an astronomer and a poet, collaborating in the former capacity with Grotius, Vossius and Galileo, and in the latter, both in Latin and Dutch, with Hooft, Roemer Visscher and Vondel. For a fuller account of his life and works, see Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden.*

[1] Sangir I.

[2] Laurens Reael, *vide supra.*

29th we had lost a day, since in sailing to the town we had shaped our course from east to west, whilst those who sail from west to east gain a day, as many others have experienced before.[1]

April.

On the 3rd of April, a vessel arrived at Maleya from China, laden with all kinds of merchandize, which were presently brought ashore.

On the 5th, the yacht named the *Arent* came and anchored near us in the harbour, having been out to obtain a stock of pigs, fowls, foods, fruits, and other necessaries, both for the ships as well as for the town and the surrounding forts.

On the 8th, Cornelis van Vyanen left us in order to proceed with our yacht to Banda; he was convoyed by our *Æolus*, which returned to the fleet on the 16th.

During our anchorage the Governor came on board a second time, showing his commission and its tenour, by which he had been given the absolute government of all the Molucques, Banda, and Amboina, though without restriction or prejudice to our Admiral's command of his fleet. After this had been done, all our troops proceeded ashore in good health and contentment, wherefore God must be praised for so safely conducting and succouring us upon so long and dangerous a voyage.

May.

On the first day of May, the Admiral invited to dinner on board his ship all the captains of the soldiers, the lieutenants, ensigns and other officers, as well as the merchants, skippers and pilots, giving them all the best cheer possible

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[1] The descriptive note signed *Jan Cornelisz. Moy* accompanying the inset map of Booton I. on Plate No. 19 (*vide* facsimiles of both opposite) stood here in the original. See the Introduction, pp. xvi-xxi, xxiii and xxviii.

PLATE No. 19.

Number 19 is the MAP OF THE MOLUCQUES,

Very correctly drawn, with all its islands and forts, and with a sketch of Botton's[1] Strait.[2]

I have drawn this little map of Botton as I know it from close observation and from having several times navigated it, both through the strait and round about it; and I have found Botton Island and all these other places to be in form as shown. With regard to the Strait there is bottom everywhere, as is shown in cyphers, but where these ooooo are put there is no bottom for a hundred fathoms. Outside the Strait, round Botton Island, there is no bottom for a hundred fathoms, except perhaps very close to the shore. In some small bays on the east side there is a good watering-place, where I have got water twice; there was no bottom for anchoring, and I kept on going to and fro under sail until the water was got aboard, which was done with ease; but in this aforesaid little map I have drawn nothing but what I have seen and have carefully sounded, for which reason some countries are not fully drawn. Also close hereby, about two miles westward, lies a shoal of rocks at a depth of four to six fathoms, as I have heard from Jan Krynen and others who have been there and seen the bottom very clearly.

Thus done by Jan Cornelisz. Moy.[3]

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[1] Booton.

[2] Between the islands of Booton and Pangassani, S.E. of Celebes.

[3] For a full discussion of this document (reproduced herewith in the original) see pp. xvi-xxi, xxiii and xxviii of the Introduction.

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as a token of gratitude, and thanking them for the faithful services they had rendered as far as the Molucques.

Before daybreak, on the 2nd, we set out with six vessels from Maleya for Macian, in order to prevent the enemy from supplying foreign vessels there with cloves.

The wind was so favourable that we reached Macian in a short time, and cast anchor there immediately in front of Fort Mauritius.

The Admiral, going ashore, inspected all the circumjacent places and forts, travelling, for instance, from Maurice to Taffasor, from there to Tabelale, and as far as Nahaca, and so came back to Mauritius.

Here should also be noted what we had heard on the 12th of May at Tidor, from Mr. Casselton,[1] General of the four English ships, namely, that the Commander Jan Dircksen Lam[2] had arrived at the islands of Banda with twelve warships, many soldiers and sailors, and that on the 10th of April he had taken the island of Poleway[3] by force, that being the richest and most fertile of them all and producing the most nutmegs and mace.

The order of battle of that exploit had been as follows:

The vanguard was under Lieutenant-Colonel Gysbert van Vyanen, a native of Utrecht, accompanied by Captain Henrick-Steur van Somerdick, Captain Henrick Gosdey, Captain William Jacobsz., of Ter-vere, and consisted in all of two-and-forty men, besides some Japanese.

The battle was fought by Captain Lambrecht Adamsz.,

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[1] "Captaine Castleton went to the Moluccas with foure ships, the *Cloave*, *Defence*, *Thomas* and *Concord*, the better able to defend themselves against the Hollanders: but being threatened by eleven saile of theirs, they returned without doing any great matter, onely a few Cloaves laded in the *Cloave;* the Captaine himselfe dying there of the fluxe, to whom the fault is imputed with other things laid to him." *Purchas His Pilgrimes.* 1625, Part I, p. 533.

[2] Jan Dirkszoon Lam; he rose to the rank of Admiral.

[3] Pulo Way—the Water Island—is about 400 or 500 feet high, consists of coral rock, and is esteemed the healthiest of the group.

called Lanckhaer, a native of Aix-la-Chapelle, seconded by Pieter Backer, of Antwerp, Jan Verhoeven, of Thiel, and Isbrant Cornelissen, of Amsterdam, captains, and two hundred and fifty soldiers.

The rear-guard was under Captain Henrick Beverlin, of Tergouw, accompanied by Captains Abraham Halling, of 's Gravenhaghe, and Henrick van Herentals, with two hundred and thirty soldiers, besides a great number of sailors and marines.

In addition to these, two captains from Zeeland had the command and leadership of all the other marines who were charged with the service of the guns and with the care of all appertaining thereto.

The sergeant-major of these troops was Captain Adriaen van der Dussen. And all these did their duty so well that in a short time they obtained the mastery of the aforesaid island, whereby the inabitants of the aforesaid circumjacent islands were compelled to make a fresh alliance with our countrymen, to the great profit and advantage of the East India Company. God grant that they may long continue therein!

On the 16th, the Governor left Tidor and Maleya.

On the 18th, the Admiral redeemed, both from the Spanish galleys and from the prisons, seven Dutch captives, who had been kept there already more than four years; and that in exchange for a monk, a Spanish pilot, two Spaniards whom we had captured in the South Sea, and yet another Spaniard whom we had brought with us from the Manilles.

These prisoners were loud in expressing their joy at their unexpected release, for they had entertained no other hopes than of ending their days miserably in such tyrannical slavery and imprisonment. Wherefore they before all else most fervently thanked God Almighty, and thereafter our Admiral.

As night approached another prisoner, also from the Netherlands, named Pieter de Vyvere, came aboard of us with his wife, he having for a long time sat in the Spanish galleys, but because he had married a Spanish woman and was, moreover, a goldsmith and a good artificer, so much liberty was granted him that he at last found means to give himself and his wife up into our hands.

On the 25th, when we had again gone to Maleya with our ships, our Admiral received a communication there from the Governor of Maleya informing him that a Spanish ship had arrived from the Manilles, and was lying at anchor off Gammelamme, for which reason our Vice-Admiral soon after sailed to Maleya.

On the 27th, the *Morghen-sterre* returned to our fleet.

In the afternoon of the same day a boat came from Maleya, bringing a letter from the Governor to our Admiral, which having been read, we immediately set sail and shaped our course right past Tidor, where those in the fort fired seven or eight cannon shots at us, without, however, damaging any of our vessels.

On the 28th we arrived with four of our ships in the harbour of Fort Maria, where we cast anchor. Immediately afterwards our Admiral had himself rowed to the town of Maleya, and returned to his ship in the afternoon, accompanied by the Governor and some other officers, all of whom proceeded inside the aforesaid Fort Maria.

On the 29th our Admiral, being unwell, came back on board.

On the 30th, the Governor was informed by letters arriving from Macjan that our people had seen some vessels out at sea without knowing what or whence they were, wherefore we were ordered to set sail, which we did with much diligence, so that in a short time we had got far out at sea, cruising there to and fro.

June.

On the 1st day of June we came in from sea again, by express orders, and cast anchor in the harbour of Maleya.

On the same day, twelve more of our vessels arrived from Amboina and joined our fleet, so that we were seventeen in number.

Some were of opinion that something should be attempted in the way of an attack or otherwise, either upon Tidor or the circumjacent places of the Spaniards, but nothing of the kind was effected.

On June 19th, Laurens Reael was appointed Governor and Commander-General by the consent and agreement of the whole Council of India, and was installed and confirmed in his office with every respect and ceremony.

July.

On the 18th of the month of July, our Admiral received an order and commission from the whole Council and the Governor-General to proceed to Bantam with the two vessels belonging to Amsterdam and Zeeland,[1] over which he was given command and jurisdiction, to act in all things as he might deem upon good counsel to be expedient.

On the 15th[2] we reached Botton Island[3] with the two said vessels.

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[1] *Vide* p. 153. [2] Of August.

[3] Booton I., lying off the south-eastern peninsula of Celebes.

A DISCOURSE

BY THE VERY RENOWNED APOLONI SCHOT,[1] A NATIVE OF MIDDELBURGH IN ZEELAND.

Among the blessings and advantages which the kingdom of Portugal enjoyed over all other kingdoms, potentates, and republics, one of the most excellent and important was the carrying on of so famous and profitable a trade as the Portuguese secured by the possession of the Molucques, both in cloves and other spices, which nearly the whole world had to receive out of their hands, to the sorrow both of the Venetians, from whom they had diverted that rich trade, as well as of other kingdoms and republics, who envied it them (not without reason), and sought to supplant them therein.

At first the Spaniards and Portuguese waged fierce warfare upon each other for the possession of the Molucques; the English, under Francois Draeck,[2] made some contracts with the King of Ternate to establish a trade here, which they afterwards sought to keep up on two separate occasions under the direction of the Middeltons;[3] finally, our extensive Dutch navigation succeeded in getting the Portuguese ousted from the places which they occupied in the Molucques and the Castilians reinstated with the help of the people of Tidor, the Ternatan king being taken prisoner with a number of the principal Indians. The remaining Ternatans, amongst

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[1] Apollonius Schotte or Scotte. For further facts relating to this *Discourse* and its author, see the Introduction, pp. lviii-lx.

[2] See *The Second Circum-Navigation of the Earth: or the Renowned Voyage of Sir Francis Drake . . . begun in . . .* 1577.—*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625, Pt. I, pp. 54 *et seq.*

[3] For the voyage of David Middleton in 1606, see *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625, Pt. I, pp. 226 *et seq.*, and for that of General Sir Henry Middleton in 1610, see *loc. cit.*, pp. 247 *et seq.*

whom were some chiefs and their subordinates, having fled before the Spaniards to the mainland and other places, rejoined their countrymen, through the aid of Admiral Matelieff,[1] in as large numbers as possible, upon the island of Ternate; and building a fortress there named Oranien, they entered into an alliance with our nation, as may be seen by a certain contract made, and from time to time so much was done that we have now come into possession of no small part of these clove-producing islands, such as the greater portion of Ternaten, the whole of Mottir,[2] Macjan, and Bacjan, the Spaniards remaining possessed of the whole of Tidor, the big town in Ternate, and a number of places on the mainland of Gilolo, concerning the present condition and circumstances of which, both as regards ourselves and the enemy, I have undertaken to discourse a little.

In Ternata we possess three forts: Maleya, also called Oranien, being that which Admiral Matelieff first constructed, where the king of that country and all the nobles reside, and situated at the east end of Ternate; Fort Molucco, also called Hollandia, lying about half a mile north of Maleya upon an eminence, and built entirely of stone and cement; it was placed there by us for fear that the Spaniards might come and obtain a foothold there, and so render the whole roadstead of Maleya unsafe for us, and also in order to bring back to their old homes the populace of those places, who mostly dwelt in Maleya, and to secure other advantages which the said fort affords;

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[1] Cornelis Matelief, a famous Dutch seaman, eminently instrumental in extending and consolidating the Dutch empire in the East. No particulars are procurable of either his birth or death. Of his chief exploit there is extant *An historicall . . . discourse of a voyage made by the Admiral C. Matelief into the East Indies, who departed out of Holland in May*, 1605; *With the besieging of Malacca and . . . with other discourses. Translated out of the Dutch* (London, 1608).

[2] Mortier; Purchas sometimes calls it Mutir.

Fort Tacome, also called Willem-Stadt, situated on the north-west side of Ternate, was erected by Vice-Admiral Symon Jansen Hoen, in spite of the opposition of the enemy, who had his own eye upon the spot, intending to seize it at some time or other; but by the building of this fort, which protects the whole country between Maleya and Tacome, the natives, who had fled to the mainland of Gilolo, were re-united with our countrymen. It is the place where most of the cloves grow, and under the above circumstances they may be gathered in security, and so they come for the most part into our hands.

The island of Mothir,[1] lying between Tidor and Macjan, remained for a long time desolate and uninhabited, by reason of the internal warfare waged between Tidor and Ternate. Admiral Wittert, at the request of the Ternatans, built a fortress at the north end for our security, and peopled it with a number of native inhabitants who had fled to Gilolo, as well as with all the inhabitants of Gane, lying at the south end of the mainland of Gilolo, near Bacjan, and subjects of the Ternatans. Having learnt that the Spaniards intended to attack and occupy the said fort with the greater part of the sailors who had taken refuge in Tidor, our countrymen, with the aid of the inhabitants, armed themselves against this and for their safety. The number of the inhabitants of this island is over two thousand.

With regard to the island of Macian, it was conquered by Admiral van Caerden,[2] and fortified with three forts: Taffasor, lying on the west side, Noffagina, on the north

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[1] Mortier.

[2] Paulus van Caerden, or Caarden; two voyages of his to the East Indies are described in Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlandtsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, one in Deel I, one in Deel II. They appear also in de Renneville's *Recueil*, tom. III and VI. For an account of his naval exploits see Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*.

side; and Tabelole, on the east side of the said island; which three places are well peopled, as well as some other small towns that lie round the island. I estimate the number of inhabitants of the said island to amount to nine thousand souls, including the inhabitants of an island named Cayoa,[1] who live at Tabelole, having been transported to the latter place in 1609, because they were not in safety in their own places. It is indeed the most fertile island, and the richest in cloves of all the Molucques, its fruits sufficing for its own consumption, and for partition amongst the circumjacent islands, since Tidor and Ternate are very necessitous places, drawing their supplies from elsewhere. This is because these two nations are courageous and proud, living more by warfare than by agriculture, marauding and pillaging each other, since they are constant and sworn enemies; first the one and then the other gaining the upper hand, they have ever aimed at great dominion, endeavouring to lord it over all the other islands lying hereabout, whilst the Macjans and Motirese are more inclined to labour, and pay more attention to their lands.

Batiai[2] is a kingdom dependent upon itself, a great desolate country, overflowing with sago and abundant in all kinds of fruit. It is rich, but little populated, and has a lazy, careless people, who are addicted to nothing but voluptuousness and a wanton life, this being the cause that they have been reduced from a mighty kingdom to their present poor condition. This neglect of theirs is also the cause of many cloves that grow on this island rotting and coming to nothing. This place having been from the beginning in alliance with the Spanish and Portuguese, who had a fort at Labona,[3] usually occupied by twenty Spaniards, and where about seventeen Portu-

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[1] Kajao. [2] Batjan or Bachian. [3] Laboua.

PLATE No. 20.

Number 20 are the islands of MACJAN[1] and BACJAN,[2]

With all their explanations, shown as follows :—

A. Is the island of Macjan, the south corner of which is situated 8 minutes north of the Equinoctial line.

B. Is the bay of another island named Bacjan, lying opposite the aforesaid island, just as much south of the line as the other lies north of it.

C. Is the town of Bacjan, shown on a large scale.

D. Is Fort Bernevelt, built of stone.

E. Is the rice-house and sink-hole.

F. Is a stone house over the gate.

G. Is the guard-house.

H. Are the outworks or walls, built with a stone coping.

I. Are entrances or gates.

K. Is a ruined bastion made of galla galla.

L. Is the Council-house of the Indians.

M. Is a fine well of fresh water.

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[1] Mackian. [2] Batjan.

guese and eighty Labonese[1] households, all Christians, still reside, it was conquered by the Vice-Admiral[2] in November, 1600,[3] and the fort rebuilt, where we now have a fair garrison, such as the place requires.

On the mainland we have retained possession of only one place, named Gamme-duorre,[4] and very populous; the inhabitants of Sabongo[5] and all its outlying places betook themselves hither, deserting the Spaniards, and at their request our countrymen fortified the place, and garrisoned it with thirty soldiers, or more, as necessity may demand.

All these places are well provided, both with soldiers and with other necessary ammunition of war, in order to withstand the probable attacks of our declared foe, and that, too, for so long as we can remain in friendship with the inhabitants of this country. This, it is to be feared, will not be for ever, since, when they called us to their assistance, great promises were made which cannot be fulfilled on either side, and contracts were then made more to our advantage than to theirs. For instance, there is an article by which they hand over to us all tolls, both from their own subjects as well as from strangers, for the purpose of reimbursing us for all that may be spent in these Molucques upon fortifications and other things tending to their good, in addition to which exemption from tolls is also accorded us; but some of the nobles already say that they know naught of this, and seek to incite the natives in this way. In addition to the aforesaid extracts,[6] other great promises were made us which, up to the present, we have not been able to get fulfilled, whereat we are not too well pleased, since experience teaches us that the nations which, in need,

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[1] Labouese. [2] Simon Jansz. Hoen.

[3] Should be 1609, *vide* Introduction, p. lviii, and de Jonge, *Opkomst*, Deel III, p. 104.

[4] Gamakora. [5] Sabougo. [6] *Sic*, for contracts.

have gladly subjected themselves to those they thought might help them, have, after this has been done, ofttimes attempted to rid themselves of their assistants, though some nations with more courtesy and less ingratitude than others, according to the religion and policy practised by them. I would that every nation or individual were by nature immune from the desire lightly to withdraw from a promise once made, and to recognise by experience that a nation which readily accepts foreign assistance with small advantage to its country is little to be trusted, for when at peace they endeavour to regain their former freedom, considering no arguments or good deeds, however fine these may be, and not allowing any such to turn them aside from their aims. Besides this, we have still to consider that these Ternatans are a brave nation, somewhat passionate now, but of old accustomed to rule over others with great authority and power, so that they cannot but take it amiss for anyone to exercise full dominion over them, which, indeed, we do not claim to do. Moreover, our affairs and theirs are beginning to have so much in common that it might sometimes be expedient to let them exercise authority and make our own subservient thereto, only safe-guarding our interests by treaties and contracts; but this would give us no security in these countries, since this nation has no such consideration, long memory, and good judgment of past and future matters as those of Europe, though many of our people at home think so. On the contrary, we find every form of faithlessness, in keeping with the nature of the Moorish religion, which permits the breaking of oaths and promises so long as this may appear advantageous to them. I therefore know of no better means for reducing this people to perfect obedience than that of holding out to them future advantages that appear very possible of attainment, and that promise results which shall immediately bring them to a proper and

faithful course of life, and keep them in devotion to us; but this demands an execution prompt and based on reason. With regard to authority, endeavours should be made to bring this into unison with that of the country as far as possible, and our divine and natural laws should serve herein as follows. Experience sufficiently teaches us that the Ternatans are are a worldly and brave nation, much addicted to warfare and pillage, whilst the chief among them are not averse to proper authority, based on reason. With regard to honesty and truthfulness, they know better how to discourse of these virtues than to practise them, they themselves saying that their religion tolerates this. In war they are very open to the adoption of European methods; all their actions aim at worldly honour, splendour, and position—not politically, but in affairs of war, for often they will rather fight to the death than show cowardice, since faint-heartedness is greatly despised by them. Further, they are in their ways very credulous and very addicted to seeking novelty; hence their ineradicable customs and the number of islands their kings formerly possessed.[1] On various occasions, too, the latter have been deserted by their subjects and brought into contempt, and that by reason of their harsh tyranny, when previously they had been respected and highly esteemed. It is their custom to exact big tolls and tribute from their subjects, according to the pleasure of the king's commissioners or of the king himself, without the observance of any fixed rule in the matter, whereby great injustice often took place through the Ternatan authorities not paying due heed to circumstances. So that occasionally there was murmuring among some of the Tarnatan vassals under the protection of the State, as,

[1] Though this sounds fairly lucid, if not very logical, the purity of this passage in the original seems dubious.

for instance, the Machianese inhabitants of the mainland, and others, who up to now have resisted the same as far as it was possible for them to do, by every pacific means; but this has not had the proper effect, so that the murmurings do not cease and should move us to invent some measure for holding these people in check.

They are people of unstable nature, very prone to change, and can easily be brought so far as to hate the name of their master, especially if another offers them a few agreeable things; this was sufficiently apparent at the time that Don Jan de Silva was in the Molucques and by his liberality and pomp (which he well knew how to assume) brought matters so far that the Tarnatan authorities and most of the towns were very inclined and resolved to enter into a peace with the Spaniards, to our prejudice, as will be narrated more fully hereafter.

We must also take into due consideration that a nation which has been accustomed to have no other master but themselves is very difficult to govern except by the employment of some ingenuity. Further, the conduct of the war is our province, since, not trusting their own people with the command, they handed it over to our countrymen, for their faulty regulations and leadership in matters of war has tended more to their ruin than all the forces of the Spaniards and of their foes.

To be wanton and prone to violence are generally the qualities that mark those who are governed by young, lascivious, and badly brought-up princes, and this may be seen in the present young king of Tarnate, who is moreover (and this shows the nature of this people) assisted by selfish and uncaring counsellors, who pay no heed to the future nor think of past events, easily forgetting all good deeds, which is the cause of their being despised.

With regard to the three last kings who ruled over Tarnate, they were brave in war and severe in their rule

compared with the other Indian nations, and this was the cause of this people attaining to such great renown and dominion, though they were indeed also good soldiers of whose bravery and honour much might be said. But now, by reason of the bad order that reigns amongst them, they degenerate and fall off, and among them are no good leaders. Each one of the chiefs is almost an independent king, paying no heed to the common weal, for even should an agreement be made with one, another will probably upset it, so that they are not to be trusted as much as European nations. It is easy to compute what we may expect from a wanton, lascivious, fierce, greedy, tyrannical nation of perjurers; let us not trust too firmly in the Tarnatan rulers, whom I have also heard praised very highly for their virtues, but it behoves us to be reliant upon our own strength and not upon the simulated friendship of Moors. And for this one of the two following measures is requisite, to wit: to keep strong garrisons in the places which we possess here, which would occasion enormous expense, or else permit our own countrymen to do what several soldiers, mostly hirelings, have already tried, that is, to settle as citizens under our rule, enjoying some liberties in trade and navigation without prejudice to the Company, and binding themselves and their posterity in such fashion to the Company that they could always be employed for our service, wherefore detailed orders and regulations should be framed, too long to be set out here. In this way these places would be peopled with fresh Christians, who could be placed in some heathen countries, such as Ceram and others equally proper, and opportunely seek to play off as far as possible the Moorish inhabitants against their enemies, whilst we could gradually introduce more Christians and the Christian religion, this being the only means of establishing our affairs here (since there is nothing that binds the hearts of men so closely

together as unity of religion), and the right means for reversing the condition of the inhabitants.

This is so far as concerns our relations and friendship with the Moluccan inhabitants and how we should act with regard to them: now follows the condition and circumstances of our common foe and how we should safeguard ourselves against him.

In this island of Tarnate the Spaniards are in possession of the large town which they took from the Tarnatans, now called Neustra signora del rosario. With its flanking ramparts it is entirely encircled with cement and stone, well provided with ordnance and ammunition, the stock of which is supplied from the Manilles, where they keep their stores of war material. It is at present garrisoned by two hundred Spanish soldiers and ninety Papaugos, who are inhabitants of the Philipines, well exercised in warfare and doing service with the Spanish soldiers, besides which thirty married Portuguese with their families also reside there, seventy or eighty Chinese, who carry on all kinds of handicraft, and some fifty or sixty whites from these Molucques with their wives and children.

Between this town and Maleye they have yet another fort named Pedro and St. Paulo, situated on an eminence. Its ramparts are also made of stone and cement, and it is well provided with ammunitions of war, amongst others, with six pieces of ordnance, whilst Neustra signora del rosario aforesaid has some three-and-thirty metal pieces. This place has usually a garrison of twenty-six Spaniards, twenty Papaugos, and a few others from the Manilles.

