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Sic. XVIII - 15.

Sir William Monson's N A V A L T R A C T S: I N S I X B O O K S.

C O N T A I N I N G,

1. *A Yearly Account of the English and Spanish Fleets, during the War in Queen Elizabeth's time; with Remarks on the Actions on both sides.*
2. *Actions of the English under King James the First, and Discourses upon that Subject.*
3. *The Office of the Lord High Admiral of England, and of all the Ministers and Officers under him; with other Particulars to that purpose.*
4. *Discoveries and Enterprizes of the Spaniards and Portugueses; and several other remarkable Passages and Observations.*
5. *Divers Projects and Stratagems, tender'd for the good of the Kingdom.*
6. *Treats of Fishing to be set up on the Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Benefit that will accrue by it to all His Majesty's Three Kingdoms: With many other things concerning Fish, Fishing, and Matters of that Nature.* ✓

The Whole from the Original Manuscript;
Never before Published.

L O N D O N :

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T H E P R E F A C E.

HAVING had the Perusal of these Naval Tracts of Sir *William Monson*, as well to compare Two Copies together, and supply the Defects of the one out of the other, as to correct what might be found in them amiss, either through the negligence of Transcribers, or the Author's want of time to revise his Work, yet without presuming to alter Sir *William's* Sense or Design in the least, but only to make the whole fit for the Press; I thought it necessary to give the Reader some little Information concerning the Work, before he enters upon it; but with that Brevity, which I have always affected, when any thing has appear'd abroad under my own Name; and which I am much more inclin'd to, being to speak of what must give Praise or Dispraise to another, and not to me, who am no way concern'd in it.

Some nice Persons will, perhaps, at the first Reading of this Work, find fault with the Language, and wonder that Sir *William*, who was a Gentleman by Birth, and so great a Man as an Admiral, should answer their expectation so little in that particular. I cannot, I must confess, vindicate the Language; but it was not my Province to alter it: And as for the Author, it must be consider'd, that tho' born a Gentleman, he spent most of his time at Sea, a very unfit School for a Man to improve his Language. For the same reason we may suppose he was not much a Scholar, but of excellent natural Parts, and a great Master of the Art he profess'd, as will sufficiently appear by this Work, and is enough to recommend it. Besides, we must not expect that the Days of Queen *Elizabeth* could form a Man to the Language of our time; and tho' Sir *William* liv'd till the Civil War in the Reign of King *Charles* the First, it is to be observ'd, that he was then in his declining Age, when for the most part Men rather mind what they say, than how they say it.

The Work therefore, tho' perhaps not so pleasing in Style as some might desire, is correct and clear from abundance of Oversight, which, as I said before, had either crept in through the fault of Transcribers, or for want of the Author's due revising it. Nor was it proper to alter the Style, but to allow the Author to deliver himself in his own way; for should discerning Persons find Sir *William Monson* speak the Language of this time precisely, having never before appear'd in Print; they might be rather apt to believe these Tracts supposititious, than his own lawful offspring.

There is another thing, which perhaps will seem unpardonable, and not without just cause, if Judges be rigorous; and is, That there are some Mistakes, or to speak plainly, Falshoods to be found in these Tracts. What I can say to this, is, That they are most, if not all, in things then not better known; as for instance, the Affairs of the East and West Indies, concerning which, many extravagant Stories were formerly told, which Time and Experience have disprov'd: Besides, we must not be too rash in supposing every thing false, which does not seem probable to us; for there might be many Accidents, or Occurrences in those days, which might be really true and undoubted, tho' to us they seem preposterous and strange. And it is further to be observ'd, that these Errors are not in things, whereon the Credit of the subject Matter depends, but only in such as fall in by the by, and wherein Sir *William* was either impos'd upon by Authors, then in Credit, or by living Persons, whose Reputation might be untainted.