In the island of Tidor, the whole of which is in their possession, they have also three forts—to wit, in the big town, in which the king resides, a fortress situated on an eminence and named Taroula, stronger by its position than other forts; it is usually garrisoned by fifty Spaniards

and eight or ten Papaugos, and provided with ten big metal pieces of ordnance.

The second is the old Portuguese castle that Cornelis Bastiaensz.[1] captured, and which they have now rebuilt and garrisoned with thirteen Spaniards, supported by the inhabitants ; it is provided with two pieces of ordnance.

The third place is called Marico, and lies in sight of Neustra signora aforesaid ; it is a small town, well peopled with Tidorese and encircled by stone walls, where the Spaniards have erected two bastions, garrisoned by fourteen Castilians and a few Papaugos, and mounted with two pieces of ordnance. In this island are a few other small towns in which none but native inhabitants dwell, and through warfare it is not so populous. According to our information it could not produce a thousand Tidorese capable of bearing arms. This king has more subjects on the mainland, whence the necessary supplies, such as rice and sago, are sent him.

On the mainland of Gilolo they have several fortresses ; firstly, Sabougo, which Don Jan de Silva took from us in the year 1611, violating the truce concluded and previously submitted to him, whereby we were to remain in possession, as is shown by the documents and letters concerning this which are appended hereunto,[2] and to which I refer.

They have fortified this place with four bulwarks and with a half-moon at the mouth of the river; it is garrisoned by sixty Castilians and fifty armed Papaugos. The inhabitants have deserted the Spaniards and joined our countrymen at Gamconorre,[3] as I have already stated.

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[1] The only fact that can be gleaned about this man with any degree of certainty is that his name was really Cornelis Sebastiaensz.

[2] These are not in the book. See also the Introduction, p. lix.

[3] Gamakora.

This fort is also well provided with heavy guns and ammunition of war.

The second, called Gilolo, was also seized in an underhand manner by Don Jan de Silva on the aforesaid date, and taken from us with the connivance of the tractable king of Tarnate, but the inhabitants, under a king belonging to this town (the same king who is now in Maleya) left the Spaniards, only about fifty or sixty families remaining with the latter. They have fortified this place and garrisoned it with fifty or sixty Spaniards and a few Manilles; it is also well provided with ordnance and ammunition of war. These two places lie about 7 miles distant from Maleya, on the west side of Gilolo. The third place, called Aquilamo, situated on the west side of Gilolo, opposite Macjan, is a hamlet encircled by walls and lies on a small river; it is inhabited by natives of the country and garrisoned by a few Spaniards and about forty Tidorese whom the King of Teydoor keeps there, since supplies of food are annually brought thence to Teydoor. There is a bastion mounted with two guns.

On the coast of Moro, which is the east side of Gilolo, they have three forts, being Iolo, Isiau, and Iaffougho, which places are garrisoned by about forty-five Spaniards and inhabitants, most of whom are converts to Christianity. From this place the Spaniards obtain great quantities of rice, sago, and other victuals wherewith to supply the Spaniards who live in Tarnata and Teydoor. From Maleya to Gilolo is quite 60 miles sailing, and about a day's journey by land.

They usually keep at sea a galley and a frigate, besides some row-boats in which they employ slaves and other prisoners, in addition to the soldiers they put on board of them, impressing these from their garrisons in time of need.

They have usually been well provided with a stock of

arms, ammunition, and other requisites of warfare, all of which they get from the Manilles, which lie very handy for them.

For victuals they are often very badly off, this frequently being the cause of their servants, other common folk and sometimes even some Spanish soldiers deserting them, since everything is very dear with them, and difficult to get by the lower orders.

With regard to trade, everyone is permitted to carry it on. Of the stock of cloves the king takes a whole half at the place where it is sold, this trade being mostly in the hands of the Portuguese, who transport the cloves to Malacke and other places. During the past six years trade has not been very flourishing with them, and the war imposes great expense upon the king, who has had little or no profit to show for it, but is hoping for great things.

The affairs of the King of Spain are administered here on his behalf by a Governor, who belongs to the government of the Philipinas, the one in office at the present time here in the Molucques being Don Jeronimo de Silva, who came from Spain for that purpose and departed thence after the publication of peace in Europe. Before his arrival we were informed that he had ratified the places which were to be included in the Peace.

This governor is assisted by a sergeant-major and captains, a contatoor,[1] a pagadoor,[2] and a king's merchant, whom the Governor summons to his council at his pleasure. When any extraordinary matter is to be decided, they have still many other officers, such as alcaldes,[3] barachelos,[4] cap.[5] del campo, and many intretandos[6] and retormados,[7]

[1] Contador, an accountant or auditor.
[2] Pagador, a paymaster.
[3] Justices of the Peace.
[4] Barrachelos, head-constables.
[5] Capitanes del campo.
[6] Intendentes, superintendents.
[7] Reformados, officers on half-pay.

in accordance with the customs and regulations which the Spaniards are wont to keep up in their garrisons and armies. The present Governor is well experienced in European warfare, a courtier, very severe and haughty, ruling with splendour and resorting to stratagem in all his affairs. Whilst he was in negotiations with our countrymen concerning peace in Europe he was well able to keep his own views from some delegates sent by him to us, though we could readily understand that on his departure from Spain he had been charged with the maintenance or discontinuance of the Peace, according as circumstances might dictate, as you will be able to see from some answers sent to us, copies of which go herewith.[1] This Don Jeronimo de Silva is a person of authority and experience, of nature and position as has been stated ; he has ere this served the King of Spain in important matters both in the Netherlands and Spain, whence he has now been sent hither with greater authority than that wherewith former Spanish Governors have ruled this place. He is the uncle of the Governor-General of Philipinas, so that I am of opinion that greater results for the well-being of the pretended monarchy of Europe are expected from his rule. We had recently some Portuguese here from Malacke and other places who, relying (as they said) upon the concluded Peace, had come to Amboyna and Banda to make some profit as merchants, but have ceased their dealings by reason of the Peace not having been ratified here, wherefore they are making great complaint and railing at the Spanish Governor, who does not pay much heed to this. They say, and we see, too, that the truce concluded is being observed by the Portuguese, though better in one place than another, this according to the circumstances of each and according to what we might be

[1] See note 2 on p. 143.

able to effect there. As a final conclusion, we must give it as our opinion of the Spanish pronouncement that they would indeed have maintained and observed the peace in the Molucos, or at least not have published their pronouncement so soon had their losses in the Manilles been as great as was their good fortune in defeating Admiral Wittert. In addition to which, fortunately for them, they also succeeded in capturing Admiral van Caerden,[1] whereby they were made acquainted with our weak position at that time in the Molucques, since they had obtained many papers and reports wherein that position was found to be set out with sufficient detail. The information which Don Jan de Silva obtained concerning our country by the capture of vessels in the Manilles, as well as by that of the yacht *De Goede Hoope* was not slight, as may be imagined when we consider that they got hold of all the secret instructions, despatches and letters, together with some plans of attack and other indiscretions, which everyone can suppose were well pondered on by persons of that kind in such vessels. There can therefore be no doubt that he informed the King of Spain of everything, counter-attacks to which we have to expect now and for all time, both in peace and war, for they have never before obtained such cognizance of our condition; wherefore it were very necessary to introduce some change into our affairs, both in administrative and in various other matters, whereunto we have given heed and shall continue to do so as much as possible. May Your Honour also be pleased to give this your attention. It is likewise to be borne in mind that the King of Spain has secured no small subsidy for his impoverished coffers in the excellent booty, exceeding some millions in gold, he got by the defeat of Admiral Wittert in the Manilles, and that it would grieve him more

[1] See p. 135.

to hand over all such treasure to his enemies, who might well claim it since they obtained it from his subjects in fair warfare, than now lawfully to claim to keep his own by reason of having retaken it from his foes. And it must be remembered that in the event of a truce he is bound to do the former, since Admiral Wittert captured the aforesaid treasure here in India during the war, whilst it was recovered by the Spaniards in time of peace.

The best and only means of re-establishing our affairs in India and of making ourselves entirely masters of the Molucques is, in my opinion, to despatch a fleet and armada, provided with all proper ammunition and crews, direct to the Philippinas, in order to attack the Spaniard there ourselves, and to overpower all the places and strongholds it may be possible to capture, whereby we should obtain a passage and access to the rest.

For there is nothing that would make them more faint-hearted and discouraged than our offensive warfare and hearing the clink of our arms in places where they least expect it.

It is sufficiently well known to everyone that here in the Molucques the places are amply provided and garrisoned with very experienced troops, for the very fittest are obtained from the Manilles, and in their stead are left unfit and untried men to defend the places with the Spanish merchants. Moreover, it is not to be doubted that our coming would be quite unexpected in the said quarters, for our foes allow themselves to imagine that we would not dare to attack them and return to those places where we formerly met with such damaging and unfortunate encounter.

In the event of this attack succeeding to any extent, it would tend to the furtherance of all our interests, for, in the first place, we should have the most important trade

with the Synese,[1] and secondly, since it is a land of fertility and abundance, the other countries which are under our dominion could be furnished with all their requirements either of food supplies or of men to people their lands. All of which would serve to weaken and exhaust our enemies in the Molucques, who would otherwise get all their stock of food from the latter.

Here you have briefly the condition and circumstances of the Molucques and of the Spanish possessions in the same, with the best remedy not only of resisting the latter by defensive warfare but also of completely shattering them and of finally putting an end to all their power.

The means for avoiding the harm which some other European nations are through envy attempting to inflict upon us are sufficiently well known to those who are most interested and injured thereby. Nothing further, therefore, should be recommended to us than the protection and maintenance of a realm which all the world is attempting to win and upon which depends the welfare of our country and the highest interests of its inhabitants.

August.

On the 25th of August we reached Japarre,[2] where we took in supplies of rice and other provisions.

September.

On the 15th of September we arrived at Jacatra,[3] and there our ships were caulked and coppered before loading; whilst we were doing this we were still constantly mindful

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[1] Chinese.

[2] Japara, on the N. coast of Java.

[3] Its name was changed to Batavia, on March 4th, 1621 by proclamation of the Directors. See also note 1 on p. 151.

of Don Jan de Silva's armada, for we were well aware and had been circumstantially informed that he was to come from Malacca to Bantam and Jacatra for the purpose of conquering us.

On the 30th of the said month we received reliable tidings of Don Jan de Silva's death at Malacca, which we opined to have been occasioned by poison, and that his fleet, being much weakened and diminished both in men and in stores, had started to return to the Manilles.

We have already related how they spent four whole years in the equipment of this fleet, without having performed anything with it except squander their men, ammunition, and stores, and that to the great hurt and weakening of their interests there.

During the time that we lay at anchor at Jacatra several ships arrived from the Molucques, Banda, and other parts, laden with all kinds of spices for the account of the General Company. Meanwhile vessels also arrived at various times from home, among them four ships of extraordinary size, well equipped with soldiers, sailors, stores, and large quantities of Spanish reals, another that came from Japon,[1] similarly laden with reals and uncoined silver, besides copper, iron, and all kinds of good provisions, nearly all of which had been captured and taken by the conquest of a Portuguese ship proceeding to Macoro.[2]

Among the aforesaid Dutch vessels was the ship *West Vriesen*, from Hoorn, on board of which some mutiny had been got up by twenty-eight men who had intended to overpower the said vessel and make themselves masters of it; but the treachery having come to light, the ringleader of the aforesaid traitors was quartered at Bantam, some

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[1] Japan.

[2] This must, of course, be Macao, which was granted to the Portuguese, subject to an annual rent, by the Chinese emperor in 1586, in return for assistance against pirates.

of them hanged, after their fingers had been cut off, and the rest, who were least guilty, condemned to the galleys and other forms of slavery.

October.

On the 20th there arrived at Jacatra the ship named the *Eendracht*, of Hoorn, under the command of Jacques le Maire, having set out from the Netherlands on the 15th July, 1615, and come south of Magellanes, and whereas it was found that the said vessel was not associated with the General Company and that she had set out on this voyage without their orders, the President, Jan Pieterssen Coenen,[1] confiscated the said ship on behalf

[1] Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the fourth of the Dutch Governor-Generals of India, was born January 8th, 1587, at Hoorn. He proceeded to India, in the service of the East India Company, in 1607, and was made Governor-General at the early age of 31.

"Hitherto, the seat of government had been at Amboyna, in the Spice Islands, this locality, on account of the paramount value of the spice trade, being considered at the time the most appropriate and convenient. Koen's prescience soon discovered to him that a seat of government more central, and in a country of superior resources to the Moluccas, was indispensable for the consolidation of the Dutch power, and he naturally fixed on Java, and that portion of it which appeared accessible to him. The first site chosen was the mouth of the river Tangeran, three leagues west of Batavia, and within the same wide bay. This, however, belonged to the Prince of Jacatra, who persistently refused to cede the necessary territory The strong-minded Koen, nothing daunted, determined at once on fixing the future capital at Jacatra itself, where the Dutch had had a factory since 1611 ; and with this view he transferred the principal part of the commercial and military establishments from Bantam, surrounded the factory of Jacatra with a rampart, and virtually founded the city of Batavia, in 1618 and 1619. From this time may be dated the foundation of the Dutch Empire in the Archipelago, which, most probably, would never have come into existence had the seat of government continued in the remote Moluccas, or been established, according to the recommendation of the home authorities, in the barren island of Banca.

"Koen surrendered the government in 1625, and once more returned to Holland ; but after a residence in Europe of four years, was again appointed Governor-General, the only example in the Dutch annals of a second nomination to this high trust. . . . The active and laborious life of Koen was brought to a close (on the 20th September, 1629) by a sudden stroke of apoplexy, in the forty-second year of his age.

"Koen was, without doubt, a man of great ability, full of resource,

of the General Company and transferred her crew to our vessels.

On a voyage of such long duration they had with this vessel discovered no unknown nation, no countries of fresh intercourse, nor anything that might be for the common weal; although they claimed to have found a shorter passage than the usual one, yet this was without any probability, since they had spent on their voyage as far as Ternata just fifteen months and three days, and that, too (according to their own admission) with a favourable wind and only one ship, which is not called upon to wait for others, as happens in a whole fleet. These claimants to the discovery of a new passage through the South Sea were greatly surprised that the fleet under Commander Spilbergen had been so long before at Ternata, after having passed through the Strait of Magellanes with such big ships (making that passage within eight months from their departure), and that, too, notwithstanding the delays it had also suffered in visiting many places and countries such as Peru, as far as Acapul[2] in Califormes, in addition to those experienced in the Ladrones, in the passage of the Manilles, in sailing past Cadera[3] and Tagima,[4] as we

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and secret, skilful, and bold in the execution of his projects. His countrymen describe him as a man of great integrity, and a lover of justice; but the patent parts of his administration attest that he was unscrupulous, even beyond the measure of other adventurers of the seventeenth century. . . . He was the greatest man that Dutch India has produced, and may be said to occupy in the Dutch annals the same place that Alboquerque does in the Portuguese and Clive in the English. He is the real founder of the Dutch Empire in India; and, although but a mere civilian, he was enabled, by the native strength of his character, to effect what those men had done, clothed with military reputation. His countrymen, however, are either insensible to his merits or negligent to reward them, for, down to the present day, no monument has ever been erected to his memory."—John Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, 1856, pp. 198, 199. Van der Aa (*Biographisch Woordenboek*) prefers to spell his name Coen, on the authority of autographs which he had himself seen.

[2] Acapulco. [3] Cape la Caldera. [4] Taguima.

have related above, and finally in waging two distinct battles, before our arrival at the Molucques with the whole fleet of six vessels at the end of nineteen months in all.

On the 10th of November there arrived in the roadstead at Bantam the ship *Nassau*, under the command of Pieter van den Brouck ;[1] it came from the Red Sea, where it had traded in the town of Moca, and had a good stock of both Spanish reals and Turkish ducats.

On the 12th of December there arrived in the harbour of Bantam Commander Steven Doessens with two vessels, to wit, *Het Wapen van Amsterdam*, and the ship named *Middelburch*, having come from Iambie[2] through the Strait of Malacca, without much cargo.

On the 14th of the same month Commander Spilbergen made all preparations for sailing home with the two aforesaid ships,[3] the tonnage of the vessel belonging to Amsterdam being 700 and that of the one belonging to Zeeland 600 lasts.[4] God grant us a good and prosperous voyage.

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[1] His *Historische ende Journaelsche aenteyckeningh*, covering the years 1606 to 1630, is included in Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Deel II. In de Renneville's *Recueil* it forms part of tom. 7 in the edition of 1725.

[2] "Iambe is on the East-side of Sumatra. It yeeldeth like great-grained Pepper as Priaman, but is not subject to the King of Achen, as are . . . other places on the West-side."—Purchas, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p. 532.

[3] From this entry we may deduce that Speilbergen returned home with two ships of his own (*vide* p. 132) in company with but not in command of the two vessels under Steven Doessens. The fact is corroborated in Schouten's version of the *Australische Navigatien* (*vide* the note on p. xxxii in this volume), where Speilbergen's own ships are erroneously alluded to as the *Amsterdam* and the *Zeeland*, an error copied by the rhymester in his Ode (p. 8) ; those vessels were probably the *Groote Sonne* and *Groote Maane*, one belonging to the town of Amsterdam, the other to the province of Zeeland. That Speilbergen took little heed of Doessens' vessels is evident from his statement (*vide* p. 164) that on July 1st, 1617, he "reached, with these two richly-laden vessels [these being, of course, his own, since the others were, as mentioned above, 'without much cargo'], the harbour of" his country.

[4] A last was equal to 2 tons.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION[1]

Of the number and position of the Forts, Troops, Heavy Ordnance and Appurtenances in the service of the General Company in the Indies, under the rule of Their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands and of His Pr. Ex. Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, July, 1616.

Firstly, in the islands of the Molucques.

In the town of Maleya, in the island of Ternata, were the following captains:—

Captain Frederick Hamel, of 's Gravenhaghe in Holland.

Captain Willem Eetvelt, of the city of Brussels.

Captain Pieter Backer, of Antwerp.

Captain Roelant Philipsen, of 's Hertoghen-bossche.

Captain Goossen van Mammeren, of Berghen-op-zoom, each of their companies comprising about one hundred men, making together a goodly number of soldiers.

This town is moreover well built and fortified with curtains, bastions and flankings, and provided with good troops, both metal and iron guns, and all that the defence of a town can require.

On this and the surrounding islands there are also many forts and strongholds well equipped for war, such as Taloveque, situated not far from Maleya, for which the town provides the guard.

The forts of Tacome and Zabou, in the island of Gilolo, are manned by the garrisons from Tarnata.

In the island of Tidor there is a fort named Marieco,

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[1] See the Introduction, p. lx.

PLATE No. 21.

Number 21 shows SOLOR,[1] AMBOYNA,[2]

And the island of Nera[3] with Mount Canapus,[4] with its explanation indicated as under.

A. Is the Bay of Solor, which is of the shape as you can see depicted here.

B. Is the entrance. between two hills, the one somewhat higher than the other.

C. Is the other entrance or exit, with two equally high hills.

D. Is the fort, situated on a hill, and surrounded by houses in which the inhabitants dwell.

E. Is their custom or manner of going about, with a servant behind them.

F. Is the fort on the island of Amboyna, with three villages lying close by.

G and E. Is the fashion of dress on the island of Amboyna ; they are a very courageous nation, brave in combat with sword and shield.

H. Is the island of Nera, where are two forts, one of which is called Nassau, the other Belgica. Down by the water we have a redoubt, inside and outside of which there are houses.

I. Is Mount Canapus, which often has eruptions, throwing out incredible stones, sulphur, flames and smoke, so that the effluvia and violence make the land all around barren.

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[1] An island off the eastern extremity of Flores, in the Malay Archipelago.

[2] One of the Molucca Islands, lying to the south of the western extremity of Ceram.

[3] Neira, or Pulo Nera, one of the Banda Islands.

[4] Gounong Api ; *vide* p. 219.

being very strong and well bastioned, where Willem van Anssing holds command, lying there with his whole company.

In the island of Motier there is a strong fort, surrounded by stone walls and encircled with good fortifications, where Heyndrick Mayer, of Mastricht, is in garrison and has the command, with a fine body of men.

The island of Macjan is under the command of the Lieutenant-Governor, Gysbrecht Vyanen, of Utrecht, having three fortresses under him, well provided with ammunition and troops, such being Tafasor, Tabalole, and Noffaca, near which lies the harbour.

The island of Batsian is governed by Barthelomeus van Speelberghen, born at Antwerp, he being the chief factor, and having under his command the fort named Barnevelt, which is very well built, fortified with stone, and garrisoned with many soldiers, in addition to some bands of Chinese.

In the island of Amboyna we have a royal castle, lying within its ramparts and bastions, in which Henrick Steur, of Somerdam,[1] holds the command with a hundred and fifty good soldiers, besides some other strongholds, such as Coubella, the redoubt of Hittou and the fort of Louw, which is defended and garrisoned by the Tarnatans; and the general command of the whole island belongs to Adriaen Block-Marssens, with the troops under his orders.

In the island of Banda we have the two undermentioned forts, both built of stone: in the island of Nera, Fort Nassau, which is manned by a hundred and twenty soldiers of our nation, besides a large number of Indians, Chinese and the like. The other is Fort Belgica, manned and provided like the last, and both are under the command of Captain Hendrick Beverlingh, of the town of Ter-Goude.

In the island of Poleway[2] we have a fort named Revenge,

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[1] Somerdick, on p. 129.

[2] Pulo Way.

which is generally manned with a hundred and sixty soldiers under the command of Van der Dussen and Jan Verhoeven, of Tiel, both captains.

On the frontiers of Cormandel, in Palataque,[1] our countrymen have erected a very magnificent castle, defended only by a lieutenant and a hundred and twenty soldiers.

The two towns of Negapata[2] and Massepatan[3] are entirely on our side, granting us free trade and intercourse, wherefore our countrymen have at their request presented them with a few pieees of ordnance and other necessaries: and in all these places the chief direction of all matters is in the hands of Mr. Hans de Hase, of Antwerp, who is moreover a Councillor of India.

In the town of Jacatra, in the island of Java Major, distant one day's journey from Bantam, a large, roomy and excellent building has been erected, in which folk of various handicrafts dwell. And here is also the most important magazine of war stores, provisions and everything requisite for the equipment of ships, this being likewise in the charge and at the disposal of the Comptoir of Bantam. And this place is as well provided with troops and heavy ordnance, with all its appurtenances, as any other place of importance could be.

The frigates which we generally keep here are very well equipped and furnished with cannon and troops, besides many slaves and prisoners who are also employed thereon.

These are briefly the position and details of the forts and places which we have in this part of the world. All of which places are according to their requirements well provided with soldiers and with metal, iron and stone ordnance, the total number of which is here given.

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[1] Pulicat, on the Coromandel Coast. "Paleacate standeth in thirteene degrees and thirtie minutes."—Purchas, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, p, 315.

[2] Negapatam.

[3] Masulipatam.

Troops	3000
Metal guns	193
Iron guns	320
Stone and metal mortars . .	360

CONCERNING SOME ABANDONED PLACES.

In the island of Gilolo we had a fortress named Gemmalanor, which is demolished and abandoned because we had no attack to expect on that side and because the foe could not get up any enterprise there.

Similarly, we have abandoned a stronghold built of stone in Botton Island,[1] between the Molucques and Java, because we considered it unnecessary.

We have also abandoned the fort situated in the islands of Salor[2] and Timor, whither two vessels were recently sent, to wit, the *Arent* and the *Sterre*, in order to enter into a fresh alliance with the inhabitants.

In the town of Gresei,[3] lying in the island of Java, we used also to have a factory, but for various reasons it fell into disuse.

Similarly, the factory in the capital town of Aschien[4] has been abandoned, because our countrymen had fallen into displeasure with the king, but we have again sent two vessels thither in order to use every endeavour to restore it.

Of all barbarian kings there is not one who holds our countrymen in greater favour than the King of Joor,[5] although he has no support nor any fortress of ours; wherefore his enemies inflict much harm and damage in his lands, which would be prevented if our countrymen had some free places there whither they might repair.

In the island of Selebes[6] the town of Macassar was abandoned by young and inexperienced men who did not

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[1] Booton I. [2] Solor. [3] Gressik.
[4] Acheen. [5] Johore. [6] Celebes.

take into consideration the great trade that this place gave us in rice and sago, which we use instead of bread, and in other necessaries of life; but we have again begun to make alliances.

We have sent some ships to the western frontiers of Sumatra, to the towns of Ficos,[1] Priaman and Silbe,[2] in order to introduce the trade there in whole pepper.

In the town of Iambi,[3] on one of the islands of Sumatra aforesaid, near the Strait of Malacca, we have a trade and store of pepper, more profitable than any other, and here Andries Surij, being the chief of the merchants, resides permanently.

In the kingdom of Borneo we have also free trade in diamonds and lapis bezoar,[4] under the direction of the merchant Hendrick Vaeck.

In the famous kingdom of Japon[5] we have, too, a magnificent building in which we carry on trade under the direction of the merchant Jacob Speck, he being the author of the said building.

It is true that in the duchy of Firando,[6] situated in the aforesaid kingdom, the trade used to be poor and small, but now the condition of things there has been so improved and set right that all timber work[7] has been brought to greater perfection and renown than in China itself, besides many victuals and necessaries of life we get from there.

In this duchy of Firando there were formerly assembled many Jesuits who, with their usual subtlety, had not only attracted to themselves the chief wealth and treasure of

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[1] Tiku. [2] Sileda. [3] See note 2, p. 153.

[4] Lapis lazuli. [5] Japan.

[6] The island of Firando, Firato, Hirato or Hirando, in the Strait of Corea, off the extreme west coast of Kiu-shiu. The town, where the Dutch had a fort from 1609 to 1640, is on the east coast of the island.

[7] Houdtwercken in original, but probably to be read handtwercken = handicrafts; the work abounds in misprints.

the country, but had moreover so captured the hearts and minds of the principal inhabitants that the latter claimed to be Christians, after their fashion, possessing only the superficial knowledge to recite the Ave Maria and to make a cross: but the Duke finally becoming more fully alive to the means employed for swallowing up his goods and treasures drove these holy fathers right out of his duchy, after having first had a large nnmber of them executed, by which course the said country has since that time been rid of that plague. And the inhabitants have moreover been compelled to drop what they had learnt from the Christians and to return to their former laws.

In the island of Java Major there is a king who is called the Great Macaran, under whose rule we have many factories and all kinds of commerce, the most important of which is in Japara, there being abundance of all food stuffs, such as rice, oxen, sheep, goats, beans, peas, dried fish and such like, all of which are just the things of use to us for provisioning the Molucques, Banda, and other places.

In order to cement more solidly our friendship with the aforesaid king or Great Macaran, Frederick Druyff, of Enckhuysen, has now been sent thither as an ambassador of the General Company, having taken with him many presents and gifts[1] to bestow upon the aforesaid Macaran.

In the aforesaid island of Java is situated the very renowned city of Bantam, which is governed by the Pangoran, who holds even the king himself in subjection.

In this town are the principal stores and trade of the whole Indies, but all under the direction and arbitrament of the said Pangoran.

In the harbour of this town all the ships load and discharge, receiving here, too, their orders and instructions

[1] Gheschencken ende giften, though the two words are as synonymous as in the English.

from Mr. Jan Pieterssen Coenen, of Hoorn,[1] as President-General and Director of all trade, factories, and matters pertaining thereunto, and in his hands must be placed all the books and accounts of the whole Indies, which are entered here in a general book, so that at any time the condition and progress of all affairs can be seen here.

Details of the wealth and power of the Molucques, Ternata, Macjan, Amboina, Tidor and the islands of Banda, as well as all other particulars have been given above by the renowned Captain Apollonius Schot, of Middelburch, a man of reason and experience, whereof he hath given ample testimony throughout the Indies and the fruits of which are still annually accruing to the advantage of the General Company.

A LIST OF THE VESSELS[2]

Which were at divers places in the Indies from the month of July, 1616, until the end of that year.

Off the town of Maleya in the island of Ternata in the Molucques. The vessels named :

De oude Sonne.
De oude Maene.
De nieuwe Sonne.
De nieuwe Maene.
Vlissinghen.
Den Engel, of Delft.
De Hoope.
De Morgensterre, of Rotterdam, and
De Jacht, sailing for Amboina.

[1] See note 1, p. 151.
[2] See the Introduction, p. lx.

At Japatra :[1]

Lies the *Hollandia*, also called the *Brandaris*, loading there in order to proceed to the Molucques.

Off Bantam lay before sailing for Amboina and Banda :

De Trouw.

Nassau.

Hoorn.

De Jacht, from Japon.[2]

For Japon there sailed :

Den swarten Leeuw.

For Timor and Solor :

Den Arent.

De Sterre.

For Aschien :[3]

Den Valck.

De Jacht.

For the frontiers of Cormandel and Negapatan :

Den Neptunus.

Den gouden Leeuw, of Rotterdam.

For Iamby :[4]

A barge and

De halve Maene.

For the island of Inganfe[5] and the frontiers east of Sumatra :

De Eendracht, and

Het cleyn Hollandia, in order to take on board the crew that had escaped from the *Æolus*, which, whilst coming from the frontiers of Cormandel, laden with merchandize, had been wrecked there, with very little of its cargo saved.

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[1] Manifestly Japara, for Jacatra is specified below. Cf. le Maire's entry of October 16th, 1616, on pp. 230, 231.

[2] Japan.

[3] Acheen.

[4] Iambe. See note 2, on p. 153.

[5] Engano, about 125 miles west of the south end of Sumatra.

In the harbour of Jacrata[1] lay :

The *Vrieslandt*, of Enckhuysen.

And at Bantam,

The *Nieuw Vrieslandt*, of Hoorn,
Het Wapen van Amsterdam, and
The *Middelburch*, of Zeeland.

From the frontiers of Cormandel is daily expected the vessel *Tergoes*.

From the aforesaid islands there sailed this year for home *Den swarten Beer*, laden with indigo.

There also sailed for home :

In October, the yacht named *Het Hert*, and
The vessel *Amsterdam*.
In December, *'t nieuw Zeelant*.

We received tidings here that from home the following had sailed hitherwards :

D'Eendracht, from Amsterdam ;
Æolus, from Zeeland.

At Banda we keep two frigates.

At Jacrata[1] and Bantam we have moreover some barques and shallops to the number of thirty-seven, besides many barges and boats, all furnished with pieces of ordnance, hooks, ammunition and troops, and which are fit to be used in all encounters.

This is briefly our condition and equipment in the Indies. We shall now once more proceed, in order to bring our voyage to an end with a few words.

On the 22nd of December there died Jacques le Maire, who had commanded the aforementioned Amsterdam vessel throughout the passage of the South Sea, wherefore our

[1] Jacatra.

Admiral and all the others were deeply grieved, since he was a man endowed with remarkable knowledge and experience in matters of navigation.

On the 24th of January of the year 1617, we arrived towards nightfall off the island of Mauritius,[1] where we anchored, taking in a supply of water and other provisions.

On the 30th we set sail from the bay called the harbour of Molucques, proceeding thence in an eastward direction.

February.

The first day of February we saw and passed the island named Massarius.[2]

And whereas we should, in our opinion, not see any more land, being in the latitude of thirty-five degrees, and all the pilots were found to be wrong in their reckoning, since we could get no bottom at 120 fathoms, we therefore altered our course on March 11 to north-west by north, because all were of opinion that the Cape de Bonne Esperance must lie to the east of us.[3]

On the 30th of the said month, four hours after sunrise, we came in sight of the land of Sancta Helena, whereat everyone showed great joy, thanking God for His goodness.

We have related above[4] that we had got separated from our other Zeeland vessel already more than three months, but by God's sufferance we found it here in the harbour of this land, whereby still greater joy and gladness was occasioned. And so we took in our supply of fresh water and other provisions in all haste.

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[1] Taken possession of by the Dutch in 1598, and abandoned in 1710.

[2] Réunion or Bourbon. Originally called after Mascarenhas, who discovered it early in the sixteenth century.

[3] The wording of this paragraph is loose, but all this later portion of the Journal, from December onwards, bears evidence of hurried writing.

[4] That is not so.

April.

On April 7th we set sail for St. Helena.

On the 14th of the same month we saw the Island of Ascension by night, on account of the brightness of the moon.

On the 23rd, we saw two ships out at sea, and notwithstanding the signal we made they would not speak with us.

May.

On the 13th of the month of May we passed north of the Salt Islands.

July.

On the 1st day of July, through the mercy of the Almighty, we reached, with these two richly-laden vessels, the harbour of our country in the province of Zeeland, to which we had so long looked forward, wherefore we all thanked and praised God Almighty for the mercy shown us and for bringing us back from so long and not less perilous a voyage.

Here endeth the Journal of Joris Spilberghen, whose passage is wonderful and very entertaining to read. Further are appended hereunto the Australian Navigations of Jacob le Maire, for this reason, to wit, that in this preceding Journal or New East and West Indian Navigations, mention is made in passing Magellanes Strait of a thoroughfare into the South Sea, and moreover, that this aforementioned le Maire did take ship with the aforesaid Joris Spilberghen in order to return home, but died on the voyage in Joris Spilberghen's presence, and so rests in the Lord.

Qui Zecta lustravit Batavis incognita Nautis,
et non visa priùs per Gallos, atque Britannos,
ac Lusitanos Indorum nomine claros,
Christicolasvè alios, sulcantis æquora volis,
sic sua Jacobus Lemarius ora ferebat.

PORTRAIT OF JACOB LE MAIRE

from the Dutch Edition, 1622,
of Antonio de Herrera's "Indias Occidentales."

AUSTRALIAN NAVIGATIONS

discovered by

JACOB LE MAIRE,

in the years 1615, 1616, and 1617,

Wherein is shown in what manner they found a new thoroughfare on the south of Magellanes Strait extending as far as the South Sea, with a description of the strange nations, peoples, countries and adventures which they saw and met with.

TO THE READER.

Whereas by a certain Charter of Their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands (granted to the General East India Company), it was forbidden to all merchants and inhabitants of the aforesaid Netherlands to sail east of the Cabo de bona Esperance eastwards and through the Strait of Magellanes westward, either to India or to any other known or unknown countries, Therefore Isaack le Maire, a renowned merchant of Amsterdam, dwelling at Egmont, being very inclined to trade in strange and far distant parts, and Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, of Hoorn, (a man well experienced

and very famous in navigation, as having already sailed three times to nearly all places in the East Indies as skipper, pilot, and merchant, and still very eager after strange voyages and the visiting of new and unknown lands) did often speak and deliberate together whether it were not possible to come by some other way not mentioned nor forbidden in the aforesaid Charter into the great South Sea, where they were of opinion they would discover great and rich countries in which ships would obtain rich cargoes, since the aforesaid le Maire said he had some knowledge thereof: or should they not succeed in this according to wish, that they should then sail along the aforesaid great South Sea to East India and certainly trade there with profit. They finally agreed to go and make a search in the most southerly and unknown part of the earth, to look for a thoroughfare south of the Strait Magellani extending to the aforesaid South Sea, of which they thought there was no small probability, from various particulars concerning the aforesaid Strait of Magellanes discovered by others at divers times. And in order to bring this matter about they agreed that Isaac le Maire should raise one half and Willem Cornelisz. Schouten the other half of the monies for such projected voyage from good friends and admirers, the care of furthering the affair and arranging everything being left to Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, who induced Messieurs Pieter Clementsz. Brouwer, formerly burgomaster of the town of Hoorn, Jan Jansz. Molenwerf, alderman, Jan Clementsz. Kies, Secretary of the said town, and Cornelis Segertsz., citizen there, to become the chief participants and to allow themselves to be used moreover as directors together with the aforesaid Willem Schouten, Isaac le Maire and Jacob le Maire, son of the aforesaid Isaac; and these did in a short time collect such a sum of money as they understood was necessary for their projected equipment, without however

giving any of the participants any revelation or knowledge of the projected voyage, but keeping that secret amongst themselves, the aforesaid directors. In order, then, to undertake this voyage the aforesaid directors equipped and fitted out at Hoorn a big ship and a yacht, the big ship being named the *Eendracht*, of about 110 lasts,[1] the skipper being the aforesaid Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, and the supercargo and commander of the voyage the aforesaid Jacob le Maire and his brother ; it carried sixty-five men, nineteen iron guns, twelve mortars, muskets and other ammunitions of war in proportion, and, for the safety of the ship, a big sailing shallop, a shallop for rowing, a boat and a skiff, being further well provided with anchors, cables, sails and other necessary things. The yacht named *Hoorn*, of about 55 lasts, of which the skipper was Jan Cornelisz. Schouten and the supercargo Aris Claesz., carried twenty-two men, eight iron guns, four mortars and other arms in proportion, and was further well provided with everything necessary for the performance of such a voyage. And as they made their intention known to no one, as has been said, they engaged all the sailors necessary for their service, as well as boatswains and officers, on this condition, that they should proceed whithersoever it should please the skipper and supercargo. Wherefore very diverse opinions obtained among the crews concerning this voyage and these ships, which were finally called the Goldseekers, but the aforesaid directors called their assembly the Australian Company. The vessels being equipped, all the crews were inspected by the sheriff and aldermen of the town of Hoorn on May 16th, 1615 ; on the 25th, the *Eendracht* sailed from Hoorn and arrived at Tessel[2] on the 27th. The yacht followed from Hoorn on June 3rd, and arrived at Tessel the following day. What befell them

[1] 220 tons. [2] Texel.

further and on the whole of their voyage has been truly set out in the following narrative from the writings and verbal accounts of those who saw and experienced the same, and who were not of the meanest in that voyage, either in rank or service.[1]

Farewell.

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[1] Concerning the rival claims to the authorship of this Journal, see the Introduction, pp. xlvii-xlviii.

AUSTRALIAN NAVIGATIONS

Discovered by JACOB LE MAIRE in the years 1615, 1616 and 1617, wherein is shown in what manner they found a new thoroughfare on the south of Magellanes Strait extending as far as the South Sea, with a description of the strange nations, peoples, countries and adventures which they saw and met with.

June, 1615.

Towards evening on June 14th we sailed out of the harbour of Tessel.[1]

On the morning of the 16th we came in sight of Duynkerchen[2] and drifted that day with the high tide and fine weather as far as the Straits.

On the morning of the 17th we anchored in the Downs on account of contrary winds; there Skipper Willem Cornelisz. Schout went ashore at Doeveren[3] and hired an English gunner, who came on board on the morning of the 19th with the men who had been to get water.

At midday on the 19th we set sail thence; towards the evening a big fleet of Dutch salt-ships met us near the Singels.[4]

On the 21st we had a storm from the south-west, which still continued on the 22nd, wherefore we dropped a

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[1] Texel. [2] Dunkirk. [3] Dover.

[4] The Shingles, Dungeness.

driving anchor and ran into Wicht,[1] where the skipper tried to engage a carpenter but could not get one.

On the 25th we sailed out of Wicht and arrived at Pleymuyen[2] towards noon on the 27th, where the skipper engaged a carpenter of Medenblick.

Early on the morning of the 28th we sailed out of Pleymuyen with an east-nor'-east wind.

On the 29th the weather was fine, and the skipper and clerk of the yacht came aboard the big vessel; it was resolved that on the 4th of the ensuing month rations should be dealt out, that is to say, on long voyages food and drink are dealt out to the crew by weight and measure each man receiving a portion which must serve him.

July.

On the 4th, according to resolution, the first rations were dealt out, to wit, to each man a tankard of beer per day, four pounds of bread, and half a pound of butter (with allowance for melting) per week, and five cheeses for the whole voyage.

On the 8th, in the latitude of 39° 25′, near the Baerels,[3] the second carpenter of the yacht died, after an illness of not two days.

On the 9th and 10th we had a northerly and north-easterly wind, and went briskly along, so that we came in sight of Porto Santo and Madera on the 11th, passing them on the east.

On the morning of the 12th we saw Salvages,[4] passing it about two miles to larboard.

On the morning of the 13th we saw the islands of Tenerifa and Great Canaries; about noon we ran through

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[1] The Isle of Wight. [2] Plymouth.

[3] Meaning the Cabreras, the southern group of the Azores being early so called; this error, like many others, is evidently that of a transcriber.

[4] A group of rocky islets in 30°-30° 9′ S., 15° 59′-16° 6′ W.

between both with a stiff nor'-nor'-east wind and good progress.

Between the 14th and 15th we passed the Tropic of Cancer with the same wind and progress.

On the morning of the 16th we encountered big waves with a nor'-nor'-east wind; the boat that trailed behind the big ship filled with water and the ropes broke, so that we lost her, though we had safely towed her from Hoorn as far as this. At noon we were in latitude 20° 30′.

On the 17th and 18th we had fine weather and made good progress; the wind being in the north, nor'-nor'-west and north-west, we proceeded west and south and reached latitude 14° 45′ by noon on the 19th.

On the morning of the 20th we found ourselves north of Cabo Verde, were in 8 fathoms when we first sighted land, sailed along the coast and at daybreak the cape lay west by south of us, so that with a nor'-nor'-westerly wind we were unable to double it, and therefore obliged to anchor close to the shore in 32 fathoms. The following night it blew hard with much thunder and rain.

On the morning of the 21st the wind was sou'-sou'-east, and variable at daybreak, so that we set sail, shaping our course out to sea, first west by north, afterwards north-west, but we made only about 6 miles the whole of that day.

On the 22nd we drifted nearly all day in a calm, with our sails down; Cabo Verde lay east of us and towards evening we saw a sail to the south of us, running to the north-west.

On the morning of the 23rd the wind was south, so that we were unable to double the cape but obliged to anchor on account of the current. Towards noon we set sail again with a westerly wind, got round the cape and came to anchor at night inside of the second island, in the usual roadstead, in 10 fathoms and on a sandy bottom.

On the 24th it rained very much and we made preparations for getting in a supply of water.

On the 25th the Alkayer (who is as much as Governor) came aboard, and we arranged with him that for eight rods of iron we might get water for both ships in peace.

On the 26th, it was dark rainy weather and we saw a ship come in from sea and anchor 2 miles from us close to the shore; it was a boat from Rotterdam which came there to trade with the shore.

On the 28th and 29th we took in a supply of water, and our yacht went under sail to the place where the Rotterdam vessel lay in a bay named Refresco,[1] in order to ascertain whether we could get any lemons there, but she came back in the evening without having been able to obtain any.

On the 31st, a French vessel came in from sea to lie at anchor with us in the roadstead. We had the same day kept on board a negro who showed us at night a good place in which to fish, and our men, having gone ashore with the drag-net, caught as much fish of various kinds as both crews were able to eat in two days.

August.

On the morning of August 1st we set sail from Cabo Verde together with the little Rotterdam vessel, which parted from us at noon, shaping her course for the Salt Islands. We had fine weather for the next twenty-four hours and a fine continuous breeze from the north, and proceeded towards the south-west.

From the 2nd to the 18th we had many variable winds.

[1] To-day there is a town here known as Rufisque, which name is a corruption of Rio Fresco, the river that runs into the bay. The bay itself is still called Goree—a corruption of Goeree (or Goede Reede = good roadstead)—the name originally given to it by the Dutch, not appropriately, for the roadstead is a bad one, but in honour of the town in Holland from which they set out.

On the 18th and 19th the wind continued as before, and we resolved to set our course for Sierra Liona in order to provision there, since our crew was fast beginning to contract scurvy and we were forced by strong contrary winds to lie to daily; it was also too late for a speedy passage across the line, nor should we have got much provisions at the Cape. During these twenty-four hours we had fine weather and a fair breeze, and at noon we reached the latitude of 7° 55′.

At noon on the 20th we were in latitude 7° 25′, with fine weather and a lively breeze from the south, proceeded east and east by north, and saw many land birds and changes of water. Towards the evening we cast the lead in 30 fathoms on a sandy bottom and found the land some 40 miles before we had thought to do so, anchoring at night in 16 fathoms on the western side of the Baixos of S. Anna.[1]

On the morning of the 21st we set sail at daybreak and saw the high land of Sierra Liona about 6 miles from us north-east by north; we also saw the islands of Mabrabomba,[2] which lie at the south corner of the high land of Sierra Liona, north of the Baixos of S. Anna. Sierra Liona is a very high land, so that there is in those parts no land so high between Cabo Verde and the coast of Guinea, wherefore, too, it is easily distinguishable. We did our best to get near the land that day and had the current mostly in our favour, running along the shore and also past the Baixos of S. Anna in 10, 9, 8, 7, and 5 fathoms of water. When we sailed to the north it got deeper, when to the east shallower, so that at high tide in the evening we anchored in 5½ fathoms on a soft bottom, though at low tide in the night it was not deeper than 4½ fathoms, but it was fine clear weather.

[1] The Shoals of St. Ann. See next paragraph.
[2] Banana Is.

At daybreak on the morning of the 22nd the skipper, Willem Schouten, went aboard the yacht and sailed on in advance with her, the big ship following. With a north-westerly wind we ran to the nor'-nor'-east on an ebb tide, getting into 18 fathoms immediately after leaving the Baixos and coming near the islands of Mabrabomba. These are very high and are situated, three of them in a row, S.S.W. and N.N.E., half a mile out to sea from the south corner of Sierra Liona. There we got into shallow water of 5 and 4 fathoms, with a bad muddy bottom.

We anchored about a mile from the shore, landed there, but found it uninhabited by human beings, though we saw numerous footprints of big wild beasts; the country was desolate, full of wildnesses, low swamps and high mountains.

On the morning of the 23rd the supercargo, Jacob le Maire, went aboard the yacht and thence rowed ashore with both the boats. They found a river before which lay some rocks and reefs, so that no ships could get into it, but once inside it was deep and wide enough for ships to tack. They found no people here either, but saw three wild oxen and numbers of marmosets, as well as some birds that barked like dogs. They went up some 3 miles on the rising tide, found here and there a wild palmite, but came back on board in the evening without having seen any signs of human beings or of any fruits that could be of use to them.

On the 24th both the skiffs proceeded ashore again in order to look for human beings or for some edible fruits, each going up a different river, Aris Claesz., of the yacht, with one of the assistants, in the one, and Claes Jansz. Ban, with our second mate in the other; both went up for some 5 miles, and returned on board on the morning of the 25th. The supercargo of the yacht had been in a salt-water river and had had no luck, bringing only five or six wild

palmites. But Claes Jansz. Ban had been in a fresh-water river and had found a spot there with eight or nine lemon trees; these they had shaken and had got from them about 750 lemons, which were almost ripe and fit for keeping. They had also seen there many turtles and some crocodiles, but no human beings. We resolved to make an attempt to get into that fresh-water river with both our ships in order to provide ourselves there with fresh water and lemons; we set sail but found too little water, so that we had to anchor in 6 fathoms. The yacht anchored in front of the river, near the lee-shore, but found bad water on account of the whirl from the Baxios of S. Anna. The supercargo, Jacob le Maire, and Aries Claesz., supercargo of the yacht, proceeded up the river in the boat, in very rainy weather.

On the 16th[1] it blew a stiff breeze from the sou'-sou'-west, so that we could do nothing in the way of sailing, but the yacht ran to the south corner of the bay, which is about 5 miles wide, from the northern to the southern shore.

On the morning of the 27th we weighed anchor, in order to sail to the yacht and about noon the supercargo, Jacob le Maire, came back on board in the yacht's boat, bringing with him about 1400 lemons which they had obtained here and there in the aforementioned river, without having seen any human beings. In the evening we came near the yacht and anchored there in 4½ fathoms.

On the 28th, our first mate proceeded with two boats up the river before which we were lying and returned in the evening, having found no country fit for exploration nor any sign of human beings, but only a buffalo with its calf, and for the rest swamp and trees, which stood in the salt water.

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[1] Should, of course, be 26th.

On the 29th, having found that we were not in the river of Sierra Liona we decided very early to set sail and ran along north of the high land. At noon we sailed past the islands of Mabrobomba,[1] that is, to the west of them, and towards the high land on the north, in 12 and 15 fathoms all the time, and in the evening got round the corner, where we anchored in 15 fathoms.

On the morning of the 30th we weighed anchor and drifted with the current and a southerly wind off the village in the roadstead of Sierra Liona, anchoring there in 8 fathoms on a sandy bottom, about a musket shot from shore, where we saw eight or nine huts thatched with straw. The blacks called to us in their language that we should fetch them on board since they have no canoes there. We sent our boat ashore, which immediately returned with five blacks, one of whom was the interpreter. The latter desired that some men should stay as hostages, for shortly before a French ship had come there and had carried off two blacks. Aris Claesz., who had gone ashore in the boat, remained as a hostage, having with him a few beads, which he bartered away that afternoon for some 700 lemons, nearly quite ripe, and two bunches of bananas, also nearly ripe. The interpreter spoke all sorts of languages mixed. As it was fine weather all the time, our men made another journey that day for water, which is very easily obtainable there, running down from the mountains right into the harbour, so that all we did was to hold the barrels under the cascade and then place them in the boat. It was very good water.