I will not pretend to give a Character of the Author, or more of his Work, which every Reader has as much Right to judge of, as my self, and perhaps, is better able; what little I have said, as to those Two Points above, is not to Apologize for the Work, or to propound the Reader, but only to prevent his being too hasty in condemning; because some Men are naturally so precipitate, that they are apt to take a prejudice to a Book upon the first dislike; which they may afterwards, upon second Thoughts, and more mature Deliberation, find both Useful and Delightful. Nor is there any need to give an Account what the Work is, as I thought once to have done; because it would be a needless Repetition of the Contents, in which every Man may at one view see the Heads of all these Tracts; besides that every Book has a short Argument, yet sufficient to shew what it Treats of.

T H E C O N T E N T S.

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Sir William Monson to his Eldest Son.

Dear Son,

THE Custom of Dedicating Books is ancient, and they have been usually Dedicated either to Great Persons, for Protection or Reward; or to Acquaintance, out of Friendship and Affection; or to Children, out of Natural Love, and for their Instruction. And to this end it is, I commend the reading of the following Discourse to you; that so beholding the 18 years War by Sea, which for want of years you could not then remember; and comparing them with the 18 years of Peace, in which you have liv'd, you may consider Three things. First, That after so many Pains and Perils, God has lent Life to your Father to further your Education. Secondly, What proportion his Recompence and Rewards have had to his Services. Lastly, What just Cause you have to abandon the Thoughts of such dangerous and uncertain Courses; and that you may follow the ensuing Precepts, which I recommend to your frequent Perusal.

In the first place, I will put you in mind of the small Fortune I shall leave, that you may rate your Expences accordingly; and yet as little as it is, 'tis great to me, in respect I attain'd to it by my own Endeavours and Dangers, and therefore no body can challenge Interest in it but my self, though your Carriage may claim the best Title to it.

Beware you presume not so much upon it, as to grow disobedient to your Parents; for what you can pretend to, is but the Privilege of Two years of Age above your younger Brother; and in such Cases Fathers are like Judges, that can and will distinguish of Offences and Deserts according to Truth, and will Reward and Punish as they shall see cause.

And because you shall know it is no rare or new thing for a Man to dispose of his own, I will lay before you a Precedent of your own House, that so often as you think of it, you may remember it with Fear, and prevent it with Care.

Your Grandfather's great Grandfather was a Knight by Title, and *John* by Name, which Name we desire to retain to our Eldest Sons; God blessed him with many Earthly Benefits, as Wealth, Children, and Reputation; his Eldest Son was call'd *John*, after his Father, and his Second *Will-*

liam, like to your self and Brother; but upon what displeasure I know not, (though we must judge the Son gave the occasion) his Father left him the least part of his Fortune, yet sufficient to equal the best Gentleman of his Shire, and particularly the ancient House call'd after his Name. His other Son *William* he invested with what your Uncle now enjoys. Both the Sons whilst they liv'd carried the Port and Estimation of their Father's Children, though afterwards it fell out that the Son of *John*, and Nephew to *William*, became Disobedient, Negligent, and Prodigal, and spent all his Patrimony; so that in conclusion he and his Son extinguish'd their House, and there now remains no Memory of them. As for the Second Line and Race, of whom your Uncle and I descended, we live as you see, though our Estates be not great, and of the Two mine much the least; which notwithstanding is the greater to me, in respect I achiev'd it with the Peril and Danger of my Life; and you will make my Satisfaction in the Enjoyment of it the greater, if it be attended with that Comfort I hope to receive from you.

The next thing I will handle shall be Arms. Know that Wars by Land or Sea are always accompanied with infinite Dangers and Disasters, and seldom Rewarded according to Merit: For one Soldier that lives to enjoy that Preferment which becomes his Right by Antiquity of Service, ten thousand fall by the Sword and other Casualties: And if you compare that of a Souldier with any other Calling or Profession, you will find much difference both in the Reward and Danger.

Though Arms have been esteem'd in all Ages, and the more as there was greater occasion to use them; yet you shall find they have been always subject to Jealousies and Envy; Jealousies from the State, if the General or other Officer grow great and popular: subject to Envy from Inferiours, who through their perverse and ill Dispositions, malign other Men's Merits.

The Advancement of Soldiers is commonly made by Councillors at Home, whose Eyes cannot witness the Services perform'd abroad; but a Man is advanc'd as he is betriended, which makes the Soldier's Preferment as uncertain as his Life is casual.

Compare the Condition and Advancement of Soldiers of our time but with the

mean and mercenary Lawer, and you shall find so great a difference, that I had rather you should become Apprentice to the one, than make Profession of the other.

A Captain that will seek to get the love of his Soldiers, as his greatest Praise and Felicity, of all other Vices must detest and abandon Covetousness; he must live by spending as the Miser does by sparing; insomuch as few of them can obtain by War wherewith to maintain themselves in Peace; and where Wealth is wanting Preferment fails.

Soldiers that live in Peaceable Islands, as in *England*, are undervall'd, because we see not those Dangers which make them necessary, as others do where Wars are practis'd. And the good Success in our Wars has been such, as makes us attribute our Victories, not so much to Valour as to Chance.

I confess the base and ill Behaviour of some Soldiers, has made them and their Profession the less esteem'd; for the Name of a Captain, which was ever wont to be Honourable, is now become a Word of Reproach and Disdain.

Soldiers may have Reputation, but little Credit; Reputation enough to defend their Honours, but little Trust in Commerce of the World; and not without cause, for their Security is the worse, by how much the danger of Death is the greater.

Learning is as much to be preferr'd before War, as the Trade of a Merchant before that of the Factor. By Learning you are made sensible of the difference betwixt Men and other Creatures, and will be able to judge between the good and the bad, and how to walk accordingly. By Learning you attain to the knowledge of Heavenly Mysteries, and you may frame your Life accordingly, as God shall give you grace. By Learning you are made capable of Preferment, if it concur with Virtue and Discretion; and the rather, because you are a Gentleman by Birth, and well Ally'd, which I observe next to Money, in this Golden Age, is the second Step to Preferment.

For one that is preferred by Arms, there are twenty by Learning; and indeed the Soldier is but a Servant to the Learned, for after his many fought Battles, and as many Dangers of his Life, he must yield Account of his Actions, and be judg'd, corrected, and advanc'd as it shall please the other.

You may wonder to hear me extol Learning so high above my own Profession, considering the poor Fortune I shall leave was achiev'd by Arms; it is enough therefore to persuade you what I say is not

conjectural but approved: for if I did not find this difference, the Natural Affection of a Father to a Son would make me to discover it to you, that you may follow that which is most probable and profitable.

Good Son, love Soldiers for your Country's sake, who are the Defenders of it; for my sake, who have made Profession of it; but shun the Practice of it as you will do Brawls, Quarrels, and Suits, which bring with them Perplexities, and Dangers.

There are many things to be shunn'd, as being perillous both to Body and Soul; as Quarrels and the occasions of them, which happen through the enormities and abuses of our Age. Esteem Valour as a special Virtue, but shun Quarrelling as a most detestable Vice. Of Two Evils it were better to keep Company with a Coward than a Quareller; the one is commonly Sociable and Friendly, the other Dangerous in his Acquaintance, and offensive to Standers by. He is never free from Peril, that is conversant with a Quarrelsome Person, either for Offence given to himself, or to others, wherein he may be engag'd.

A true Valiant Man will have enough to do to defend his own Reputation, without engaging for others: nor are all Valiant that will Fight, therefore Discretion makes a difference betwixt Valour and Desperateness. Nothing can happen more unfortunate to a Gentleman, than to have a Quarrel, and yet nothing so ordinary as to give Offence; it draws with it many Mischiefs both to Body and Soul. Being Slain he is in danger of Damnation, and no less if he Kill the other, without great Repentance. He shall perpetually live in danger of Revenge from the Friends of the Party kill'd, and fall into the Mercy of the Prince and Law where he lives; but if for Fear and Baseness he avoid and shun a Quarrel, he is more odious living than he would be unhappy in dying.

Drinking is the Foundation of other Vices, it is the cause of Quarrels, and then Murders follow. It occasions Sweating, Whoredom, and many other Vices depend upon it.

When you behold a Drunkard, imagine you see a Beast in the Shape of a Man. It is a Humour that for the time pleases the Party Drunk, and so bereaves him of Sense, that he thinks all he does delights the Beholders; but the next day he buys his Shame with Repentance, and perhaps gives that Offence in his Drunkenness, that makes him hazard both Life and Reputation in a Quarrel. No Man will brag or boast so much of the Word Reputation

as a Drunkard, when indeed there is nothing more to a Man's Imputation than to be Drunk.