On the 31st we got our casks full of water and in the morning Jacob le Maire, Aris Claesz., Claes Jansz. Ban and all the assistants went ashore and got that day by barter,

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[1] *Vide supra*, p. 174.

at a guess, some twenty-five thousand lemons, all for a few beads and some poor Nuremberg knives. We could have got a hundred thousand, had we desired them, for there were whole forests full of them. In the evening we also bartered with the negros for a quantity of fish.

September.

On September 1st, in the afternoon, we weighed anchor and drifted down again with the current, with fine weather and a good breeze. Towards evening we anchored near the mouth of the sea,[1] before a small stream.

On the morning of the 2nd our yacht proceeded to the beach at high tide, in order to be cleaned; the place afforded a good opportunity, the water rising and falling seven feet. In the evening our men came aboard again bringing with them a small white animal called an *antilop*, which they had found in the bush in a trap set by the negroes. They also brought some lemons aboard and towards evening the boat went out fishing, bringing back a good quantity, with a number of palmites, which the men had cut down in the bush.

On the 3rd, in the afternoon, the yacht returned from the beach already cleaned; our skipper, too, went out fishing, and brought a good quantity of fish aboard in the evening, fish of a shape like shoemakers' knives. The men also brought aboard 150 lemons apiece.

Early on the morning of the 4th we weighed our anchors and set sail from Sierra Liona, with little breeze, but anchored again at night on account of contrary winds in 14 fathoms, on a good bottom.

On the 5th, in the first watch, we weighed anchor again and set sail.

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[1] "bij de mondt vande Zee."

From the 6th to the 18th we had much calm weather, with variable winds, and dropped anchor several times.

At noon on the 18th we set sail, and our yacht lost its cable and anchor by reason of the pitching whilst it was being weighed. It was blowing a stiff breeze and the waves were pretty high.

On the morning of the 19th we resolved to put in to Sierra Liona again for refreshment and water, since we still had contrary winds and were quite weary of the sea on account of the daily storms and rain. In the afternoon we again got the right wind from the north-west, wherefore we once more altered our course towards the south in order to proceed on our voyage.

On the 20th we still had the right wind and kept on our way to the south ; at noon we were in latitude 8° 30′.

On the 21st and during the rest of the month we had variable winds and much calm weather, with heavy and furious rains each day. At noon on the 30th our latitude was five degrees.

October.

In the beginning of October we had variable winds and occasional calms, and it rained heavily for whole days and nights together.

On the 5th we were in latitude 4° 27′. About noon there was such a din forward, at the bow of the vessel, that our skipper, who was aft, in the gallery, thought that a man had fallen from the bows of the ship or from the bowsprit into the water, but on looking over the side he saw that the sea was quite red with blood, as if a large quantity of blood had been poured out, whereat he was astonished, not knowing what it could mean. But afterwards we discovered that a great horned fish or sea-monster had struck the ship with his horn with most wonderful force, for when we reached Porto Desire and beached the vessel in order to

clean her, we found sticking in the ship, forward in the bow, about seven feet below the water-line, a horn, very similar in shape and thickness to the end of an ordinary elephant's tusk, not hollow, but full of very firm, strong and exceedingly hard bone. It pierced through three sheathings of the vessel, to wit, through two stout fir planks, through another of stout oak and partly through another rib, where it was finally stopped, to our great good fortune, for if it had penetrated between the ribs into the interior of the ship it would possibly have made a larger hole and have endangered the safety of the vessel with all aboard. This horn was sticking in the ship's side to the depth of quite half a foot, with nearly half a foot protruding, where it had been broken off short with great violence, this having caused the monster to bleed so profusely.

From the 6th to the 19th and 20th we made fairly good progress and saw many whales; the preceding night we passed the equinoctial line.

On the 28th we had the same wind and course as before. Until this moment we had sailed without anyone aboard our vessels (excepting only our Skipper and Director, Willem Cornelisz. Schout, and the supercargo, Jacob le Maire), knowing whither we were bound: then they read read out before all of us the aim of our voyage, which was that we should try to get by a way other than the Strait of Magellanes into the South Sea in order to discover there certain new countries in the south where it was thought great wealth could be got, or, if that did not succeed according to desire, that we should then sail along the great South Sea to the East Indies. There was great joy among the crew that day concerning this declaration, for they now knew whither they were being taken, and each one hoped to get something on his own account out of a prosperous voyage and to profit by it.

November.

On November 1st we were in latitude 13° 30′ and passed the sun, so that now we got the latter to the north of us at noon.

On the 3rd our latitude was 19° 20′. We saw some black birds and two or three gannets, and in the afternoon we sighted one of the islands of Martin Vaes[1] named Ascension ;[1] it lay south-east by east of us, in the latitude of 20°, and we found there increasing north-east variations of 12°. The wind continued to blow from the north and nor'-nor'-east, as on the preceding days, and we kept our course to the south. That day the crew received a double ration of wine because we had passed the dangerous shoals of the Abrolhos.

The following days, down to the 20th, we sailed mostly to the south and south-west.

On the 20th our latitude was 36° 57′. We saw many quails floating about and great quantities of sea-lice, vermin very similar to lice, of about the size of a small fly.

On the 22nd the Council ordered each man to be given a quartern of Spanish wine daily and a quartern of oil weekly, the French wine and butter being finished.

On the 23rd we saw a number of whales and a pale sea ; at noon our latitude was 40° 56′.

On the 24th we still saw many large fish and a deal of rock-weed floating about ; we got some high seas from the west and saw a large number of birds.

On the 30th we got into pale water, as if we were near land ; our latitude was 46° 15′ and we again saw many birds.

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[1] Not, of course, to be confounded with the better-known Ascension in 70° 56′ S. The Martin Vaz Islands are a rocky group of five between 20° 27′-20° 29′ S.

Number 22 is PORTO DESIRE,

With an explanation of some references in the following map.

A. Is Spieringh-Bay where (having sailed into it in error) we lay all night in very great danger of losing the ship.

B. The spot where we were driven ashore with the vessels and got aground, so that it was possible to walk dry-shod under the yacht, very awful to behold.

C. Vogels-Island, where we captured many young birds.

D. Leeuwen Island.

E. Coninckx Island, behind or inside of which we lay at anchor.

F. The spot where our yacht, the *Hoorn*, stood on tbe rocks and got burned from below.

G. Thc spot where, after long and frequent search, we found fresh water which we had to carry on board in small barrels.

H. The graves of very tall human beings, whose skeletons we found, 10 and 11 feet long, and whose skulls (on being opened at the base) could be put over our heads like helmets.

I, K. Are drawings of the sea-lions and lionesses, a few of which we captured and ate.

L. A kind of animal, almost like deer, but having necks as long as the whole of their bodies ; they are very swift running animals and we saw many such on the mountains daily.

M. Ostriches, many of which we also saw here.

N. Is a forked branch, of stone, shaped most wondrously by nature ; from afar it looks like a post or beacon, put up by human hands.

PLATE No. 22.

December.

On the 2nd of December, in latitude 47° 45′, we saw much rock-weed floating about.

On the 4th we still saw much rock-weed, pale water and many birds. At noon our latitude was 47° 25′, and we got 16 degrees of increasing north-east variation of the needle. Towards the evening we cast the lead and found a sandy bottom at 75 fathoms.

On the morning of the 5th we found the bottom at 65 fathoms; saw many birds and much rock-weed. At noon our latitude was 46° 25′; in the evening we found a bottom at 45 degrees[1] and saw many whales.

At daybreak on the morning of the 6th we were in 46 fathoms and proceeding in a west-sou'-westerly direction with a north-west wind; at noon our latitude was 47° 30′, and in the afternoon we found the bottom in 42 fathoms. At about four o'clock we saw the land; it was not very high and had a bad coast, whiteish to the eye. We made the land, according to wish and desire, just north of the harbour of Porto Desire, casting anchor in the evening in 10 fathoms about a mile and a-half from the shore. We caught an ebb tide running south with as much force as in the Straits of Dover or off Flushing.

On the morning of the 7th we weighed anchor and proceeded under sail in a southerly direction until about noon, when we reached the harbour of Porto Desire, situated in latitude 47° 40′. We ran towards the entrance, reaching it with the sea up to high-water mark, so that the rocks of which Olivier van Noort[2] writes as having to

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[1] *Sic*, for fathoms.

[2] Olivier van Noort set out from Rotterdam for his renowned circumnavigation of the globe (his aim being to attack the Spanish and Portuguese establishments beyond the seas), September 13th, 1598, and returned, without having effected anything very great, August 26th, 1601. The *Beschrijving van de Voyagie om den geheelen Werelt Cloot*

be left on the north when entering the harbour were already submerged, but at the southern corner some rocks were visible which we took for the former. We therefore ran south of them, but came south of the right entrance into the impasse of a wrong inlet, and anchored there at high tide in 5½ fathoms. When the tide was out we were in not more than 14 feet of water, so that the *Eendracht* had her stern firmly aground on a bottom entirely of rocks. The wind, fortunately for us in our position, was blowing westerly from the land, for had we had an east wind blowing at all freshly we should certainly have lost the ship. We found many eggs on the rocks there and caught fine mussels and fish, amongst others smelts sixteen inches long, wherefore we called this inlet Spierincx Bay.[1]

Our sloop proceeded to the Pinguijns Islands, situated 2 miles east-south-east of Porto Desire and returned aboard late in the evening, bringing two sea-lions and 150 penguins, which we ate next day.

At daybreak on the morning of the 8th we sailed out of the Spieringh bay with a land breeze and anchored right before the harbour of Porto Desire, sending our shallop to sound the entrance. She returned at noon, having found 12 to 13 fathoms of water in the entrance. Immediately after noon with the tide at high-water mark and an east-north-east wind we again set sail, with the yacht on in advance, and went straight into the entrance. When we had proceeded about a mile and a half up the river we came against the wind and dropped our anchor in 20 fathoms. The bottom there was of smooth stone, for half an hour afterwards a strong wind sprang up from

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Rotterdam, 1602, is the first edition of his journal, the first English version appearing in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* in 1625, Pt. I, pp. 71 *et seq.*

[1] Spiering = a smelt.

the north-west, and both vessels, each having two anchors out, immediately drifted against the southern shore—nay, twenty five anchors would not have held them—so that we firmly believed we had lost both ships. The big ship lay side on upon the rocks and as the tide fell she slipped down a bit at intervals, but remained tight; the yacht, however, settled upon the rocks in such a manner that the ebb left her dry, and at low tide it was possible to walk under her keel near the mainmast without wetting one's feet. The keel stood more than a fathom out of the water, a thing terrible to behold. And as it blew hard from the nor'-nor'-west, she was prevented by the wind from falling over; this was evident from the fact that when the gale abated she fell to windward from the shore upon her side, with her deck three feet lower than her keel, whereat we were all very terrified, thinking that the yacht was quite lost to us, but the tide rising and the weather remaining calm, she floated again, at which we were all not a little glad.

Whilst it was still calm in the evening we got away from the shore and during the night the yacht joined us.

On the morning of the 9th we again proceeded up stream under sail and came near Coninckx Island, so named by Olivier.[1] The yacht got behind it and anchored, but we could not get inside with the *Eendracht* on account of contrary wind. Our men landed on the island, which was almost entirely covered with eggs. A man standing still, with his feet together, could touch with his hands fifty-four nests, each containing three or four eggs similar in shape to (but somewhat bigger than) plovers' eggs. They belonged to the black-backed gull, and we brought them on board by thousands and ate them.

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[1] Olivier van Noort (see p. 181). *Beschrijving van de Voyagie om den Geheelen Werelt Cloot*, Rotterdam, 1602, p. 16. September 29th, 1599 :—"Vonden een Eylant dat wij Coninex Eylant noemden."

On the 10th our boat proceeded to the north bank of the river to look for fresh water, but could find none. The men dug pits, some of them 14 feet deep, but found all the water brackish, both on the high hills and in the valleys. In the evening they came on board again, bringing birds and eggs in great numbers.

On the 11th the boat proceeded downstream to the south bank in order to look for water and human beings, but found only brackish water. We saw some ostriches and animals almost like deer, with very long necks, which were very shy of us. On the summit of the mountain we found some graves, consisting of a few heaps of stones, and as we did not know what these meant we overturned one heap and found under it the bones of human beings 10 and 11 feet in stature. They lay the dead down on the summit of the mountains and cover them with a quantity of stones, only to protect them from beasts and birds.

On the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th our men went ashore daily in search of water but found none, bringing only many birds and quantities of fish on board.

On the 17th, we beached our vessel behind Conincx Island in order to clean her; we managed to get a very dry berth, so that we were able to go right round her dry-shod.

On the 18th our yacht was also beached about two musket shots distant from our ship in order to be cleaned.

On the 19th whilst we were occupied in cleaning both our vessels and were burning the bottom of our yacht the flames unexpectedly and very quickly flew up as far as the rigging and took hold of her, so that in an instant there was no more chance of putting them out, especially as the yacht was beached some 50 feet from the water; and we were therefore compelled to see her totally burnt before our eyes without being able to do aught to prevent it.

At high tide on the 20th we got our ship, the *Eendracht*

off again and proceeding to the yacht, put out the fire, but she was burnt right down to the water's edge. On the following days we broke up what was left of her, stowing away what timber and ironwork we could get, with the guns and anchors.

On the 25th our men found, at a good distance inland, some pits containing fresh water, but it was white and very thick; we fetched water from them daily. Some of the men carried the water in small barrels on their shoulders, whilst the others went armed with muskets in order to protect them. Others fetched daily many birds and eggs, also young sea-lions, which we ate and found to be fairly good in flavour. These sea-lions are animals similar in size to a small horse, having heads like lions and long rough hair around their neck; but the females are almost hairless and not half as big as the males. They could only be killed by shooting them in the breast or brain with a musket, for even if they had received one hundred blows with hand-spikes or crow-bars until the blood flowed from their mouth and nostrils, they would still run away. Whilst we lay here in this river we had many strong winds, and sometimes much rain and storm.

January.

On January 9th we shipped our last water, and on the 10th we set sail to prosecute our voyage, but towards noon the wind began to blow from the sea so that we anchored again near Leeuwen Island; we caught much fish and many birds that day.

On the 12th our shallop proceeded to the Pinguins[1] Islands to get some penguins, but could not get back to the ship that day on account of bad weather, remaining overnight in Spieringbay. It returned next day, early in the

[1] See Introduction, p. lxi, line 1.

morning, laden with penguins, but they were spoilt on account of their great number, and we threw them overboard.

On the 13th, in the afternoon, we sailed out of Porto Desire, but as the weather became calm we anchored outside the harbour; subsequently, a breeze sprang up again, we weighed anchor and sailed out to sea.

On the morning of the 18th we saw Sebalds Islands about 3 miles south-east of us; according to what Sebaldt de Weert wrote, they lie separated from the Strait, about 50 miles east-nor'-east and west-sou'-west.[1] At noon our latitude was 51 degrees.

On the 20th we saw much rock-weed floating about. We observed that there was a strong current running to the south-west. At noon our latitude was 53 degrees, and we computed that we were 20 miles from land south of the Strait of Magellanes.

At noon on the 21st, our latitude was 53 degrees.

Early on the morning of the 23rd the wind rose in the south, but towards noon it fell, subsequently veering to the west. At noon we cast anchor in 50 fathoms on a black sandy bottom with small pebbles. Then we got a northerly wind, with shallow water and fine weather. The water was as pale as if we were inland and we sailed in

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[1] "A short and true Account of what befell certain five Ships sailing from Rotterdam to the Straits of Magellan, the 27th June, 1598, to the 21st January, 1600, on which day Captain Sebald de Weert, leaving the said Strait with the Ship *'t Gheloove*, was forced to return home. Also how the aforesaid Captain, not without having experienced great dangers, arrived again at Rotterdam on July 13th of the said year."

The original Dutch *Verhael*, from which the above title is translated, forms the fourth journal of Deel I of Commelin's *Begin ende Voortgangh*, edit. 1646, and the following passage will illustrate Speilbergen's statement. Fol. 30 [Translation]:—"On the morning of the 24th (January, 1600) they sighted a-lee of them three small islands, which had hitherto not been known in any maps: these they called Sebalt's Islands, lying about 60 miles from the main land in latitude 50° 40'."

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Vaterland
E

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Number 23 is the CHART or ITINERARY of JACOB LE MAIRE,

Showing Your Honours in what manner the aforesaid Jacob le Maire passed [into][1] the South Sea by a new strait, and so to the Indies.

[1] See note to number 2 (opposite p. 24).

PLATE No. 23.

a south-by-westerly direction. At about three in the afternoon we saw land in the west and south-west, and shortly after we also sighted it in the south. In the evening we had a northerly wind and sailed east-sou'-east in order to keep away from the land. It blew very hard on a rough sea so that we hoisted our top-sails.

Early on the morning of the 24th we sighted land to starboard, lying not more than a good mile away; we found the bottom in 40 fathoms and had a westerly wind. The land ran east by south with very high mountains, which were all white with snow. We continued to sail along the land, and about noon we came to the end of it and saw more land east of the last, also very high and dangerous looking. These countries lay in our opinion about 8 miles from each other, and there appeared to be a good channel between them both; this we opined the more firmly because we observed that a strong current to the south ran in between these two countries. At noon our latitude was 54° 46′; in the afternoon we got a northerly wind. We made for this channel, but towards the evening the wind fell, and we drifted on all night with a strong current and little wind. We saw immense numbers of penguins here, also whales by thousands, so that we were compelled to be constantly on our guard, loofing up and with a drag-sail set, in order to avoid the whales and not run into them.

On the morning of the 25th we were close to the more easterly land, which was very high and perilous, extending on the north side to the east-south-east, as far as we could see. We gave this the name of Staten-landt, but the land to the west of us we called Mauritius de Nassauw. We are of opinion that good roadsteads and sand-bays would be found on both sides, for there was on both sides fine sandy beach and gently rising sand bottom. Fish, penguins and seals are there in great abundance, also birds and water in

sufficiency, but we could see no trees. We had a northerly wind to carry us into the channel, sailing sou'-sou'-west, with good progress. At noon our latitude was 55° 36′, when we set our course south-west, with a fresh breeze and rain, with excellent progress. We saw the land south of the channel stretching away from the most westerly end of Mauritius de Nassauw land to the west-sou'-west and south-west, as far as our eyes could carry : all very high and perilous land. In the evening the wind veered to the south-west, and we then ran southward that night with a heavy roll from the south-west and very blue water, from which we opined and were certain that we had open and deep water on the weatherside, not doubting that it was the great South Sea, whereat we were very glad, holding that a way had been discovered by us which had until then been unknown to man, as we afterwards found to be the truth. We saw here enormously large gannets or sea-gulls, bigger in body than swans ; their wings when extended were each more than a fathom long. These birds, unaccustomed to the sight of human beings, came and sat on board our ship and allowed themselves to be seized by the men and killed.

At noon, on the 26th, our latitude was 37°, wlth a flying storm from the west and south-west that lasted the whole of twenty-four hours, and a very rough, blue sea. We kept her head to the south with a try-sail, and saw more high land in the north-west ; at night we turned her to the north-west, still with a try-sail.

At noon, on the 27th, our latitude was 56° 51′ ; the weather was cold, with hailstorms and rain. The wind was was west and west-sou'-west ; we first ran to the south, afterwards turning to the north under try-sails.

On the morning of the 28th, we hoisted our top-sails again, and had a heavy roll from the west. The wind was at first westerly, afterwards north-easterly, we sailing first

to the south, then west by south, afterwards west and west by south. At noon our latitude was 56° 48′.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 29th, we had a south-west wind and proceeded in a south-westerly direction.

After breakfast, we saw two islands ahead of us, to the west-sou'-west, but we were unable to sail to the windward of them, so that we circumnavigated them on the north. They were barren grey rocks, with a few smaller ones lying around them, and situated in 57° of latitude south of the equator. We gave them the name of the Islands of Barnevelt.

We continued to sail to the west-nor'-west; towards the evening we again saw land to the north-west and nor'-nor'-west of us. This was the land south of the Strait of Magellaen, which stretches away to the south. It consisted entirely of high mountains covered with snow, and ends in a sharp corner, which we called the Cape of Hoorn, and which lies in latitude 57° 48′.

We then had fine weather, and in the evening got a northerly wind, with a heavy roll from the west. We continued upon a westerly course, and found a strong current there going in the same direction.

On the 30th, we still had a heavy roll from the west with blue water and a strong current still running west, which inspired us all with the firm belief that we had an open way to the South Sea. At noon our latitude was 57° 34′.

On the morning of the 31st, we had the wind blowing from the north, and proceeded in a westerly direction. At noon our latitude was 58°. In the afternoon the wind veered to the west and west-sou'-west, and was variable. We had then passed the Cape of Hoorn, and could see no more land, but had a heavy roll from the west and very blue water, which made us still more and fully certain

that we had the open South Sea before us, without any land. We had here variable winds, with much rain and hailstorms, so that we often tacked.

February.

On February 1, we had cold weather with a storm from the south-west, so that we lay to under try-sails, keeping her head north-west and west-nor'-west. And we kept up a northerly course from the 1st of January,[1] until the 1st of March, suffering much cold and hardship in the latitudes marked on the chart.

March.

At daybreak, on the morning of March 1, we saw the Islands of Juan Fernando right in front of us, to the nor'-nor'-east; we had a south wind, with a fresh breeze and fine weather. At noon we got near them, our latitude being 33° 48′. These islands are two in number, both very high. The smaller, which is the more westerly, is a dry, barren island, consisting only of bare hills and rocks, but the larger, which is the more easterly, though also covered with high mountains, is full of trees and very fertile. There are numbers of cattle, such as pigs and goats; on the coast are indescribable quantities of good fish, so that the Spaniards sometimes come and fish there, and in a short time fill their ships, which they take to Peru.

We ran on along the west side of these islands, which was the wrong thing to have done. We should have gone round by the east in order to reach the roadstead, which is situated near the eastern corner of the bigger island, for on coming round from the west under the lee of the shore we got into still water on account of the land being high and steep, so that we were unable to get near the shore to anchor. We therefore sent our boat out sounding towards

[1] Should, of course, be February.

the land, and returning in the evening she brought news that close to the shore the lead had been cast on a sandy bottom in 40 and 30 fathoms, which gradually shelved up to three fathoms and was quite fit for an anchorage. Close by was a fine verdant valley, which was full of green trees, lovely to behold, but the men had not landed, as time was short. They had also seen fresh water in abundance running down here and there from the high land, as well as many goats and other animals on the mountains, which they could not well distinguish from afar. They had also caught a good quantity of fish in a short time; no sooner had they dropped the hook in the water than a fish was immediately upon it, so that they had constantly done nothing but draw up fish without stopping. These were mostly corcobado and gilt-heads, and they had also seen numbers of sea-wolves. These tidings made all the crew very glad, especially some who had scurvy, and who hoped to recuperate here and become sound in body. In the night the wind fell, so that we then drifted a bit with the current.

On the morning of the 2nd we were again close to the shore, but could not get near enough for anchoring, however much we tried. We again sent a few men ashore, some to fish, others to go in search of cattle; they could indeed see numbers of fine pigs, goats and other animals, but impeded by the underwood they could neither stalk nor snare them. Whilst some were getting water those who were in the boat had caught about two ton of fish, all with the line. And with that we had to leave this fine island, without enjoying it further.

On the morning of the 3rd we had drifted about four miles below these islands, notwithstanding that we had done our best for the whole of twenty-four hours to reach them under sail, which at last began to vex us, seeing that it was impossible to make them. It was therefore then agreed and decided by the Council that we should leave

the islands and pursue our course in the prosecution of our voyage, since we had a very favourable wind each day which we were neglecting to use—this to the very great pain and sorrow of the sick, who thereby saw all their hopes of life lost, but God gives relief. These islands lie in latitude 33° 40′.

This resolution having been arrived at we set our course north-west by west, with a fresh breeze from the south and good progress.