A Drunkard is in the Condition of an Excommunicated Person, whose Testimony betwixt Party and Party is of no validity. Avoid (good Son) the Company of a Drunkard, and Occasions of Drinking, then shall you live free without Fear, and enjoy your own without Hazard.

Whoredom is an Incident to Drunkenness, though, on the contrary, all Whoremasters are not Drunkards. It is a Sin not wash'd away without the Vengeance of God to the Third and Fourth Generation.

Besides the Offence to God, it gives a Disreputation to the Party and his Offspring; it occasions a Breach betwixt Man and Wife, encourages the Wife very often to follow the ill Example of her Husband, and then ensues Dislike, Divorce, Disinheriting of Children, Suits in Law, and Consuming of Estates.

The next and worst Sin I would have you shun is Swearing. I do not advise you like a Puritan, that ties a Man more to the observing of Sundays, and from taking the Name of God in vain, than to all the rest of the Commandments: but I wish you to avoid it for the greatness of the Sin it self, for the Plague of God hangs over the House of the Blasphemer. Swearing is odious to the Hearers, it gives little Credit to the Words of him that uses it, it affords no Pleasure as other Sins do, nor yields any Profit to the Party; Custom begets it, and Custom must make one leave it.

For your Exercises, let them be of Two Kinds, the one of Mind, the other of Body; that of the Mind must consist of Prayer, Meditation, and your Book; let your Prayers be twice a day, howsoever you dispose of your self the rest of the time; Prayers work a great effect in a Contrite and Penitent Heart.

By this I do not seek to persuade you from such Exercises and Delights of Body as are lawful and allowable in a Gentleman; for such increase Health and agility of Body, make a Man sociable in Company, and draw good Acquaintance; many times they bring a Man into Favour with a Prince, and prove an Occasion of Preferment in his Marriage; they are often a Safeguard to a Man's Life, as is vaulting suddenly upon a Horse to escape an Enemy.

I will especially commend to you such Pleasures as bring Delight and Content

without Charge; for others are fitter for Greater Men, than one of your Fortune to follow.

Hawking and Hunting, if they be moderately us'd, are like Tobacco, in some Cases wholesom for the Body, but in the common use both laborious and loathsome; they alike bring one inconvenience, (as commonly Vices do) that they are not so easily left as entertain'd.

Tobacco is hot and hurtful to young Bodies and Stomachs, and augments the heat of the Liver, which naturally you are subject to. It is offensive to Company, especially the Breath of him that takes it; it dries the Brain, and many become Fools with the continual use of it.

Let your Apparel be Handsom and Decent, not Curious nor Costly. A Wiseman is more esteem'd in his Plain Cloth than Gay Cloathing. It is more commendable to be able to buy a rich Suit than to wear one. A Wiseman esteems more of a Man's Vertues and Valour than of his Apparel; but seeing this Age is Fantastical and Changeable, you must fashion your self to it, but in so mean and moderate a manner, as to be rather Prais'd for Frugality, than Derided for Prodigality.

He that delights in Curious Cloaths is an Imitator of a Player, who measures his Apparel by the Part he Acts. And as Players appear upon the Stage to be seen of the Spectators, so do the Gallants expose their Bravery in open Assemblies.

Whil'st I live and you do not Marry, I shall temper this Expence; but when I die remember what I say, seek Advancement rather by your Carriage than Gaiety; the Reputation you gain by that will be lasting, when this will appear but like a Flower fading.

Frame your Course of Life to the Country and not to the Court; and yet make not your self such a Stranger to Great Persons, as in Assemblies they should ask others who you are. I confess the greatest and suddenest Rising is by the Court; yet the Court is like a hopeful and forward Spring, that is taken with a sharp and cold Frost, which nips and blasts a whole Orchard except 2 or 3 Trees; for after that proportion commonly Courtiers are preferr'd. And he that will thrive at Court must make his Dependency upon some great Person, in whose Ship he must imbarque all his Hopes; and how unfortunate such great Persons are oftentimes themselves, and how unthankful to their Followers, we want not Precedents.

He that settles his Service upon one of them, shall fall into the disfavour of another; for a Court is like an Army ever in War, striving by Stratagems to circumvent and kick up one anothers Heels. You are not ignorant of the aptness of this Comparison by what you know of me, whose Case will serve you for a Prospective-glass, wherein to behold your Danger afar off, the better to prevent it. Yet Reverence Lords because they are Noble, and one more than another, as he is more notable in Virtue.

Be choice of your Company; for as a Man makes election of them he is censur'd: Man lives by Reputation, and that failing he becomes a Monster. Let your Company consist of your own Rank, rather better than worse; for hold it for a Maxim, *The better Gentleman the more gentle in his Behaviour.*

Beware they be not accus'd of Crimes, for that may touch you in Credit; and if you lose your Reputation in the Bud of your Youth, you shall scarce recover it in the whole Course of your Life. Let them be Civil in Carriage, for commonly such Men are sensible above all; Let them be Learned, for Learning is a Fountain from whence springs another Life; Let them be Temperate in Diet and Expence, so shall you learn to live in Health, and increase in Wealth.

Beware they be not Cholerick in Disposition, or Arrogant in Opinion; for if so, you will become a Slave to their Humours, and Base by Suffering. A Cholerick Man of all others is the worst Companion, for he cannot temper his Rage, but on any slight Occasion of a Friend becomes an Enemy. Value true Friendship next to Marriage, which nothing but Death can Dissolve; for the fickleness of Friendship is often the ruine of ones Fortune.

Beware of Gaming, for it causes great vexation of Mind. If you lose, it begets in you that Humour, that out of hope of regaining your Losses, you will endanger the loss of all. Do not presume too much of your Skill in Play, or making Wagers, as if you were Excellent above others, or have Fortune at Command; for she is like a Whore, variable and inconstant, and when she disfavours you, it is with more loss at once than she recompences at twice.

Love your Brother and Sisters for their own sakes, as you are bound by Nature, but especially for mine whose they are. Remember you are all indifferent to me, but that God chose you from the rest to

be a Strength and Stay to them; think you cannot Honour your Father more being dead, than in shewing Affection to them he dearly lov'd; and nothing will more approve you to be mine, than Love and Kindness amongst your selves. You owe somewhat more to me than that I am your Father, in that I seek your Advancement above theirs, of which Obligation I will acquit you, conditionally you perform what you ought to them. For because Man cannot himself live ever, he desires to live in his Posterity; and if I had an hundred Sons, my greatest hope must depend upon you as you are my Eldest; and seeing my Care is of you above the rest, do not make my Memory so unhappy, as to give the World occasion to say, I left an unnatural Son. The only request I make is, be kind and loving to them, who I know by their Disposition, will give you no cause of offence. A Discourtesie from you will be as sharp to them as a Razor from another.

Be Courteous and Friendly to all, for Men are esteem'd according to their Carriage. There is an old Proverb, *The court-sie of the Mouth is of great value, and costs little.* A Proud Man is envied of his Equals, hated by his Inferiours, and scorn'd by his Superiours; so that betwixt Envy, Hate, and Scorn, he is Friendless.

Many times a Man is condemn'd to Death out of Presumption, especially when it concurs with an Opinion of his former ill Carriage: How much the more does it concern a Man in the times of his Prosperity to lay up a Stock of Love and Reputation?

There cannot be a greater Honour than to gain a Man's Enemy by a Courtesie; it far exceeds the Kindness that is done to another, and doubly obliges him that receives it. Love is a thing desired by a King from his Subjects, by a General from his Soldiers, and by a Master from his Servants; he that has it is rich by it, it maintains Peace in time of Peace, and is a safe Bulwork in time of War.

Do not buy this Love with the Ruine of your Estate, as many do with Prodigal Expences, and then are requited with Pity and Derision. Let your Expence be agreeable to the wearing of your Cloaths, better or worse according to Company; or the Journeying your Horse, the less way you go today, you may Travel the farther to morrow; but if you go every day a long and wearisome Journey, your Horse will fail, and you be forc'd to go a-foot, And so will it be in your Expences, if you do not moderate them according to
Days

Days and Companies, your Horse and you may Travel faintly together.