On the 11th we passed for the second time the tropic of Capricorn, with a south-east wind and a nor'-nor'-westerly course. From March 12 to July[1] 9 we made good progress.

On the 9th[2] there died Jan Cornelisz. Schouten, skipper of the yacht and brother of our skipper, Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, after suffering more than a month from a very grievous malady.

On the morning of the 10th after prayers had been read, the deceased was put overboard. After breakfast we saw land about three miles to the north-west and to the north-west by north of us ; it was a low island, and not large. We also saw here a large quantity of gulls and fish, and shaped our course towards the island, intending to get some refreshments there, but our ships could not land, as the sea was rough. Still, some of our men swam ashore, but found nothing that could refresh our sick, wherefore we went on until the 14th, when we saw an island, whereat we were all very glad. We proceeded towards it, changing our course, and towards the evening, when our vessel was still quite a mile from the land, a canoe came to meet us containing four Indians, who were quite naked and red of colour, with very black and long hair. They kept a good way off the ship all the time, calling us and making signs that we should come ashore,

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[1] Should be April.

[2] *i.e.*, 9th April.

but we could not understand them nor they us, although we called to them in Spanish, Malay, Javanese and in our Dutch language. In the evening, at sunset, we came near the land, but found no bottom nor any change in the water, although we got so close to the shore that we could have fired upon it with a musket, wherefore we turned seawards again, whilst the canoe went to the land, where a large number of Indians were on the beach awaiting it. A little while afterwards another canoe set out from the shore for the ship, but, like the other, would not board us. They shouted, indeed, and so did we, but we could not understand each other, and their canoe capsized before our eyes, but they soon had it righted again and were immediately in it with great rapidity. They kept on motioning us to the land and we them to the ship, but they would not come, wherefore we proceeded on our way and left the island, sailing south and sou'-sou'-west, in order to keep off the land. This island is not wide, but very long, being full of trees, which we took to be palmites and coker-nut trees; it lies in latitude 15° 15′, and has a white sandy beach. In the night we saw fires on the land in various places.

On the morning of the 15th, having proceeded about ten miles sou'-sou'-west during the night, we sailed along close to the shore, where we also saw many naked persons on the beach calling and shouting (so it seemed) that we should land. Again a canoe with three Indians put off to come to us; they also shouted, though, as before, they would not come aboard; but they rowed towards our shallop, close to which they came, and our men showed them every kindness, giving them some beads and knives, but they could not understand each other. Having been near the shallop a little while they left it and came so close to the ship that we threw them a line which they took, but they would not come aboard, though they did indeed get into

our shallop, which returned from shore without having effected aught. However, after they had been a long time alongside of us one at length got into the gallery and pulled out the nails in the port-holes of the cabins belonging to the supercargo and the skipper, hiding them away and concealing them in his hair; they were very greedy after iron, indeed, they pulled at and thought they could drag out the bolts in the ship. We wished to keep one aboard and send one of our crew ashore in the canoe in his place in order to make friends with them, but they would not. They were very thievish folk and went about quite naked; all they wore was a small strip of matting over their privy parts. Their skin was marked with various figures, such as snakes, dragons, and monsters of that kind, which stood out quite blue, as if they had been burnt in with gunpowder. We gave them some wine while we were sitting in the canoe and they would not give us back the pannikin. We again sent our shallop to the shore with eight musketeers and six men with swords. Our under-factor, Claes Jansz., and Aris Claesz., the factor of the yacht, went too, in order to see what there was on the island, and in order to make friends with them, but as soon as they touched the beach and the men ran up through the surf, fully thirty Indians, armed with great clubs, came out of the bush and tried to deprive our men of their arms and to drag the shallop out of the water, taking also two of our people out of the shallop and intending to carry them into the bush. But the musketeers whose muskets were still dry fired three shots into the band, so that our men had no doubt that a few were shot dead or mortally wounded. They also carried long sticks with certain long spiked things at the end, which, so we thought, were the swords of sword-fish; they also cast with slings, but, thank God, wounded none of our people. They had no bows and arrows, as far as we could see. Our people also saw some

women who fell upon the men's necks and shrieked; they did not know what this meant, but supposed it was to separate them. This island we gave the name of the Bottomless Island,[1] because we could find no bottom there on which to anchor. On the edge there was a narrow strip of land full of palmites, but in the interior it was full of salt water. And as we saw there was nothing to be gained here we decided to leave the place, and therefore shaped our course in a westerly direction seawards, with an east wind. We had shallow water here and no roll from the south, as on the preceding days, wherefore we presumed that there must be more land to the south. It[2] lies in the latitude of 15 degrees, many — about 100 — miles from Honden Island.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 18th, we saw another island that lay north of us. We sailed towards it and on coming near found that, like the preceding one, it had no anchorage, being inside also entirely submerged; but at the edge it was full of trees, though neither palmites nor coker-nut trees. We launched our shallop for sounding, which, on reaching the shore, found no bottom, wherefore they returned to the ship without having affected aught or having seen any human beings. We afterwards sent them out again in order to see whether they could find any refreshment or water ashore, and returning they said that in a well or pit not far from the beach they had found fresh water, which could indeed be brought to the beach in galley barrels, but was very difficult to get aboard, for by reason of the surf there the shallop was obliged to remain lying with a drag-rope out whilst the men had to haul each other ashore through the water with a line and so on board again, so that it was very dangerous and difficult to

[1] 't Eylant sonder gront.

[2] This must, of course, mean the island just visited.

land, wherefore we did not fetch more than four barrels of water. We also found such a herb here as we had found on Honden Island, tasting like garden cress, and of which we brought a sackful on board; also some crabs, as well as shells and horns, in which there were snails of very good flavour. In the evening we again proceeded on our course westwardly; the wind was east, and we had now a fair breeze, with rainy weather and a bad sea. On the same day our latitude was 14° 46′. This island lies 15 miles from the preceding one, and we called it Waterlant, because we had obtained some water there.

We gave our crew six quarterns of water that day, and boiled a large kettleful of pottage with the green herb like garden cress that we had gathered on Waterlant Island, from which the crew derived considerable good as a remedy against scurvy.

Shortly after, we found another island; there were many wild trees and inside it was also full of salt water. Our men, on returning aboard, were entirely covered with flies, to such a degree, that we could recognize no part of them; their faces, hands, boats, and everything, yea, even the oars, as far as they were out of the water, were all covered black with flies, a wonder to behold. These flies came on board with them and flew so thick upon our bodies and faces that we did not know where to hide from them, so that we could scarcely eat or drink. Everything was filled with them; we rubbed our faces and hands, hit and killed as many as we could. This lasted two or three days with great torture; then we got a stiff breeze, by which and by constantly pursuing them we got rid of them at the end of three or four days. We called this island Vliegen Island[1] and proceeded thence in a westerly direction.

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[1] The Island of Flies.

At noon, immediately after dinner, we saw a sail, which we took to be a barque, coming out of the south and running to the north across us. We at once headed for her, and when she got close to us we fired a shot from our bows over her starboard to get her to haul down, but she would not do it, wherefore we fired another shot, but still she would not haul down. We therefore launched our shallop with ten musketeers to take her, and whilst these were rowing towards her we again sent a shot abaft her, but all without intention of striking or damaging her, but still she would not haul down, seeking rather to outsail us as much as possible. She got to the luff of us, but the shallop, which was too smart for her, overtook her, and when our men were about half a musket shot off they fired four times with a musket. When we approached her, and before our men boarded her, some of her crew sprang overboard from fright; amongst others there was one with an infant and another who was wounded, having three holes in his back, but not very deep, for they were caused by a grazing shot, and this man we got out of the water again. They also threw many things overboard, which were small mats, and amongst other things, three hens. Our men sprang on board the little vessel and brought her alongside of us without the least resistance on the part of her crew, as indeed they had no arms. When she was alongside of us we took on board two men who had remained in her and these immediately fell down at our feet, kissing our feet and hands. One was a very old grey man, the other a young fellow, but we could not understand them, though we treated them well. And the shallop immediately rowed back to the aforesaid men who had jumped overboard, in order to rescue them, but they got only two who were floating on one of their oars and who pointed with their hands to the bottom, wishing to say that the others were already drowned. One of these

two, who was the wounded man, and whose wounds we bound up, had rather long yellow hair. In the vessel were some eight women and three young children, still at the breast, as well as some who were perhaps nine or ten years old, so that we thought they must have been in all quite twenty-five strong; both men and women were entirely naked and wore only a bagatelle over their privy parts. Towards the evening we put the men on board their vessel again; they received a hearty welcome from their wives, who kissed them. We gave them beads (which they hung around their neck) and some knives, and showed them every kindness, as they likewise did in turn to us, giving us two handsome finely-made mats and two coker nuts, for they had not many of them. This was all they had to eat and drink, indeed, they had already drunk the milk out of the nuts, so that they had nothing more to drink. We also saw them drink salt water from the sea, and give it, too, to their infants to drink, which we thought to be contrary to Nature. They had certain small cloths of curious colour, which they wore over their privy parts and also as a protection against the heat of the sun. They were red folk who smeared themselves with oil, and all the women nad short hair like the men in Holland, whilst the men's hair was long and painted very black. Their little vessel was in shape as it is depicted in the drawing herewith, very wonderful to behold. It consisted of two long handsome canoes, between which was a fairly good space. On each canoe, at about the middle, two very wide planks of bright red wood had been placed to keep out the water, and on these they had placed other planks, running from one canoe to the other and firmly bound together. Both fore and aft the canoes still protruded a good length, and this was closed in on top very tightly in order to keep out the water. In the forepart of one canoe, on the starboard side, a mast stood at the prow, having a forked branch

supporting a rod with the mizzen sail. This was of matting, and from whatever quarter the wind blew they were nearly always ready to sail; they had no compasses or any nautical instruments, but plenty of fish-hooks, the top of which was of stone, the bottom part of black bone or tortoiseshell; some hooks, too, were of mother-of-pearl. Their ropes were of bright colours and as thick as a cable, made of such material as the fish-baskets in Spain. When they left us they shaped their course towards the south-east.

On the 20th the wind was sou'-sou'-east and south-east by south, our course being west and sou'-west. In the morning, after breakfast, we saw on the larboard side very high blue land, lying about 8 miles south-west by west of us. We proceeded towards it, and sailed nearly all day with a fine breeze, but could not make it, wherefore we kept tacking for the night, and in the evening we saw a sail a good distance off the shore, and shortly afterwards yet another, also a good distance from land. These we took to be fishing-boats, for they frequently went to and fro; during the night they burnt lights and came together.

At daybreak on the morning of the 21st we came near an island which was very high, and about 2 miles south of it we saw another long low island. As it dawned we sailed over a bank in 14 fathoms with a stony bottom, lying about 2 miles from the land. As soon as we were clear of it we could find no more bottom.

One of the aforesaid small sail came towards us. We let a galley-cask down behind, intending that they should climb on board by that means, but they could not catch it, so that one man jumped overboard and secured it. They loosened it and took it into their boat, fastening two coker-nuts and three or four flying fish to the rope in its place, and shouting to us all the time; although we could not understand them we thought it meant that we should haul

the rope aboard again. These people also carried a canoe which they can launch as occasion arises, and are very clever seamen. These vessels were of the same shape as has been mentioned above, are well provided with sails, and sail, too, so swiftly that there are few ships in Holland which would outdo them. They navigate them from the stern with two oars, a man standing aft upon each canoe, and sometimes they run forward, too, with their oars when they wish to turn; the canoe would also turn itself if they only took the oars out of the water and let it go, or only let the wind carry it along. We launched our shallop for sounding, and on its return the men said they had found a shell bottom in 15, 14 and 12 fathoms about a gun-shot from the shore, so that we ran thither to anchor and took in our sails. The savages, seeing this, motioned us repeatedly to go to the other island, sailing on, too, in front of us, but nevertheless we anchored off the end of the island in a sandy bottom in 25 fathoms, a long gun-shot from the shore. This island is one of the Islands of Molucken; it is full of trees, mostly coker-nut trees, wherefore we called it Cocos Island. The other island is much longer, but lower, extending east and west.

As soon as we had anchored three small vessels came sailing to and fro around our ship. Quite nine or ten canoes also came alongside, both from the shore as well as from the small vessels, there being, amongst others, two that flew small peace flags, which we likewise did. Their canoes, each of which carried three or four men, were broad at the prow and pointed astern, cut entirely from one piece of red wood. They could row exceedingly swiftly in these, and when they were near the ship they sprang out and proceeded to swim aboard us, having their hands full of coker-nuts and obes roots, exchanging these with us for nails and beads, after which they were very eager. They gave four or five coker-nuts for one nail or a small string of beads, so that we obtained that day quite 180 nuts,

PLATE No. 24.

Number 24 shows COCOS AND VERRADERS[1] ISLANDS.

With the explanations given, as follows :—

A. Is Cocos Island, so called on account of the quantities of cokernuts that grow there.

B. Is Verraders Island, so called because they mostly came from that island who tried to betray us.

C. Is a skirmish with the savages, in which some were killed.

D. Is one of the ships of the savages, which they well know how to manage.

E. Is our shallop, capturing the vessel from the savages.

G. Is our ship, round about which the savages swarmed in numbers, in order to exchange their wares with us.

H. In this manner the savages sprang down into the sea after they had stolen something or other.

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[1] *Verrader*, a traitor or betrayer.

indeed, they finally came aboard in such numbers that we scarcely knew where to turn. We sent our shallop off to the other island to see whether it would not be better to lie there, for here we lay in the open sea, but the shallop, as soon as it had left the ship, and whilst sailing along the shore, was surrounded by twelve or thirteen canoes from the other island, and subsequently by many others, the crews in which seemed like mad, having sticks of hard wood in their hands, like assagays, sharp at the point and somewhat burnt. Coming alongside our shallop they endeavoured to get it away from our men, but the latter, compelled to rescue and defend it, fired a musket three times amongst them, whereat they first laughed and made fun, thinking it was child's play, but the third time one was hit in the chest, the bullet coming out at the back. His mates seeing this, immediately rowed in his direction to help him, and finding that he was so wounded, they all made off at once from the shallop, rowing towards one of the small sailing vessels, shouting to her and desiring her, so we thought, to sail down upon us, but she would not, for her captain had been aboard of us, where he had been well treated and shown much kindness.

After breakfast on the morning of the 24th[1] many canoes came alongside again with coker-nuts, bananas, obas roots and a few small pigs, some, too, with dippers full of fresh water, and we took in barter that day some 1,200 coker-nuts ; we had eighty-five mouths to feed, and each man received twelve nuts. Each wanted to get aboard before the other, those who were unable to get alongside the ship springing out of their canoes and diving under the others to reach the vessel and sell their wares. They had obes roots and bunches of coker-nuts in their mouths and clambered up the vessel in such numbers that we had to keep them off with sticks. When they had finished their

[1] Evidently an error for 22nd.

bartering they jumped from the ship and swam back to their canoes. They were greatly surprised at the size and strength of the vessel; some climbing down aft, near the rudder right under the ship, knocked against the bottom with a stone to see how strong it was. There came a canoe from the other island bringing us a young wild black pig which the king sent us as a present; we wished to present the bringer with something in return, but he refused, showing by signs that the king had forbidden him to take aught. In the afternoon the king came himself in a big sailing-prow, in shape as mentioned above, like an ice-sleigh, and accompanied by fully thirty-five canoes. This king or chief was called Latou by his people. We received him with drums and trumpets, whereat they were greatly astonished, as something they had never seen or heard. They showed us much honour and amity, according to appearances, bowing their heads, beating their foreheads with their fists and performing other strange ceremonies. When he was still a little way off the king began to call aloud and to rave as if he were offering up prayer in his fashion, and all the other people did the same, without our knowing what it meant, but we presumed it was their welcome. Shortly afterwards the king sent us a mat by his servants to whom we gave in return an old hatchet, a few beads, some old nails and a piece of linen, which he received with gladness, laying the same three times upon his head and then bowing his head low, as a sign of reverence and gratitude or respect. The men who came aboard fell on their knees and kissed our feet, and were exceedingly astonished at the sight of our vessel. This king could not be distinguished from the rest of the Indians, for he, too, went about quite naked, except by the fact that they obeyed him and that he had good authority over his men. We motioned the Latou to come over the side into our ship. His son came aboard and

we treated him well, but he himself durst not or would not come; all of them, however, made signs that we should come to the further island with our vessel, that there was enough of everything to be got. We obtained by barter from them three fishing rods made of cane, as in Holland, but a little stouter, with mother-of-pearl hooks upon them. The king's son went back ashore and the canoe which accompanied him had on the larboard side a piece of wood whereby it was held upright. On this wood their rod lay always ready for fishing.

On the morning of the 23rd there came some forty-five canoes alongside of us in order to trade, accompanied by a fleet of some twenty-three small sailing-vessels, shaped like ice-sleighs; each of these had, on an average twenty-five men aboard, two small canoes having four or five, and that without our knowing what they had in mind. The canoes still kept on trading with us, exchanging coker-nuts for nails, and still acted as if they were great friends of ours, but we subsequently found out otherwise. They still kept on making signs that we should sail to the other island. When we had had our breakfast we weighed anchor and set sail in order to proceed to that other island. The king, or chief, who had come near our vessel the previous day, also came towards us in a small sailing-vessel, and they shouted very loudly all together. We would have liked to have had him on board, but he would not, whereat we were not easy in our mind, fearing some evil, especially as all the small vessels and canoes kept close around our ship, and the king got out of his vessel to sit in a canoe whilst his son sat in another. Immediately after this they beat a small drum which had been left in the king's vessel, and then all the people began to shout, which seemed to us to denote that they would all attack us together in order to take our ship; and, indeed, the little vessel out of which the king had got, came up with

us at a speed so swift that it seemed as if she wished to run us down, but she struck our ship with such force that the two prows of the canoes that protruded underneath were broken into splinters, those men who were on her (amongst whom there were some women, too), springing into the water and swimming off to windward. The others began to throw stones at us most bravely, thinking to frighten us thereby, but we fired upon them with muskets and three guns (charged with musket balls and old nails) so that all the people in the little vessel that lay alongside of us sprang into the water. We calculated that some of them forgot to go home at all, and that others had got some brave wounds; and so they retreated. They knew absolutely nothing about shooting, but when they saw how some of their men fared by it they all kept very far beyond the fire of our ship. We then proceeded on our voyage, taking a westerly and west by southerly course. We were of opinion that the king had on that occasion brought all his forces together, for there were some thousand or more men. We called this island 't Verraders Eylandt,[1] because the greater part of the people who tried to betray us had come from that island.

On the morning of the 24th we saw another island right in front of us, about 7 miles off. We sent out a shallop to see whether there was any bottom, but they found none except close to the shore. The savages, perceiving this, immediately came up with fourteen canoes, out of which some sprang into the sea, intending to attack or to capsize the shallop. Our men, seeing this, fired amongst them with muskets (for there were six musketeers in the shallop, and the others were well provided with swords and pikes), so that they shot two dead in the canoes, one of whom immediately fell out by his own weight, whilst the other

[1] Traitors' Island.

kept his seat and wiped the blood from his chest with his hand, but also dropped overboard. Those in the canoes were so frightened by the occurrence that they hastily made off; we also saw many people on the beach who were yelling and shouting lustily. Seeing that there was no proper anchorage there, we hauled our shallop up again and proceeded on our course to the south-west. When we were under sail the Council decided to proceed in a northerly direction in order not to drop too far below Nova Guinea. and this was done.

On the 28th, the wind was south, our course north. In the afternoon we saw two islands about 8 miles north-east by east of us and appearing to lie about a gun-shot distant from each other, wherefore we then proceeded north-eastwardly in order to make the land, having fine weather, but not much breeze.

On the 29th the wind was nor'-nor'-east; we did our best to tack towards the land.

On the 30th the wind was easterly, occasionally with a slight breeze; when we were still about a mile from land some twenty-three canoes came alongside, and though we made all signs of friendship to the occupants, one of them having a wooden assagay (with sharpened end) in his hand, threatened to throw it at one of our comrades; and they also shrieked loudly as in the other islands, which we took to be a signal for attacking us, wherefore we fired twice with a metal gun, and several times with muskets, so that two were wounded, whereupon the others immediately rowed off, throwing overboard during their flight a shirt they had stolen from the gallery. Subsequently some of the same canoes were emboldened to come alongside once more, and as we had come somewhat nearer the shore and could find no bottom we launched our shallop and eight musketeers to take soundings, but they found no bottom, and when they wished to return to the vessel they

were surrounded by six or seven canoes, the occupants of which attempted to enter the shallop and take away the sailors' arms. At this they were compelled to fire among them with muskets, so that six were killed and many must have been wounded, for our men rowed towards a canoe which was entirely bereft of its crew with the exception of a dead man, who was still hanging to it by his legs and whom they cast overboard. They brought us the canoe, in which we found a club and a long stick like a short pike. They returned aboard in the night and had found no anchorage, wherefore we tacked all that night near the shore.

May.

On the 1st of May we did our best to make the land, and on coming near it sent our shallop shorewards to take soundings; they found a shell bottom in 50 fathoms, about a gun-shot from the land, whither we sailed with our vessel, right opposite a fresh-water river which came running down from the mountains; many canoes again came alongside and brought us all sorts of things. Their huts stood all along the beach; they were made of the leaves of trees, and circular in form, tapering to a point at the top for the water to run down; about 25 ft. in circumference, 10 to 12 ft. high, with a hole one had to stoop to get into. Inside we saw only a few dried herbs, like hay, to sleep on, with a fishing-rod or two, and in some a wooden club. That was all the furniture as well in the large ones (nay, even in that of the chief or king himself) as in the small.

On the 2nd we again bartered for many coker-nuts and ubas roots, which were brought on board in the canoes; a very large number of people assembled on the beach that day, who appeared to have come from different parts of the island, being generally astonished to see our ship.

PLATE No. 25.

Number 25 is HOORN ISLAND,

With an explanation of some indications given in the following picture.

A. Are the two kings meeting and welcoming each other with many strange ceremonies.

B. The two kings sitting on mats under the *belay*.

C. Our trumpeters and drummer playing before the kings, who took great pleasure therein.

D. Peasants of the country chewing a certain green herb, called by them kava, upon which, after it is chewed, they pour water, and so make a drink of it, greatly esteemed by them.

E. Is the shape of their huts, being round and pointed on top, and covered with leaves of trees.

F. The picture of the king, having a long plait of hair hanging down from the left side of his head to beyond his hips, bound up with a knot or two.

G. Are those of the king's nobles or council, having their hair tied up in two (or sometimes more) plaits ; a few wore it ornamentally curled as under H, others standing straight up on end like pigs' bristles, but a quarter of an ell long, as under I.

K. A woman of that island, wearing her hair shaved short.

L. Are coker-nut trees, upon which the coker-nuts grow.

M. Eendracht Bay, where we lay with our ship at four anchors.

N. The rivulet near which we lay and where we got our water.

O. The king's *belay*, in the shade of which he sat daily.

On the 3rd, Aris Claesz. and Regnier Symonsz. Snoeck, an assistant, went ashore with Cornelis Schouts, our cabin-boy, as hostages, to enter into friendship with the inhabitants, we receiving in return six of their chiefs on board, to whom we showed every kindness, giving them food and drink and also some presents, as they likewise regaled our men, giving them coker-nuts and obas to eat and water to drink. The king showed our men great respect, presenting them with four small pigs, and our fellows fetched that day some five boatfuls of water, all in amity, for when any savages approached our boat the king himself immediately came in person and drove them away, or had it done by some of his servants, he having very good authority over his people. For a sword having been taken from us, and we having informed one of the king's nobles thereof, this man gave orders for the sword to be restored; in a very short time man who had taken the sword was pursued, and although he was already a good way off, he was overtaken and brought back. The sword was laid at our feet and the man beaten with sticks, and they made signs by passing their fingers over their throats that if he, the herico (that is the king), knew it he would have his head cut off; and after that time we did not perceive that anything was stolen from us, either on shore, on board the vessel or anywhere else, indeed, they durst not take a fish caught by us. These people were very frightened of the shooting, for if we fired off a musket they ran away in fear and trembling, and we made them still more afraid when we showed them that we could also shoot with the big guns, which the king desired us once to do; but when it was done they were all so astonished and amazed that all of them seated together near the king under the balay,[1] were, notwithstanding all the warnings and assurances that had been given

[1] See Plate No. 25 (O).

them, not to be kept from panic, but fled to the woods, leaving our supercargoes sitting alone. After a while they came back and calmed down with difficulty.

On the 4th Aris Claesz., Claes Jansz., and Daniel le Maire again went ashore to obtain some pigs by barter, but they would not treat with us for any. The king, after having offered up his prayer (which he was accustomed to do when he landed), showed us every kindness, and we did the same to him.

On the 5th the supercargoes, Jacob le Maire and Aris Claesz., went ashore, but could get no pigs from the inhabitants, the latter having too much need of them themselves, since they had little else to eat than obas roots, coker-nuts, a few pigs and some bananas. Our men were very welcome there, and great respect was shown them, for they had to walk everywhere on mats, and the king and the under-king both presented them with their crowns, which they took from their heads and placed, one each, on the head of Jacob le Maire and Aris Claesz., in exchange for which le Maire also gave them some presents of little value, wherewith they were very pleased. The aforesaid crowns were made of long narrow white feathers, adorned at both the top and bottom ends with small red and green feathers, since they have many perrequitos there, as well as some pigeons, which they hold in great esteem, for all those of the king's council had a pigeon sitting near them on a small stick. These pigeons are white on top as far as the wings and for the rest black, but underneath, on their belly, they have reddish feathers. We continually fetched water that day, and got many coker-nuts and obes roots in barter.

On the 6th and 7th we were mostly engaged in getting our water aboard, the skipper himself, Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, and Aris Claesz., proceeding ashore with the trumpeters (since the king liked to hear them blow), and

getting two pigs with a deal of difficulty. The king of the other island came that same day to visit this king, and they presented each other, amid much homage and wonderful ceremonies, with small roots and other things, finally making a very great hubbub, the reason being, so we thought, that the king of the other island wished to try and take our vessel and keep our crew, which this king would not consent to, fearing that this might bring him harm.

The under-king or king's son came on board our ship once and was well regaled, being greatly astonished at everything. In the evening our men danced with the savages, who were very pleased thereat, being surprised that we treated them so familiarly and with such kindness. We got to be as free and easy there as if we had been at home.

On the morning of the 8th, our supercargo, Jacob le Maire, and Aris Claesz., late supercargo of the yacht, proceeded ashore with Claes Jansz. Ban, under-factor, and one of our mates. They went into the interior and climbed up the mountains in order to see what products grew there and to inspect the situation of the country, and as they were ascending the mountains there came to them the old king and his brother, in order to accompany them. They saw nought else than wildernesses and a few valleys, which were quite bare on account of the great rains ; they also found some red dye with which the women there besmear their head and cheeks. When they observed that the difficult path was trying to our men, they made signs to return to the ship and brought them along a good path to a clump of coker-nut trees, which were full of nuts ; there they made our men sit down, and the under-king tied a bandage round his feet or legs and climbed with great dexterity and swiftness up a straight tall tree, and in a moment brought down ten coker-nuts, which he opened very easily in a moment by a peculiar knack with a small

piece of wood. They made us understand that they sometimes waged war against the people of the other island, and showed us many caves and hollows in the mountains, also bushes and thickets along the ways, from which they surprised and attacked each other. Towards noon our men returned to the ship, bringing with them the young king and his brother, who then dined with us. As we sat at table we showed them that we intended to depart in two days' time, whereat the young king was so glad that he immediately jumped up from the table and went into the gallery shouting out that we intended to depart in two days' time. They were sore afraid of us. When the meal was over the upper king came on board; he was, after their fashion, a stately, distinguished-looking person, a man of sixty years, bringing with him sixteen members of his council or nobility. We received him well, according to his due. When he came aboard the ship he fell upon his face and offered up his prayer; after that we took him below where he again recited his prayer as before; he was surprised beyond all measure at what he saw, as we, too, were at his manners. His people kissed our feet, took hold of our feet with their hands and placed the former on their heads and necks. The king further inspected the whole ship, above and below, fore and aft; he was astonished at the big guns, for two days before he had heard them boom forth in his honour. When the king had now inspected the ship according to his wish and desire he was anxious to proceed ashore, and departed with a great show of respect. Our supercargoes accompanied him ashore again as far as his belay, where he usually sat. In the evening we went to the king; there we found a number of maidens dancing naked before the king. One of them played upon a piece of hollow wood like a pump that gave forth some sound, whereupon these maidens danced very prettily and entertainingly and with much

grace to the measure of that music, so that our people were surprised to see the like amongst these savage folk. Night had fallen some time when they returned on board with the fish.

On the morning of the 10th the king sent us two small pigs as a present. That same day the king of the other island came to visit this king, bringing with him sixteen pigs and some three hundred men, all of whom had hanging from their waists certain green herbs from which they make their drink. When that king had almost come up to the other he began to bow and to bend before him from afar with strange ceremonies and homage, falling with his face to the earth and praying incessantly, with much shouting and raving, and with very great zeal, so it seemed to us. The other king went to meet him, and similarly with much noise and strange gestures he showed him great respect and honour. After much ado they finally got up and went and sat down together under the king's belay, bringing together a large number of people, probably some nine hundred persons. As they were about to sit down they recited their prayer again, according to their wont, with their heads hanging down, bowing to the ground and clapping their hands together, all of which was wonderful for us to behold. Our clerk, Aris Claesz., having already proceeded ashore in the forenoon, Jacob le Maire and Claes Jansz. Ban were also invited in the afternoon. They went ashore, taking with them four trumpeters and a drummer, and came to the kings; they blew on the trumpets together and beat the drum before both the kings, who were seated together and took exceeding pleasure therein. After that a number of peasants from the smallest island came to the kings, bringing with them a quantity of green herbs, which they called kava, such as the three hundred men mentioned above carried around their bodies, and commenced all together to chew those herbs with their

mouth. When these had been chewed quite small they took them out of their mouth and placed all this together in a big wooden trough, poured water upon it, stirred and kneaded it together, and gave it to the kings, who drank thereof with the nobles. They also offered it to our men, but these had more than enough at the sight of it. They also brought a quantity of obes roots, which they had roasted, and sixteen pigs, which had merely had the entrails taken out, and all bloody and unwashed as these were, some heated stones were put into them, their bristles were singed off a bit over a fire, they were well roasted after the fashion of these people, and so eaten with much relish. This nation showed their superiors much honour and respect, for all the dishes which they brought before the king (whom they called herico in their language) they placed upon their head, then sat down so upon their haunches and so set the food down before the king. Of these aforesaid pigs we received one from each king, who made us a present of it. They themselves first placed these upon their head, and kneeling, laid them with great reverence at the feet of our men ; they also gave us eleven small live pigs and a few of medium size. We presented them in return with three small copper pails, four knives, twelve old nails and some beads, wherewith they were well satisfied.

On the morning of the 12th the kings of both islands came on board our vessel with their suite of nobility, after their custom. The head men or chiefs amongst them all wore green leaves of coker-nut trees around their necks, which were tokens of peace. We received them (as they had done us) with great respect and conducted them to the cabin and everywhere in and on the vessel ; when they had inspected everything thoroughly they presented us with six pigs. Both the kings themselves first placed these one by one upon their heads and then at our feet

with great veneration, bowing their heads to the ground; meanwhile we had the pigs taken away and conducted the kings back to the cabin, where we in turn presented them with two bunches of beads and each king with two knives and six nails, whereupon they took leave of us amicably and proceeded ashore. Our supercargo, Jacob le Maire, accompanied them on land and was further presented by them with three pigs, which he brought on board, and we made preparations to set sail, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants of that island, since as long as we were there they were in constant fear that we should kill them and take their land. The people of that island were stout-hearted folk and tall of stature, for the ordinary men amongst them were no shorter than the tallest of ours, whilst the tallest of them stood out far above the latter. They were strong men and very well made in body and limb; they could run very swiftly and swim and dive in masterly fashion. They were quite a brownish yellow in colour, were intelligent, and adorned their hair in very different ways; some had it curled, others beautifully crimped, others again had it tied up in four, five and six plaits, whilst a few (a strange thing to behold) had their hair standing straight on end more than a quarter of an ell long, as if it had been pigs' bristles.

The king wore a long plait on the left side of his head, hanging down his side lower than his hips, and tied up with a button or two. His nobles had two such plaits, one on each side of their head, and all alike, men and women, went about quite naked, except that their privy parts were somewhat, but scantily, covered. The women were very unsightly, both in face and body, with their hair cut short, like the men in Holland; they had long hanging breasts, which, in some, hung down like empty bags as far as their belly. They were very unchaste and allowed themselves to be used in all men's presence, even close to the king,

with only a small mat over them. We could not perceive that this people worshipped any god or gods or that they cultivated any religion, small or great, living only a life free of care, like the birds in the forest. They knew nought of buying or selling, but by fits they presented us with something and we them. They neither sow nor mow nor do they perform any kind of work ; the earth of itself gives them all that they need to support life, such as coker-nuts, obes, bananas and similar products. On leaving we gave these islands the name of the Hoorn Islands, after our native town of Hoorn, and the bay in which we had lain that of Eendrachts Bay, after our ship. We were engaged the greater part of the day in getting out of the bay and in weighing our anchors ; one of our cables had been worn asunder by the sharp bottom so that we lost that anchor. Whilst weighing one of the bow-anchors its cable got fixed round a rock and snapped, whereby we lost that anchor too.

This bay is situated in a bend on the south side of the island ; on one side there is a reef which stands out at low tide, and on the other side is the mainland, but with a reefy coast. We lay here with four cables and four anchors out, in 10 fathoms on a sand bottom, about a musket shot from the streamlet where the fresh water came running down. We might indeed have lain without danger in the streamlet itself ; where we did lie we could not allow her to swing on account of its being very narrow there. We got under sail in the afternoon and ran first to the west-sou'-west.

At noon on June 14th our latitude was 13° 15′, the wind east, and we proceeded northwards. From the 14th to the 30th we made good progress, when on the 1st of July we saw three small islands, whence two canoes immediately came and made signs that their king lived on the other islands, whither we sailed, but went past them by reason

of their inconvenient position. These people were like the other natives in everything except that they carried bows and arrows as weapons. On the 4th we proceeded on our course north by west until we reached Nova Guinea on July 25th, whence we called one island Het groene Eylant[1] and the other S. Jans Eylant,[2] because we had discovered it on St. John's Day. About noon we came near the mainland and continued to sail along the coast with an east-south-east wind, but could find no anchorage. We sent our shallop out to take soundings; on leaving the vessel it proceeded along the shore, but on approaching somewhat nearer to the land two or three prows or canoes filled with very black people came towards it. They were quite naked, wearing nothing over their privy parts, and pelted at our men very fiercely with slings, but as soon as our people began to fire upon them they immediately took to flight. The shallop returned to the ship without having found any bottom, and the men said that these people spoke quite another language than the former ones. We continued to sail along the coast, which was high and green, very pleasant to behold; we saw a deal of land looking as if it had been tilled. In the evening we got round the corner into a bay where we anchored in 45 fathoms on a bad and uneven bottom. The same evening two prows came near the vessel and accosted us, but we could not understand them. The whole of the night they kept a watch upon us with fires all along the coast. We lay about a gun-shot from the shore, near a falling stream; at night it was fine calm weather with a bright moon. There was a light breeze from the land, so some prows came close under the gallery of the ship, where we threw a few beads to them and showed them every kindness. We made signs for them to bring us coker-nuts, pigs, oxen or goats if they

[1] Green Island. [2] St. John's Island.

had them, but they remained around the vessel the greater part of the night shouting and yelling according to their wont; they were savage blacks, uncivilized folk. This land lay, according to our reckoning, about 1,840 miles from the spot we had left on the coast of Peru.

On the morning of the 26th eight prows came around our vessel, amonst them being one carrying eleven men, the others having four, five, six or seven. They kept moving round our ship and were in their fashion well provided with arms, to wit, with assagays, stones, clubs, wooden swords and slings: we showed them every kindness, gave them beads and other trifles and made signs for them to proceed ashore and fetch us pigs, fowls, coker-nuts and other fruit such as they had, but we perceived that they had something quite different in mind, for they all began to pelt at us with slings and assagays, thinking to overpower us. We, however, being on our guard, fired muskets and big guns amongst the band, so that some ten or twelve were killed, the big prow and three others abandoned, while their occupants sprang overboard and swam shorewards. We launched our row-boat, in which some of our men set out amongst the swimming natives, killing a few more. They also brought three prisoners on board, who were badly wounded, and four prows, which were broken up for galley fuel. The wounded were bandaged and one of them died.

In the afternoon our shallop with the two prisoners proceeded to row all along the shore, the prisoners constantly calling out to the natives to bring pigs, bananas and coker-nuts, whereupon a canoe came alongside bringing a small pig and a bunch of bananas. We set a ransom of ten pigs upon the one man, the other, who was badly wounded, we set ashore, having little hope that he would live. These people had holes pierced in both sides of their nostrils wherein they wore two rings, one on each

side, a very strange thing to behold. We saw another island here, north of and separated from the large island.

On the 27th we filled our empty casks with water, and got that day one pig; we also saw here certain birds entirely red.

On the morning of the 30th, as we were drifting along in a calm, many canoes came alongside filled with blacks, who, as they approached us, broke their asagays in pieces upon their heads, in token of peace, but not one of them brought us anything, although they wanted everything. They appeared to be better and more civilized folk than the last, for they covered their privy parts with small leaves and had a handsomer kind of canoe, adorned fore and aft with a little carved work. They are very proud of their beards, which they powder with chalk as well as the hair of their head. Upon the three or four islands from which these canoes came there were many coker-nut trees. Not one of them brought us anything, although we made them signs that we were in want of food; they remained near us until the evening, when they returned ashore.

July.

On the morning of the 1st of July we lay between an island 2 miles long and the main land of Guinea, having during the night drifted about 2 miles with the current in a calm. After breakfast about twenty-five prows, well equipped and with big crews, came from the island; they were the same people who had on the previous day broken the asagays on their heads and had given us signs of friendship, but it had been done to deceive us as now appeared, for whilst we lay becalmed they thought to make themselves masters of the vessel. Two anchors were hanging down from the bows, a little out of the water; upon these they came and sat, a man upon each anchor holding in his hand a pingay

or oar, wherewith they propel their canoes or prows, and in this way they thought to row the ship to the shore. The others kept hovering around the vessel, but we were fully on our guard. At last they began to pelt us at close quarters lustily with asagays and slings, so that they wounded one of our men, the first of our voyage. When they were now thoroughly at work and imagined they had already won the game we fired amongst them with our deck guns and with muskets; so that twelve or thirteen were killed and many wounded. As they were fleeing our men rowed after them in the shallop, which was well equipped, and captured a canoe in which were three men, one of whom, being dead, they cast overboard, whilst the other two sprang into the water, but when one of these was shot dead by our people the other immediately gave himself up; he was a young man of eighteen whom we called Moyses, after our wounded man. These people ate bread which they made of the roots of trees. In the evening we continued to sail along the shore, with a fine breeze, in a west-nor'-westerly and north-west by westerly direction.

On the 2nd our latitude was 3° 12′. That same day we saw on the larboard side low land as well as a high mountain, and on in front a low island. We continued in a west-nor'-westerly direction, progressing but slowly with a bad sea and an east-nor'-easterly wind.

On the 3rd we again saw high land on our west, about 14 miles distant from the other island, in latitude 2° 40′.

On the 4th, whilst we were occupied in passing the aforesaid four islands, we saw some twenty-two or twenty-three others, both large and small, high and low, leaving them on the starboard side, with the exception of two or three to larboard. They lay all close together, in latitude 2° 25′ and 2° 30′, more or less, some separated by a mile or a mile and a-half, others only by a distance of a gun-shot. We thought we should find an anchorage by the

evening, but had to heave to at night because darkness overtook us. In the evening we saw off one of these islands a sail approaching us, but as night fell upon us it did not come alongside, and in the morning we were obliged to leave it on account of contrary wind, notwithstanding that we had already been close to it.

On the 5th and 6th we had sometimes strong wind and sometimes calm with rain, thunder and lightning. In the forenoon we saw a very high mountain lying south-west of us, whither we steered. Our skipper was half inclined to think it might be Banda, on account of its great similarity to the mountain of Goemenapi[1] in Banda, being, too, of very nearly the same height, but on coming somewhat closer we saw some three or four similar mountains more lying quite 6 or 7 miles north of the first, whereby he immediately knew that it was not so. Behind the mountain we also saw very much land east and west, extending so far that no end could be seen on either side; in parts it was high and in other parts low, and extended east-south-east, whereby we presumed it was Nova Guinea, and as night overtook us we hove to.

Before daybreak on the morning of the 7th we turned her head again towards the high mountain; it was a burning island, emitting flames and smoke from the summit, wherefore we gave it the name of Vulcanus.[2] The island was well populated and full of coker-nut trees. The inhabitants came in some prows near our vessel but were sore afraid; they kept shouting to us, but we could not understand them, neither could Moyses, our black. They were also quite naked, only their privy parts being covered; some had short and some had long hair. We could not

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[1] Gounong Api, an active volcano on an island of the same name forming one of the Banda Group.

[2] Vulcan I., 4,500 ft.; now part of the German territory, Kaiser Wilhelmland.

find any bottom here, so that we could not anchor. To the north and north-west of us we saw some more islands and proceeded north-west by west towards a low promontory we saw in front of us, near which we came in the evening; then we took our sails in and let her drift for the night. We got different colours of water here, such as green, white and yellow, which we presumed to be the outpourings of rivers, for it was much sweeter than sea-water. Here, too, many trees, branches and leaves were floating about, sometimes with birds and crabs on them.

On the 8th we anchored in 70 fathoms, about a gun-shot distant from the shore. Some canoes came alongside there with a funny kind of people, who were all Papoos,[1] having short hair, which was curled, and wearing rings through their noses and ears, with certain small feathers on their head and arms, and hog's tusks around their neck and on their chest as ornaments. They also ate betel-nuts and were afflicted with various deformities; one squinted, another had swollen legs, a third swollen arms, and so forth, whereby it is to be presumed that this must be an unhealthy country, especially as their huts stand upon piles about eight or nine feet from the ground.

On the morning of the 9th, whilst we lay at anchor, our shallop rowed out to look about for a convenient place for our vessel to lie in, and returning, the men said they had found a good bay, whither we proceeded, anchoring in 26 fathoms on a good bottom of sand mixed with clay. Close by were two small villages, whence many canoes came alongside of us, bringing a few coker-nuts, but they were very dear with them, demanding for four nuts one fathom of linen, after which they were very eager. They also had a few pigs, which they likewise held in great value, and although we repeatedly made signs for them to bring us some to supply our needs they would not do so.

[1] *i.e.* natives of Papua.

That day the following rations were dealt out to the crew: five pounds of bread and a quartern and a-half of oil per week for each man, with a quartern and a-half of Spanish wine and a glassful of brandy per day. All our pottage, such as peas, beans and barley, and all our meat, bacon and fish were gone, and we did not know where we were.

On the 10th some twenty canoes again came alongside, filled with men, women and children; they were all quite naked, their privy parts only being covered, but they brought nothing of any value.

On the morning of the 11th we again set sail, proceeding north-west by west and west-nor'-west, keeping constantly along the coast and always in sight of land, at a distance of not more than 3, 2, 1½ or even 1 mile from the shore, and passing at noon a high promontory. This land was Nova Guinea; it extends mostly north-west by west, sometimes a little more westerly, sometimes again somewhat more northerly.

On the 12th, 13th, and 14th we sailed along the same coast.

On the 15th the wind and course were along the coast as before, with good weather. In the afternoon we came to two low inhabited islands, which lay about half a mile from the land and were full of coker-nut trees. We ran towards them and found good anchorage in 40, 30, 25, and even in 6 and 5 fathoms, anchoring in 13 fathoms on a good bottom. The skipper rowed to land with the skiff and the shallop, well equipped, intending to fetch a number of coker-nuts which grew in great quantities on these islands, but when they reached the shore the blacks lay in the wood near to where we were, being terribly on their guard, and pelted us very fiercely with darts so that some sixteen of our men were severely wounded, one being shot right through his arm, another through his leg, a third in his neck, hands, or other parts.

In return for this our men fired amongst them with muskets and swivel-guns, but had nevertheless to retreat in the end on account of the heavy volleys of the Indians. Our latitude here was 1° 56′.

In the morning of the 16th we sailed our vessel in between these two islands and anchored in 9 fathoms in a very good spot. In the afternoon our shallop and boat proceeded to the smallest island to fetch some coker-nuts, our men setting fire to two or three of the negroes' huts, whereat the blacks on the other island shouted and raved terrifically; but they durst not come near us, for we fired with some big guns along the beach and into the bush, so that the balls sped through the bush with a great din, making the blacks to fly and afraid even to look out again. Towards the evening our men came aboard again and brought so many coker-nuts that each man in the ship received three as his share. In the evening a man came on board and begged for peace, bringing with him a hat which one of our sailors had let fall overboard in the previous skirmish. These people go quite naked, even with their privy parts bare.

On the morning of the 17th two or three canoes full of blacks came alongside, threw some coker-nuts into the water above stream and made signs for us to fetch them out, whereby they sought our friendship. We made signs to them that they should come on board. At length they grew somewhat bolder, came near the ship and brought us as many nuts and bananas as we desired, all of which we hauled out of their canoes by lines from the gallery, giving them in exchange old nails, rusty knives and beads. They also brought us a little green ginger and some small yellow roots which are used instead of saffron. They also gave us in exchange some of their bows and arrows so that in the end we were great friends with them.

On the 18th we continued to barter for bananas and

coker-nuts, as well as for a little cassavy and papede, which is also obtained in the East Indies. We saw some herbs here which we thought must have come from the Spaniards. Nor were these people very curious concerning the ships, as the preceding ones had been, for they were able to speak about the firing of big guns and gave the island upon which they lived, and which was the most easterly, the name of Moa ; the other, lying opposite, they called Insou, and the farthest, which was rather a high island, lying some 5 or 6 miles from Nova Guinea, that they called Arimoa.

On the 19th our men proceeded to the biggest island to fish. The blacks showed them much amity, helping them to haul up the nets and giving them as many coker-nuts as they desired. We saw many prows (amongst which were some fairly large ones) coming towards us out of the east, from other islands situated more easterly, wherefore we called our fishermen on board. These blacks made signs for us to fire upon those strange prows, but our men made them understand that we should do that if they attacked us first. They came peaceably on board and brought us as many coker-nuts and bananas as we desired, so that each man received fifty nuts and two bunches of bananas. These people used cassavi for their bread, but it is not to be compared with that in the West Indies ; they, too, bake it in round cakes.

On the morning of the 20th we set sail, after having already bartered for many edible wares. They made signs for us to continue lying at anchor, promising to fetch us some more.

On the 21st and 22nd we continued sailing along the coast.

On the 23rd we had good weather and a fine breeze ; when we were a short distance from the land we were followed by some six big canoes (although we had perceived no people on the shore) bringing dried fish, which

we took to be gilt-heads,[1] coker-nuts, bananas, tobacco, and a small fruit like plums. There also came some blacks from another island who brought us some food supplies; they also had a specimen of Chinese porcelain, of which we got two saucers by barter, so that we presumed that Christian vessels had been here, especially as they were not so curious about our ship. They were a different kind of people from the last, yellower in complexion and taller in stature; some had long hair, some short, and they also used bows and arrows. They were very eager after beads and iron-work and wore sticking in their ears rings of green, blue and white glass, which we presumed they had got from the Spaniards.

On the 24th our latitude was half a degree. With a slight breeze we sailed north-west, also west and south-west along a fine large island, very green and pleasant to behold, which we called Willem Schouten Island,[2] after our skipper, and the western corner[3] we called C. van Goede Hoop.[4]

On the 25th we saw on the larboard side a deal of land on our sou'-sou'-west, some of it very high, and some very low.

On the 26th we saw some three islands more, the coast still extending to the north-west and north-west by west.

On the 27th our latitude was 22 minutes south of the line; we still saw a deal of land.

On the 28th and 29th we had changeable weather and

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[1] A kind of bream.

[2] Now also known as Mysory.

[3] *i.e.*, of course, of the island, as the wording here and a careful examination of the chart (Plate 23) show; but—as was already pointed out by Burney (*Chronological History*, Pt. II, p. 432)—Tasman, and after him Dampier, applied this name to a cape of the mainland of Papua situated west of Schouten's I., a mistake which seems to have been occasioned by an ambiguous disposition of the written name in the above chart. This error has been continued to the present time.