If you are Prodigal in any thing, let it be in Hospitality, as most agreeable to the Will of God; you shall Feed the Hungry, Relieve the Poor, and get the Love of the Rich. What you spend among your Neighbours is not lost, but procures their Love and Helps when you have need, and thereby you shall find Friendship in the Country as available as Favour at Court.

If you are call'd to any Place of Magistracy, do Justice with Pity, Revenge not your self of your Enemy under colour of Authority, for that shews Baseness, and will procure you Hatred. In Money Matters favour your Country, if it be not against the present Profit of the King, for many times his Name is us'd for the Gain of other Men.

Study the Laws, not to make a Mercenary Practice of them, but only for your own use, the good of your Neighbours, and the Government of your Country. Hold the Laws in reverence next to the King; for that Kingdom is well govern'd where the King is rul'd by the Laws, not the Laws by the King.

Be not Presumptuous in your Command, yet seek to be obey'd as you desire to obey; for as you are above others, others are above you. Give your mind to accommodate Controversies among your Neighbours, and you shall gain their Love, which will more avail you than the hate of the Lawyers can hurt you.

Punish Idleness and other Vices, as well for that they are such, as for Example's sake. Gain Love by doing Justice, and hate doing wrong, though it were to your immediate Profit.

If you Marry after my Death, chuse a Wife as near as you can suitable to your Calling, Years, and Condition; for such Marriages are made in Heaven, though celebrated on Earth.

If your Estate were great, your choice might be the freer; but where the Preferment of your Sisters must depend upon your Wife's Portion, let not your Fancy over-rule your Necessity. It is an old Saying, *He that Marries for Love has evil days and good nights*: Consider if you Marry for Affection, how long you will be raising Portions for your Sisters, and the Misery you shall live in all the days of your Life; for the greatest Fortune that a Man can expect is in his Marriage. A Wise Man is known by his Actions, but where Passion and Affection sway, that Man is depriv'd of Sense and Understanding.

It is not the Poverty or Meanness of her that's Marri'd that makes her the better Wife, for commonly such Women grow elevated, and are no more mindful of what they have been, than a Mariner is of his escape from a danger at Sea when it is past. You must set your Wife a good Example by your own Carriage, for a Wife and Discreet Husband usually makes an Obedient and Dutiful Wife. Beware of Jealousie, for it causes great Vexation of Mind, and Scorn and Laughter from your Enemies.

Many times it is occasion'd by the behaviour of the Husband towards other Women: in that case do like the Physician, take away the cause of the infirmity, if not you are worthy to feel the smart of it. Jealousie is grounded upon Conceit and Imagination, proceeds from a weak, idle, and distemper'd Brain; and the unworthy Carriage of him that is Jealous, many times makes a Woman do what otherwise she would not.

If God be pleas'd to give you Children, love them with that discretion that they discern it not, lest they too much presume upon it. Encourage them in things that are good, and correct them if they offend. The Love of God to Man cannot be better express'd, than by that of a Father to his Children. Comforts or Crosses they prove to their Parents, and herein Education is a great help to Nature.

Let your Children make you to dislike and abandon all other Delights and Pleasures of the World, in respect of the Comfort and Joy you receive by them. Make account then that Summer is past, and the Melancholy Winter approaches; for a careful and provident Father cannot take Delight in the World and Provide for his Children.

For a Conclusion I will recommend Two Principal Virtues to you, the one is Secrecy, the other Patience. Secrecy is necessary requir'd in all, especially Publick Persons for many times they are trusted with things, the revealing whereof may cost them their Lives, and hinder the Designs of their Masters. It is a folly to trust any Man with a Secret, that can give no assistance in the Business he is trusted with. Councillors of State, and Generals of Armies, of all other ought to be most secret, for their Designs being once discover'd, their Enterprizes fail. Silence was so much esteem'd among the *Persians*, that she was ador'd for a Goddess. The *Romans* kept their Expeditions so secret, as that alone was a Principal Cause

Cause of their Victories. But of all others trust not Women with a Secret, for the Weakness of their Sex makes them unsecret. Be Patient after the Example of *Job*, and you shall become a true Servant of God. Patience deserves to be Painted with a Sword in her Hand, for she conquers and subdues all Difficulties. If you will take advantage of your Enemy, make him Cholerick, and by Patience you shall overcome him.