[4] Cape of Good Hope.

in the intervening night we had an earthquake, so that our men all came out of their bunks in amazement; sometimes it seemed as if our vessel bumped. We frequently cast the lead, but found no bottom.

On the 30th we sailed into a great bight so that we seemed to be surrounded by land; we did our best to find an opening somewhere, but found none, and therefore proceeded northwards again. We had that day such terrific thunder and lightning that our vessel trembled and shook and seemed at times to be all aflame, whereat we were not a little terrified and amazed; subsequently there came such heavy rain that we had never in our life seen the like of it.

On the 31st we found that we had sailed into a *cul-de-sac;* we saw the land to be all continuous and therefore proceeded northwards, passing the equinoctial line that evening for the second time, and at night, being close to the shore, we anchored in 12 fathoms on a good bottom, about a gunshot distant from an island that lay close to the mainland, but we could see no human beings nor any growth.

August.

On the 1st of August we weighed anchor with great difficulty, for it had got fast under a rock and we broke half its arm in winding. Our latitude was 15 minutes north of the line. In the evening the strong current drove us close to the shore, where we anchored on account of the calm. We weighed anchor and continued on our previous course. At noon on the 3rd we found a bank so far out at sea that we could scarcely see the land, there being a sand bottom in some places in 40, at others in 20, 15 and 12 fathoms. We anchored in 12 fathoms. On the same day we found our latitude to be 45 minutes north of the line. We also saw a few whales and turtles, and we divined by our latitude that we had now come to the end of the

land of Nova Guinea, having sailed along the coast for 280 miles. We saw that day two other islands to the west of us.

On the 4th we saw some seven or eight islands, so we thought, wherefore we hove to at night, in order not to run upon their shore.

On the 5th we proceeded towards the land which we had on the previous day taken to be islands, but on coming near it we found no bottom, wherefore we launched our shallop to take soundings, and found an anchorage in 45 fathoms close to the land. We saw three prows set out from the shore and proceed towards our shallop; on approaching the latter they hoisted a flag of peace and our men did the same, returning to the ship. The prows followed them, and also came alongside. They brought us nought but a sample of Indian beans and peas, together with some rice, tobacco, and two birds of Paradise, one of which, coloured white and yellow, we got by barter. We could understand these people fairly well, for they spoke a few words of Ternatan, and there was one who spoke Malay well, with which language the supercargo of the yacht, Aris Claesz., was well acquainted. There were some who also spoke a few words of Spanish, and amongst other things they also had a hat of Spanish felt. Their clothing consisted of certain bright-coloured cloths around their waist and a few wore silk breeches of various colours; some, too, had turbans on their heads, and these, they said, were Turks or Moors. Some wore gold and silver rings on their fingers and all had jet black hair. They exchanged their wares with us for small beads and were shy and afraid of us. We asked them what their country was called, but they would not tell us, for which reason partly and also from other circumstances we opined and believed that we were at the eastern end of Gilolo on the central branch of the land (for Gilolo extends eastwards in three

branches) and that they were natives of Tidor, friends of the Spaniards, as indeed we found to be so. After these Indians had brought various other provisions we weighed anchor and passed the equinoctial line for the third time. From the 6th until the 18th we made every effort to get round the north-east corner of Gilolo. At about noon on the 18th two prows bearing a peace-flag came alongside of us from a village named Soppy; the occupants were Ternatans, so that we could easily speak with them; a few were also from Gammacanor[1] and told us that a yacht from Amsterdam, named *De Pauw*, had lain there quite three months, taking in a full cargo of rice, and that about a month or two ago an English ship had also been there. Then were we very glad that by God's mercy we had thus got into the right course and that we still had eighty-five healthy men on board. The next day we anchored off Soppy, where we got some things by bartering and chaffering. There came a *correcor*[2] from Ternaten, the occupants of which told us that there were fully twenty Dutch ships cruising in that sea among the Molucques and that eight vessels had sailed to the Maniljes; we remained here until September 5th. On the 5th, as we were lying at anchor off the coast of Gilolo, our men went out fishing, and as they stood hauling the nets up four Ternatans, each armed with a sword and shield, rushed forth from the bush to slay our men, but by great good fortune the barber shouted "Oran Hollanda,"[3] whereupon they immediately desisted and sprinkled water upon their heads, saying they thought our men were Castilians. Our men brought them on board, when they said they had come from Gamma-

[1] Gamakora.

[2] This word, signifying a small boat or canoe, though of Gaelic origin, is found in a great variety of forms throughout the East and West Indies.

[3] Literally, in the Malay tongue, "men of Holland."

canor, from which, according to them, we were still about 5 or 6 miles distant.

On the 6th and 7th we were pretty frequently becalmed and often tacked.

On the 8th our supercargo and the factor of the yacht proceeded to Gammacanor in a well-equipped shallop, intending to procure some provisions there. The coast from Soppy to Gammacanor stretches south-west and north-east with many bights and bays.

On the 9th and 10th we remained where we were on account of contrary winds, as well as on the 11th, when our shallop returned without having been to Gammacanor, as that place was too far and they were not equipped for such a voyage; but they had been in a village called Loloda,[1] lying about 10 miles from our vessel, where they had only obtained some bananas. The inhabitants had told them that the Dutch[2] and Ternatans had captured an island named Siauw,[3] lying on the way to the Manillas, and that thirteen ships were lying at Ternata.

On the 12th our skipper and Aris Claesz. proceeded with eighteen well-armed men to Ternata, from which, according to our calculations, we were still 25 miles distant, and we remained lying becalmed with the vessel.

At midday on the 14th we set sail with a fair breeze, but the wind soon fell again, so that we made only about 3½ miles that day.

On the 15th it blew a bit now and then, so that we made 4 miles progress that day.

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[1] Laloda on some maps, Lolada on others.

[2] "De Duytschen." One of the rare cases where the Dutch, speaking of their own nation, use the adjective by which the English nearly always designate them, though when speaking of their *language* the Dutch mostly say "nederduitsch." Here the adjective was evidently directly quoted from natives who had employed the English designation. To-day "Duytschen" or "Duitschen" would simply mean "Germans."

[3] Siao, between Celebes and the Philippines.

On the 16th we got near Gammacanor and saw Ternate and Tidor lying close together.

On the 17th we did our best to reach Ternate and at daybreak saw a sail to windward of us, also making for Ternate. She was the *Morgensterre*, of Rotterdam, and thence came our shallop which had been with her for three nights, having found her in the bight of Sabou. Admiral Verhaghen was aboard of her and she was one of Admiral Speilbergen's vessels, from whose men we learnt that the said Speilbergen had passed through the Strait of Magellanes and various other details, as may be read above. The same evening we anchored off Maleya in Ternate, our supercargo and skipper going ashore and being well received by the General, Gerhardt Reynst,[1] as well as by the Admiral, Steven Verhagen, Jaspar Jansz., the Governor of Ambon,[2] and the whole Council of India.

On the 18th our supercargo and skipper went ashore and sold both our shallops, four small metal guns belonging to the yacht and a deal of lead; also two big cables, nine anchors and other small articles, for which they received in all 1,350 reals of eight.

On the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd we remained lying at the above-mentioned place.

On the 24th eleven men and four boys came to the supercargo and skipper begging to be discharged,

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[1] The diarist *expected* to find Reynst there, especially as Jacob le Maire had with him a letter of introduction from his father to that Governor; but the latter had died 27th December, 1615, and Laurens Reael was acting as his successor. *Vide* Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, Deel 16, p. 295; also Bakhuizen van den Brink's article on Isaac le Maire in *De Gids* for 1865, pp. 53, 54.

[2] Amboina, one of the Moluccas lying south of Ceram and east of Booro (see also p. 155). "Bien qu'une des plus petites du groupe, elle est au premier rang par son importance économique et politique. C'est là que fut autrefois concentrée par les Hollandais la riche culture des arbres à épices, et ils firent de cette petite île le centre de leurs possessions orientales du grand archipel Asiatique."—Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie*, tom. I, p. 115.

as they wished to serve the Company, and this was done.

On the 26th we took our departure. The General, Laurens Reael, accompanied our skipper and supercargo as far as the vessel with pennant flying, and two ships set sail with us, one of them being the aforesaid *Morgensterre*, which was bound for Motir,[1] but we for Bantam. At the request of the General himself we took with us to Bantam the supercargo of the *Sterre* and one of the General's servants.

On the 27th we passed Tidor and the *Morgensterre* took leave of us, going to Motir. On the 28th we passed Motir and Makian[2] and on the 29th Cajou[3] and Backian,[4] crossing the equinoctial line that day for the fourth time.

October.

On October 2nd we sailed past Loga Combella[5] and Manipa[6] in Zeira, and on the 3rd past Burro.[7]

On the 6th we passed Botton[8] and Cabessecabinco,[9] and on the 7th Cabona.[10]

On the 8th we passed through the narrows of Burgarones,[11] between the southern corner of Celebes and Desolaso.[12]

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[1] Mortier I.; *vide* p. 135.

[2] *Vide* pp. 135, 136.

[3] Kajao; *vide* p. 136.

[4] *Vide* pp. 136, 137.

[5] This is marked on the map (Pl. 23) as Loege Cambello in Zeram (Ceram). Cf. also Plate 19.

[6] Manipa is not in Ceram, alluded to above as Zeira, but is an island near it, on the west.

[7] Booro I.

[8] Booton I.

[9] This must be Pangassani, lying between Booton I. and Cambyna.

[10] The island of Cambyna.

[11] Cf. the map on Plate 19, where this word is spelt Bogurones, and appears to apply to two or three islands to the south-west of Booton. The narrows are there called Streto de Celebes, and to-day Salayer Str.

[12] The island is now known as Salayer, but the southern corner of Celebes is still called Lassoa Point.

Towards the evening on the 13th we came in sight of the island of Madura,[1] and on the morning of the 15th we saw Java and sailed that day past Tuban.[2]

At midday on the 16th we arrived off Japara, where we anchored in the roadstead, finding there the *Hollandia*, of Amsterdam, which was taking in a cargo of rice in order to carry it to Ternate. At Japara all edible wares and food supplies are abundant and cheap. We bought a good deal of rice, arack, meat, fish and other victuals here, wherewith we intended to sail home.

On the 23rd we set sail from thence and arrived on the 28th[3] off Jacatra, where we anchored outside the islands. There we found three Dutch ships, to wit, the *Hoorn*, the *Arent* and the *Trou*, with three English vessels. In the following night one of our crew died, the first to die of all those who had set out in the big ship *Eendracht*. Besides him, two others had died, to wit, Jan Cornelisz. Schouten, near Honden Island in the South Sea, and one near the coast of Portugal, so that down to that time not more than three men had died on the two vessels, and we still had eighty-four men alive and in fair health.

On the 31st there also arrived off Jacatra the *Bantam*, having on board the President at Bantam of the East India Company, Jan Pietersz. Koenen,[4] of Hoorn.

November.

On the 1st of November the President, Jan Pietersz. Koenen, invited our skipper and supercargoes to come ashore to him. On their arrival he signified to them, in the presence of his council, convoked by him, and in the name and on behalf of the Directors of the East India

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[1] Off the N. coast of Java.
[2] On the northern shore of the mainland of Java.
[3] Speilbergen gives the date of arrival as the 20th. See p. 151.
[4] See pp. 151, 152.

Company, that they must give up and hand over to him their vessel and all their goods, as was done. Two skippers were immediately appointed by the President and two supercargoes by the Merchants' Guild, to whom our skipper and supercargo delivered up everything by inventory. This took place on Monday, November 1st, according to our reckoning, but on Tuesday, the 2nd, according to the reckoning of our countrymen there. The reason of this discrepancy in the time was this: whereas we sailed westwards from our country and had once circumnavigated the earth with the sun we had therefore had one night or sunset less than they, and they, who had gone from the west to the east, had thereby had one day or sunset more than we, which makes a difference of twenty-four hours.[1] So our ship remained here and our supercargo [and[2]] Jacob le Maire, Willem Cornelisz. Schouten[3] and ten men more returned home with the Admiral, Joris Spilberghen, the rest remaining in India in the service of the Directors. How we further reached home Your Honours will read at the end of Sr. Spilbergen's Journal. Be ye herewith commended to the Lord.

FINIS.

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[1] Speilbergen had really followed the sun's course in the same way as le Maire, but had evidently rectified his date on arrival at Ternate (see his entry of March 29th, 1616, on p. 128, relating to the matter); hence arose the discrepancy, and not from the cause wrongly given above.

[2] This word seems redundant, as a good many others certainly are. The supercargo of the *Eendracht* was Jacob le Maire, but this may be the diarist's way of referring both to him and to the supercargo of the yacht.

[3] Bakhuizen van den Brink, in his article on Isaac le Maire in *De Gids* for 1865, states, I know not on what authority, that Schouten remained behind.

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[Not in the British Museum Catalogue.—Tiele.]

Het Journael van Joris van Speilberghen. Dese afbeeldinge is vande grootte vanden grooten Carbonckel oft Rubyn, by Spielberghen mede uyt Celon ghebracht. Sonet. Want vremde, &c.—Dese journalē met 14 platen oft afbeeldingen welgesneden heeft geordineert en t'zijnen costen doen drucken *Floris Balthazar*, inde Nobel inde Choor-straet tot *Delff*, alwaernen de selve te coope vint. pp. 69. 1605. *obl.* 4°. [Epistle dedicatory to the States General, dated March 3, 1605]. [1858. a. 1. (3.)]

——— [Another edition.] pp. 71. [With the addition of 2 "Liedeken," printed in 3 columns, signed "Waerom ghequelt."] [*Floris Balthazar: Delff*, 1605.] *obl.* 4°. [Tiele.—Not in the British Museum Catalogue.]

t' Historiael Journael van t'ghene ghepasseert is van weghen drie Schepen ghenaemt den Ram, Schaep ende het Lam, ghevaren uyt Zeelandt vander Stadt Camp-Vere naer d' Oost-Indien onder t' beleyt van Ioris van Speilberghen, Generael Anno 1601, den 5 Mey tot in t' Eylant Celon, vervatende veel schoone gheschiedenissen die by haer op dese reyse gheschiedt zijn in den tijdt van twee Jaer elff maenden neghenthien daghen. Dese Historie is verciert met seventhien welghesneden platen, daer in ghefigureert zijn Eylanden, Steden, Kusten Havens, ghevechten op verscheyden plaetsen, met meer ander afbeeldinghen, als mede een heerlijcke beschryvinghe van ander landen, seer profytelijck voor de Zeevarende man. Dese Journalen met alle de platen heeft doen snijden ende drucken t'zijnen Kosten Floris Balthasars Plaet-snijder woonende inde Choor-straet tot *Delff*, Anno 1605. *obl.* 4°. 72 pp.—["Fol. 17. Hier salmen stellen de plaet van Saffala," which plate, however, does not seem to have been inserted in this edition. On page 67 is a plan of Middelburg, with the return of the ships.]
[Tiele.—Not in the British Museum Catalogue.]

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II.—Editions of the Spiegel.

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Oost ende West-Indische Spiegel Der 2 leste Navigatien, ghedaen in den Jaeren 1614, 15, 16, 17, ende 18, daer in vertoont wort, in wat gestalt Joris van Speilbergen door de Magellanes de werelt rontom geseylt heeft, met eenighe Battalien so te water als te lant, ende 2 Historien de een van Oost ende de ander van West-Indien, het ghetal der forten, soldaten, schepen, ende gheschut. Met de Australische Navigatien, van Jacob le Maire, die int suyden door een nieuwe Straet ghepasseert is, met veel wonders so Landen, Volcken, ende Natien, haer ontmoet zijn, in 26 coperen platen afghebeelt. pp. 192. *By Nicolaes van Geelkercken: tot Leyden, Anno* 1619. *obl. fol.*
[10028. df. 17. The title-page only has been altered.] This copy has been used in making the translation contained in this volume.

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nationesq; urbium: una cum duabus novis utriusque Indiae Historijs, Catalogo munitionum Hollandicarum ducum et reliqui bellici apparatus, Fretisque quatuor: suis quaeque figuris ac imaginibus illustrata. 26 plates. pp. 175. *Apud Nicolaum à Geelkercken: Lugduni Batavorum, An.* CIↃIↃCXIX (1619). *obl. fol.* [682. b. 14.—566. f. 34.]

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[G. 6909. MS. Notes.]

Navigationis a Georgio a Spilberghen . . . per fretum Magellanicum et mare meridionale ab anno 1614 usque ad annum 1618 inclusive peractæ descriptio . . . auctore G. Arthusio. (Sequuntur veræ . . . regionum . . . et gentium . . . imagines, etc.) [20 plates with descriptions.] In Bry (Theodor de) Americæ tomi undecimi appendix. 2 pt. *Typis I. Hoferi: Francofurti:* 1620. fol.
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Appendix desz eilfften Theils Americæ, das ist, Warhafftige Beschreibung der wunderbahren Schifffahrt so Georgius von Spielbergen als von der Niderländischen Indianischen Societet bestellter Oberster aber sechs Schiffe durch die Magellanische Strasse und in der Suder See vom Jahr 1614 bisz in das 1618 Jahr verrichtet. In welcher die newe Schifffahrt durch die Suder See auch viel unbekante Landschafften Inseln und Völcker neben allem was ihm auff derselben Reyse fürkommen und zu handen gangen ausz oberschicktem Tagregister fleissig verzeichnet mit vielen frembden Figuren so vormals nie gesehen gezieret und beschrieben. Durch M. Gotthard Arthus von Dantzig. [With 20 plates, with descriptions.] 2 pt. *Getruckt bey Hieronymo Gallern in Vorlegung Johann Theodor de Bry: Oppenheim,* Anno MDCXX.
[10003. e. 30. (2)—G. 6626. (4*).]

Die Siebenzehende Schiffart, das ist, Eigentliche und warhaftige Beschreibung der wunderbahrē Reiss und Schiffart so durch Herr Georgio von Spilbergen (durch die Magellanische Strasse in der Suder Zee) glücklichen volbracht. Beneben Erzehlung was für Landschafften Insuln, Völcker, und Nationen allda gefunden und sich sonsten auff der Reiss denckwürdiges zugetragen. Mit schönen Charten und Kupfferstücken erklärt und für Augen gestelt. pp. 93. *Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn durch Johan Hofern sumptibus Hulsianis, im Jahr* MDCXX. 4°. In Levinus Hulsius' Collection of Voyages and Travels, edited by L. Hulsius and his successors. (26 Thle.) Thl. 17. 1598-1650. 4°. [10028. d. 24.]

Oost ende West-Indische Spieghel Waer in Beschreven werden de twee laetste Navigatien, ghedaen in de Jaeren 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, ende 1618. De eene door den vermaerden Zee-Heldt Joris van Spilbergen door de Strate van Magellanes, ende soo rondt om den gantschen Aerdt-Cloot, met alle de Bataellien soo te water als te Lande gheschiet. Hier syn mede by ghevoecht twee Historien, de eene van de Oost ende de andere van de West-Indien, met het ghetal der Schepen, Forten, Soldaten ende Gheschut. De andere ghedaen bij Jacob le Maire, de welcke in 't Zuyden de Straet Magellanes, een nieuwe Straet ontdeckt heeft, met de Beschrijvinghe aller Landen, Volcken, ende Nation. Alles verciert met schoone Caerten ende Figueren hier toe dienstelijck. 26 plates. pp. 192. *By Jan Janssz., Boeckverkooper op 't Water inde Pas-caert: 't Amstelredam, Ao.* MDCXXI. (1621.) *obl. fol.* [566. f. 35.]

——— [Another copy, with a different imprint.] Oost ende West-Indische Spieghel, *etc.* *By Andries Janssz. van Aelst, Boeckverkooper: tot Zutphen, Ao.* 1621. *obl. fol.*
[Not in the British Museum Catalogue.—Tiele.]

Miroir, Oost & West-Indical, auquel sont déscriptes les deux dernières Navigations, faictes es Années 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, & 1618, l'une par le renommé Guerrier de Mer, George de Spilbergen, par le Destroict de Magellan, & ainsi tout autour de toute la terre, avec toutes les Battailles données tant par terre que par eau. Icy sont aussi adioustées deux Histoires, l'une des Indes Orientales, l'autre des Indes Occidentales, avec le nombre des Navires, Forts, Soldats, & Artillerie. L'autre faicte par Jacob Le Maire, lequel au costé du Zud du Destroict de Magellan a descouvert un nouveau Destroict. Avec la description de tous Pays, Gens & Nations. Le tout embelli de belles Cartes et Figures a ce servantes. [Translated from the Latin edition of 1619.] pp. 172. *Chez Jan Jansz. sur l'Eau, à la Pas-carte: Amstelredam, l'An* 1621. *obl.* 4°.
[436. b. 19.—K. 216 a. 20.—G 6792.]

The Voyage of George Spilbergen, Generall of a Dutch Fleet of sixe Shippes, which passed by the Magellane straits, and South Sea, unto the East Indies, and thence (having encompassed the whole Circumference of the Earth) home: gathered out of the Latine Journall, beeing the fift Circum-Navigation. In Purchas (Samuel) *the Elder.* Purchas his Pilgrimes, *etc.* Lib. II. Chap. 6. pp. 80-87. *London:* 1625. fol.
[679. h. 11-14.—213. d. 2-5.—984. h. 4-7.—G. 6838-41.]

Historisch Journael van de Voyagie ghedaen met ses Schepen uytghereed zijnde door de vermaarde Heeren Bewinthebberen van de Oost-Indische Compaignie uyt de Vereenighde Nederlanden te weten de groote Sonne, de groote Mane, den Jager, de Jacht, de Meuuwe van Amsterdam, den Æolus van Zeelandt, de Morgenster van Rotterdam. Omme te varen Door de Strate Magallanes naer de Molucques, met Commissie der Hoogh Mogende Heeren Staten Generael, ende sijne Princelijcke Excellentie. Onder 't gebiedt vanden Heere Joris van Spilbergen, als Commandeur Generael over de Vlote. Als mede de Australische Navigatie, ontdeckt door Jacob le Maire (ende Willem Cornelisz. Schouten) in den Jaere 1615, 1616, 1617. Part 18 of Deel 2 of Isaak Commelin's "Begin ende Voortgangh," *etc.* pp. 1-118. [*Amsterdam,*] 1646. *obl. fol.*
[566. f. 19.]

Oost- en West Indische Voyagie, Door de Strate Magallanes Naer de Molucques, Met ses Schepen onder den Commandeur Joris Spilbergen. Als mede de wonderlijcke Reyse ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten van Hoorn, en Jacob le Maire, in den Jaere 1615, 1616, 1617. Hoe sy bezuyden de Straet van Magallanes een Nieuwe passagie tot in de groote Zuydt-Zee ontdeckt voort den gheheelen Aerd-kloot om-ghezeylt hebben. Midtsgaders Wat Eylanden vreemde Volckeren en wonderlijcke Avontueren hun ontmoet zijn. 1 plate. pp. 120. *Voor Joost Hartgerts, Boeck-verkooper in de Gasthuys-Steegh, bezijden het Stadt-huys, in de Boeck-winckel: 't Amstelredam,* 1648. 4°. Part 8 of a later edition of Isaak Commelin's "Begin ende Voortgangh," *etc.* [566. g. 9. (8.)

Journael van de Voyagie gedaen met ses Scheepen door de Straet Magalanes, naer de Molucques, onder het Beleydt van den Heer Admirael Joris van Spilbergen, zijn tweede reys, uytgevaren in den Jare 1614, 1615, 1616, en 1617. Verhalende de eygenschappen des Landts vreemdicheyt der Menschen en verscheyde andere saecken haer op de Reys voorgevallen.

[With a portrait of Spilbergen.] pp. 64. *Gedruckt by Gillis Joosten Saeghman, in de Nieuwe-straet, Ordinaris Drucker van de Journalen ter Zee en de Landt-Reysen : t' Amsterdam*, [1663.] 4°. [10057. dd. 29.]

Voyage de George Spilberg, Amiral Hollandois, aux Iles Moluques, par le detroit de Magellan. In Renneville (René Augustin Constantin de) Recueil des Voyages, qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, formée dan les Provinces Unies des Païs-bas. Nouvelle édition, revuë par l'Auteur, et considérablement augmentée. Enrichie d'un grand nombre de Figures en Taille-douce. (10 tom.) tom 8. pp. 1-113. *Jean Baptiste Machuel le jeune : Rouen*, 1725. 12° [1047. a. 15-24.—688. c. 15-24.—979. d. 1-10.]

——— Seconde Edition [of the Recueil des Voyages by de Renneville], revue, & augmentée de plusieurs pièces curieuses. (7 tom.) Tom. 4. pt. 2. pp. 445-530. *Chez Isaac Rey : Amsterdam*, 1754. 12°.
[K. 303. a. 8-19.]

George Spilberg, En Magellanique, In Brosses (Charles de). Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes. *Paris*, 1756. tom. I. pp. 343, *et seq.* [454. a. 17, 18.—566. h. 5, 6.—215. a. 15, 16.—G. 7382-3.]

George Spilberg to Magellanica and Polynesia. In Callander (John).—Terra Australis Cognita, or Voyages to the Terra Australis, or Southern Hemisphere, during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries . . . *Edinburgh :* 1768. Vol. 2. Art. III. pp. 191-217.
[566. c. 1-3.—G. 16065-7.]

III.—The Letter, of which a Translation is given on Pages xlix-lv of the Introduction.

Copye van een Brief geschreven door Joris van Spelbergh, Commijs Generael en de Capiteyn over de Zeeusche Soldaten ; Onder 't beleydt van den Erentfesten ende Manhaftighen Heere Jacob van Heems-kercke, als Admirael der E. E. M. Heeren Staten der Vrye Vereenichde Nederlanden verordineert : tracterende van 't veroveren der Spaensche Armade . . . in dato 9 May, 1607. pp. 4. [*Amsterdam*, 1607.] 4°.
[T. 1713. (12.)]

IV.—Editions of the Journal narrating the Voyage undertaken by Le Maire and Schouten.

Journal Ofte Beschryvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse, ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz Schouten van Hoorn, inde Jaren 1615. 1616. en 1617. Hoe hy Bezuyden de Strate van Magellanes een nieuwe Passagie tot inde groote Zuyd Zee ondeckt, en voort den gheheelen Aerdkloot omgheseylt, heeft. Wat Eylanden, vreemde volcken en wonderlicke avontueren hem ontmoet zijn. *'t Amsterdam, by Willem Janzz. op 't water inde Sonnewyser*, 1618, 4°. [Tiele.]

Journael ofte Beschrijvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse, gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten van Hoorn, inde Jaren 1615. 1616. en 1617. Hoe hy bezuyden de Strate van Magellanes een nieuwe Passagie tot inde groote Zuyd-zee ontdeckt, en voort den gheheelen Aerdt-Kloot om gheseylt heeft. Wat Eylanden, vreemde Volcken en wonderlijcke avontueren hem ontmoet zijn. *Tot Arnhem, By Jan Jansz., Boeck-verkooper.* Anno 1618. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journael ofte Beschrijvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse, gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc.* *Tot Amstelredam: Voor Jan Jansz., Boeckverkooper inde Paskaert.* 1618. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journal, ou Description de l'admirable voyage de Guillaume Schouten Hollandois, *etc.* pp. viii. 88. 9 plates. *Guillaume Janson: Amsterdam,* [1618.] 4°. [Tiele.]

Journal, ou Description du merveilleux voyage de Guillaume Schouten, *etc.* pp. viii. 88. 9 plates. *Guillaume Janson: Amsterdam,* 1618. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journal ou Relation exacte du Voyage de Guill. Schouten dans les Indes, *etc.* pp. 232. 8 plates. *Chez M. Gobert, au Palais en la gallerie des prisonniers: Et les Cartes, chez M. Tavernier, Graveur du Roy, demeurant au pont Marchand: Paris,* MDCXVIII. 8°. [1046. a. 21.]

Warhaffte Beschreibung der wunderbarlichen Räyse und Schiffart, so Wilhelm Schout von Horn, ausz Hollandt nach Suden gethan, *etc.* pp. ii. 34. *Gedruckt bey Jan Jansen: zu Arnheim,* 1618. 4°. [Tiele.]

Australische Navigatien, ontdeckt door Jacob le Maire, inde Jaeren Anno 1615. 1616. 1617. Daer in vertoont is, in wat gestalt sy, by zuyden de Straet Magellanes, eenen nieuwen duerganck ghevonden hebben, sterckende tot in die Suydt-Zee, met de verklaeringhe vande vreemde Natien, Volcken, Landen ende Aventuren, die sy gesien ende haer wedervaren zijn. pp. 143-192 of the "Oost ende West Indische Spiegel . . . Tot Leyden, By Nicolaes Geelkercken, Anno 1619." 4°. *Vide supra,* Section II.

Journael ofte Beschrijvinghe van de wonderlijcke reyse gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc.* *Tot Amsterdam, By Harmen Jansz. Boeckverkooper, woonende inde Warmoes-straet, inde Meyrminne,* Anno 1619. 4°. [Tiele.]

Novi Freti, a parte Meridionali Freti Magellanici, in Magnum Mare Australe Detectio; facta laboriosissimo et periculosissimo itinere à Guilielmo Cornelij Schoutenio Hornano, Annis 1615, 1616, & 1617, totum orbem terrarum circumnavigante. pp. 95. 9 plates. *Apud Gulielmum Jansonium: Amsterodami,* 1619. 4°. [981. a. 8.]

Diarum vel descriptio laboriosissimi, & Molestissimi Itineris, facti à Guilielmo Cornelii Schoutenio, Hornano Annis 1615, 1616, & 1617, *etc.* [Preface signed: Gulielmus Jansonius.] pp. 71. 6 plates. *Apud Petrum Kærium: Amsterdami,* A° 1619. 4°. [1045. e. 17. (2.)]

Diarium vel Descriptio . . . Itineris, facti à Guilielmo Cornelii Schoutenio, *etc.* Preface by Guilielmus Jansonius.] pp 71. 3 plates. *Apud Petrum Kærium: Amsterdami:* A° 1619. 4°. [G. 6735.]

The Relation of a Wonderfull Voiage made by William Cornelison Schouten, of Horne [1615-1617], shewing how South from the Straights of Magelan, in Terra Del-fuogo: he found and discovered a newe passage through the great South Sea, and that way sayled round about the world. Describing what Islands, Countries, People, and strange Adventures he found in his saide Passage. [Translated from the Dutch by W. P., *i.e.*, William Phillip.] pp. 82. *Imprinted by T. D. for Nathanaell Newbury, and are to be sold at the signe of the Starre, under S. Peters in Corne-hill, and in Pope-head Alley: London,* 1619. 4°.
[K. 303. d. 27. (5.)—B. 670. (3.)—G. 6738.]

Journal ou Description du Merveilleux Voyage de Guillaume Schouten, Hollandois, natif de Hoorn, fait es années, 1615. 1616, et 1617. pp. 88. 9 plates. *Chez Harman Janson, Marchand Libraire, demeurant en la Warmoes-straet, à la Sereine: Amstredam:* 1619. 4° [G. 6736.]

Journal ou Description du Merveilleux Voyage de Guillaume Schouten, Hollandois, natif de Hoorn, fait es années 1615, 1616. et 1617, *etc.* pp. 88. 4 plates. *Chez Pierre du Keere, Tailleur de Cartes, demeurant en la Calver-straet, à l'enseigne du temps incertain: Amstredam,* 1619. 4°. [1045. e. 17. (3.)—980. e. 30.]

Journal ou Description de l'admirable voyage de Guillaume Schouten, Hollandois . . . Illustré de belles Cartes et Figures taillez en cuivre. pp. 88. 3 plates. *Imprimé ches Guilliaume Janson: à Amsterdam,* 1619. 4°. [1045. e. 17. (1).)]

Die sechtzehende Schiffahrt. Journal oder Beschreibung der wunderbaren Reise Wilhelm Schouten ausz Hollandt im Jahr 1615, 16, und 17. *etc.* pp. 90. 9 plates. *Gedruckt durch Nicolaum Hoffmann, sumptibus Hulsianis: Franckfurt am Mayn,* im Jar MDCXIX. 4°. In Levinus Hulsius' Collection of Voyages and Travels. (26 Theile.) Thl. 16. 1598-1650. 4°. [10028. d. 42.—10028. d. 43.]

Relacion diaria del viage de Jacobo de Mayre, y Guillelmo Cornelio Schouten, en que descubrieron nuevo Estrecho y passage del mar del Norte al mar del Sur, a la parte Austral del Estrecho de Magallanes. ff. 26. 2 maps. *Por Bernardino de Guzman: Madrid,* Año 1619. 4°. [G. 6737.]

Australische Navigatien, ontdeckt door Jacob le Maire, *etc.* pp. 143-192 of the "Oost- ende West-Indische Spiegel . . . t'Amsterdam, bij Jan Janssz. . . . 1621." 4°. *Vide supra,* Section II. [566. f. 35.]

Navigations Australes descouvertes par Jacob Le Maire, es années 1615, 1616, 1617, *etc.* In Joris van Speilbergen's "Miroir Oost & West Indical," *etc. Jan Jansz: Amstelredam,* 1621. *obl.* 4°. [436. b. 19.—K. 216. a. 20.—G. 6792.]

Spieghel der Australische Navigatie, door den wijt vermaerden ende cloeckmoedighen Zee-Heldt Jacob Le Maire, President ende overste over de twee Schepen, d' *Eendracht* ende *Hoorn* uytghevaren den 14 Junij, 1615. [With a portrait of Le Maire.] fol. 72. 5 plates. By Michiel Colijn, Boeck-vercooper op 't Water by de Oude Brugh in 't Huys-Boeck: t'Amsterdam, Anno 1622. In Antonio de Herrera Tordesillas' "Nieuwe Werelt. anders ghenaempt West-Indien." pt. 2. *By Michiel Colijn: Amsterdam,* 1622, 1621. fol [10410. f. 28.]

Ephemerides, sive Descriptio Navigationis Australis, institutæ Anno MDCXV, ductu et moderamine fortissimi Viri Jacobi Le Maire, duarum navium, quarum uno *Concordia,* altera *Cornu* dicta fuit, Præfecti. 7 plates. In Antonio de Herrera Tordesillas' "Novus Orbis, sive Descriptio Indiae Occidentalis . . . Metaphraste C. Barlæo," *etc.* fol. 44-74. *Apud Michaelem Colinium, Bibliopolam, ad insigne Libri Domestici: Amstelodami,* Anno MDCXXII. fol. [G. 7035.—797. m. 5.]

Journael et Miroir de la Navigation Australe du vaillant et bien renommé Seigneur Jaques Le Maire, Chef et Conducteur de deux Navires *Concorde* et *Hoorn,* qui partirent le 14 de Juin, 1615. 8 plates. In Antonio de Herrera Tordesillas' "Description des Indes Occidentales . . . Trans-

latée d'Espagnol en François," *etc.* pp. 104-174. *Chez Michel Colin, Libraire, demeurant au Livre Domestique: à Amsterdam,* Anno MDCXXII. fol. [984. f. 21.—795. l. 20.]

Journael ofte Beschrijvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten van Hoorn, in den Jaren 1615, 1616, en 1617. Hoe hy bezuyden de Strate van Magellanes een nieuwe Passagie tot in de groote Zuyd-zee ontdeckt, en voort den geheelen Aerd kloot om geseylt heeft. Wat Eylanden, vreemde Volcken en wonderlicke avonturen hem ontmoet zijn. 8 plates. pp. 56. *Voor Jan Jansz., Boeck-verkooper inde Pas-kaert: Amsterdam,* 1624. 4°. [C. 32. e. 11.]

The Sixth Circum-Navigation, by William Cornelison Schouten, of Horne: Who, South-wards from the Straights of Magelan in Terra-Del-fuogo, found and discovered a new passage through the great South-Sea, and that way sayled round about the World: Describing what Islands, Countries, Peoples, and strange Adventures hee found in his said Passage. [From Wm. Phillip's translation of 1619.] In Purchas (Samuel) the Elder. Purchas his Pilgrimes, *etc.* Lib. II. Chap. 7. pp. 88-107. *London,* 1625. fol.
[679. h. 11-14.—213. d. 2-5.—984. h. 4-7.—G. 6838-41.]

Journael ofte Beschryvinghe vande wonderlijcke Reyse ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc.* *t' Amsterdam, By Jan Janssen Boeck-verkooper,* 1632. 4° [Tiele.]

Journael ofte Beschryvinghe van de . . . Reyse gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc.* pp. 53. 9 plates. *Ghedruckt by Isaack van Waesberghen, Boeck-verkooper op 't Steyger aende Marckt inde Fame: tot Rotterdam,* 1637. 4°. [10027. b. 8.]

Journael ofte Beschryvinghe vande wonderlijcke Reyse gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc.* pp. 56. 9 plates. *'t Amsterdam, By Jan Janssen Boeckvercooper.* 1644. 4°. [10027 cc. 1.]

Australische navigatien ontdeckt door Jacob Le Maire ende Willem Cornelisz. Schouten inde jaeren 1615, 1616, 1617, *etc.* In Isaac Commelin's "Begin ende voortgangh vande . . . Oost Indische Compagnie," *etc.* Deel 2. Pt. 18. pp. 70-118. [*Amsterdam*], 1646. 4°. [566. f. 19.]

Journael, ofte Beschrijvinge vande wonderlijcke Reyse, ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten van Hoorn. In de Jaren 1615. 1616. 1617. Hoe hy bezuyden de Straet Magellanes eenen nieuwen doorganck gevonden heeft, streckende tot inde Zuyd-Zee, met de verklaringe vande vreemde Natien, Volcken, Landen en Avonturen, die sy gesien, ende haer wedervaren zijn. Hier is noch achter by-gevoeght eenighe Zee-Vragen ende Antwoorden, zijnde seer nut ende geheel dienstigh alle Schippers, Stiermans ende Zeevarende maets. (pp. 67-120 of "Oost-en West-Indische Voyagie.") *'t Amstelredam, Voor Jost Hartgers, Boeckverkooper in de Gasthuys-Steegh, bezijden het Stad-huys, inde Boeck-winckel.* 1648. 4°.
[566. g. 9. (8.)]

Journael, ofte Beschrijvinghe van de wonderlijcke Reyse gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten van Hoorn . . . Desen laetsten Druck verbetert . . . van Aris Claessz. en andere, *etc.* pp. 56. 9 plates. *Ghedruckt by Isaac Willemsz. voor Marten Gerbrantsz. Boeckverkooper inde Kerck-straet in 't A. B. C.: tot Hoorn,* Anno 1648. 4°. [1061. g. 45.]

Journael ofte Beschrijvinghe vande wonderlijcke Reyse gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten . . . Desen laetsten Druck verbetert, en uyt eenige geschreven Journalen, van Aris Claessz. en andere, gehouden op de selfde Reyse, mercklijck vermeerdert. *Tot Hoorn, Ghedruckt by Isaac Willemsz. voor Mieus Jansz. Appel, Boeckverkooper aende Roo-steen, in de Nieuwe Bybel*, Anno 1648. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journael ofte Beschrijvinghe vande wonderlijcke Reyse gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc. Voor Jan Jansz. Deutel, Boeckverkooper op 't Oost in Biestkens Testament*, Anno 1648. 4°. [Tiele.]

Diarium vel Descriptio laboriosissimi et Molestissimi Itineris, facti à Guilielmo Cornelii Schoutenio, Hornano, Annis 1615, 1616, et 1617 . . . Editio altera. pp. 71. 6 plates. *Sumptibus Ludovici Vlas-bloem: Docceti*, 1648. 4°. [G. 6739.]

Journael ofte Beschrijving vande wonderlijcke Voyagie, ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, van Hoorn, inden Jaere 1615, 1616, ende 1617. Hoe hy bezuyden de Straete van Magellanes, een nieuwe Passagie ondeckt, en de geheele Aerd-cloot om-gezeylt heeft. *Tot Dockum. Gedruckt by Louis Vlas-bloem, Boeckdrucker wonende inde Kercstraet int Schrijf-boeck*, 1649. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journael ofte Beschrijving vande wonderlijcke Voyagie, ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc. Dockum, Louis Vlas-bloem*, 1651. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journael ofte Beschrijving vande wonderlijcke Voyagie, ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc. Amsterdam, Louis Vlasbloem*, 1655, (4°.) [Tiele.]

Diarium vel Descriptio laboriosissimi et molestissimi Itineris. facti à Guilielmo Cornelii Schoutenio, Hornano, Annis 1615. 1616, & 1617, *etc.* pp. 71. 6 plates. *Sumptibus Ludovici Vlas-boom: Amsterdami*, 166[0.] 4°. [1295. b.]

Journael, ofte Beschrijvinge vande wonderlijcke Reyse gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten . . . Desen laetsten Druck verbetert, en uyt eenige geschreven Journalen van Aris Klaessz. en andere, gehouden op de selfde Reyse, merckelijck vermeedert. pp. 57. 6 plates. *Gedruckt by Jan Jacobsz. Bouman, Boeckverkooper op 't Water in de Lelye onder de Doornen: t' Amsterdam*, Anno 1661. 4°. [1424. c. 26.]

Journael Van de wonderlijcke Reyse, Gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten van Hoorn, Inde Jaren 1615. 1616. en 1617. Verhalende hoe dat hy bezuyden de Straet Magalanes, eenen nieuwen Doorganck gevonden heeft, streckende tot in de Zuydt-Zee, met de vreemdigheyt der Volckeren, Landen en Wonderheeden die men aldaer gesien heeft. *t' Amsterdam, Gedruckt By Gillis Joosten Saeghman, inde Nieuwe-straet, Ordinaris Drucker vande Journalen ter Zee, ende Landt-Reysen* [1663]. 4°. [10057. dd. 50. (8.)]

Journael Vande Wonderlijcke Reyse, Gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc. t' Amsterdam, By Michiel de Groot, Boeck-verkooper op de Nieuwendijck, tusschen beyde de Haarlemmer-sluysen, inde groote Bybel* [1664]. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journael Vande Wonderlijcke Reyse, Gedaen door Willem Cornelisz Schouten, *etc. Amsterdam, Weduw van Michiel de Groot* [1690]. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journael Vande Wonderlijcke Reyse, Gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc.* *Amsterdam, Gijsbert de Groot.* 1716. 4°. [Tiele.]

Journael Vande Wonderlijcke Reyse, Gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc.* *By de Weduwe van Gijsbert de Groot, Boeckverkoopster op den Nieuwen-dijck, inde Groote Bybel.* [1720.] 4°. [Tiele.]

Navigation Australe faite par Jaques Le Maire, et par Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, les Années 1615, 1616, et 1617, *etc.* In René Augustin Constantin de Renneville's "Recueil des Voyages," *etc.* Nouvelle édition. tom. 8. pp. 14-229. *Jean Baptiste Machuel le jeune: Rouen,* 1725. 12°.
[1047. a. 15-24.—688. c. 15-24.—979. d. 1-10.]

——— [Another edition.] tom. 4. pt. 2. pp. 531-618. 2 maps. *Chez Isaac Rey: Amsterdam,* 1754. 12°. [303. a. 15.]

Journael Van de Wonderlijke Reyze, Gedaen door Willem Cornelisz. Schouten, *etc.* *Tot Amsterdam, By Joannes Kannewet, Boeckverkooper in de Nes, inde Gekroonde Jugte Bybel.* 1766. 4°. [Tiele.]

James Le Maire, and William Schouten, to Magellanica, Ponlyesia [*sic*], and Australasia. In John Callander's "Terra Australis Cognita," *etc.* Vol. 2. pp. 217-269. *Printed by A. Donaldson: Edinburgh,* 1768. 8°.
[G. 16065-7.—566- c. 1-3.]

The Voyage of James Le Mair, and William Schouten, 1616. In Alexander Dalrymple's "An Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean. Vol. ii, containing the Dutch Voyages." pp. 1-64. *Printed for the Author: London,* 1771. 4°.
[566. h. 9. (2.)—454. h. 5, 6. (1.)—K. 212. d. 11.—G. 1781.]

Découvertes de Jacques Le Maire et Guillaume Shouten, en 1616. In Alexander Dalrymple's "Voyages dans la Mer du sud par les Espagnols et les Hollandois. Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglois . . . par M. de Fréville." pp. 291-323. *Chez Saillant et Nyon; Pissot: Paris,* 1774. 8°.
[10491. de. 5.]

The Voyage of William Cornelison Schouten, of Horne. In John Hamilton Moore's "A New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels," *etc,* Vol. 1. pp. 49-53. *Printed for the Proprietors, and sold by Alexander Hogg, at No.* 16, *Paternoster Row, London,* [1780.] fol. [10003. f. 2.]

Découverte du Détroit de Le Maire. Journal ou Description du merveilleux voyage de Guillaume Schouten, Hollandais, natif de Horn, fait en les annees 1615, 1616, 1617. In "Voyages dans tous les Mondes. Nouvelle Bibliothèque historique et littéraire, publiée sous la direction de M. Eugène Muller." pp. 191-235. *Ch. Delagrave: Paris,* 1888. 8°.
[10026. aa. 1.]

Relación diaria del Viaje de Jacobo Le Maire y Guillermo Cornelio Schouten . . . Reimpresa [from the 1619 edition] con una nota bibliográfica de J. T. Medina. pp. vii. 56. *Santiago de Chile,* 1897. 8°.
[9771. bb. 33.—9551. bb. 43.]

V.—List of Works Quoted in this Volume or Bearing on its Subject, with the British Museum Press-Marks.

Aa (Abraham Jacob van der).—Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende Levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige Personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons Vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt. Door A. J. van der Aa. Voortgezet door K. J. R. van Harderwijk en Dr. G. D. J. Schotel.) 21 Deelen. *J. J. van Brederode: Haarlem*, 1852-78. 8°.
[2038. f.—10761. f.]

Acosta (Joseph de).—Historia natural y moral de las Indias. pp. 535. *Juan de Leon: Sevilla*, 1590. 4°.
[K. 146. a. 3.—G. 6341.——*Barcelona*, 1591. 8°.—978. a. 13.——*Madrid*, 1608. 4°.—978. k. 6.—1792 4°.—9551. f. 3.]

——— Historie naturael ende morael van de Westersche Indien . . . Nu eerstmael uyt den Spaenschen Overgheset door Jan Huygen van Linschoten. *Enchuysen, Haarlem* [printed], 1598. 8°.
[10470. a. 1.]

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Compiled by the Padre JUAN GONZALEZ DE MENDOZA, & now reprinted from the Early Translation of R. Parke. Edited by SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, Bart., M.P., F.R.S. With an Introduction by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S., 2 vols. Index. *(Vol. 14 out of print.)* *Issued for* 1854.

16—The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake.

Being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios. [By SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, the Younger.] Collated with an unpublished Manuscript of Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Expedition. With Appendices illustrative of the same Voyage, and Introduction, by WILLIAM SANDYS WRIGHT VAUX, F.R.S., Keeper of Coins, British Museum. pp. xl. 295. 1 Map. Index. *Issued for* 1855.

17—The History of the Two Tartar Conquerors of China,

Including the two Journeys into Tartary of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, in the suite of the Emperor Kang-Hi. From the French of Père PIERRE JOSEPH D'ORLEANS, of the Company of Jesus, 1688. To which is added Father Pereira's Journey into Tartary in the suite of the same Emperor. From the Dutch of Nicolaas Witsen. Translated and Edited by the EARL OF ELLESMERE. With an Introduction by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. xv. vi. 153. Index.
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18—A Collection of Documents on Spitzbergen and Greenland,

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20—Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century.

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21—History of the New World. By Girolamo Benzoni, of Milan.

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24—Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, 1539, 1540, 1639,

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From their first original unto the year of our Lord 1555. By ANTONIO GALVANO, Governor of Ternate. [Edited by F. DE SOUSA TAVARES.] Corrected, quoted, & published in England by RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1601. Now reprinted, with the original Portuguese text (1563), and edited by ADMIRAL CHARLES RAMSAY DRINKWATER BETHUNE, C.B. pp. iv. viiii. 242. *Issued for* 1862.

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By FRIAR JORDANUS, of the Order of Preachers & Bishop of Columbum in India the Greater, *circa* 1330. Translated from the Latin Original, as published at Paris in 1839, in the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, of the Societé de Géographie. With the addition of a Commentary, by COL. SIR HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B. pp. iv. xviii. 68. Index. *Issued for* 1863.

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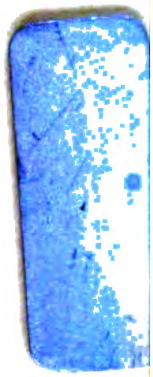

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