Marcus Aurelius being both Emperor and Philosopher, confess'd he attain'd not the Empire by Philosophy but by Patience. What Man in the World was so Patient as our Saviour himself, by following whose Example his Ministers have converted more by their Words, than all the Persecuting Emperors could deter by Rigour or Cruelty of Laws. The Impatient Man contests with God himself, who gives and

takes away at his good Will and Pleasure.

Let me (good Son) be your Patern of Patience, for you can witness with me, that the Disgraces I have unjustly suffer'd, (my Estate being through my Misfortunes ruin'd, my Health by Imprisonments decay'd, and my Services undervalu'd and unrecompenc'd) have not bred the least Distaste or Discontent in me, or alter'd my Resolution from my Infancy; that is, I was never so base as to insinuate into any Man's Favour, who was favour'd by the Times. I was never so ambitious as to seek or crave Imployment, or to undertake any that was not put upon me. My great and only Comfort is, that I serv'd my Princes both faithfully and fortunately; but seeing my Services have been no better accepted, I can as well content my self in being a Spectator, as if I were an Actor in the World.

The Epistle Dedicatory of the First Book, to such Gentlemen as are the Author's Intimate Friends, that shall read these small Treatises.

IT is proper to all Discourses, not to comprehend more in one Book, than the Subject whereof they are to Treat, because variety of Matter may breed Confusion and Forgetfulness in the Reader: And though the ensuing Work Treats of several Nations, several Matters and Accidents, and of several Times and Ages, yet all tends to Sea Actions, and Men of that Profession, (as namely, the first Discovery of Countreys, the Settling of Commerce and Trade betwixt remote Nations, the Success of many Warlike Expeditions by Sea, and several Admonitions and other Particulars therein mention'd.

I have divid'd them into Six Books; in the First and Second, I place the Acts and Enterprizes of Englishmen, in respect of the deserved Honour the World attributes to them for their Marine Affairs; Secondly, in Duty being bound to prefer my own Countrey before all others, wherein I cannot be tax'd with Partiality or Flattery; and Thirdly, because the Actions and Journeys of the English will give light to ensuing Ages, by comparing them with times past for advantage of time to come, if there be occasion.

In the Third Book I set down the Office of the Lord High Admiral of England, and all other Inferior Offices belonging to him, and His Majesty's Ships, from the highest Commander to the meanest Sailer.

In the Fourth Book I touch upon divers Discoveries and Conquests of the Spanish and Portuguese Nation; but I will forbear to say any thing of them in particular, till I come to the Place where I am to Treat more at large of their Acts and Enterprizes.

In the Fifth I Treat of Projects, which I Dedicate to the Projectors of this time, not to Honour, but to Display them and the Infamous Courses they take against the Commonwealth.

In the Sixth I discover the Benefit of Fishing upon his Majesty's Coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and with what Ease it may be undertaken by his Majesty's Subjects.

Many Things contain'd in these Six Books, are no other than Collections of other Authors, and my Labour is no more therein, than theirs who gather variety of Flowers out of several Gardens, to compose one sightly Garland.

It is not my Intention that many shall read them, and such as do, shall be only my dearest Friends, because they will put a favourable Construction upon any Oversight I shall make, and will conceal and hide what Weakness they discover in me.

All my Aim is my own Pleasure, and my Friends Satisfaction, if this yields them any; if not, my good Will ought to be ne're the less valu'd, considering my Intention in offering it. What is wanting in Perfection, shall be supplied by my Affection and Service ever devoted to you, and so farewell.

Sir Wil-

Sir William Monson's

NAVAL TRACTS:

A Yearly Account of the English and Spanish Fleets, set out from the Year 1585, when the War with Spain first began, till the Year 1602, when King James made his happy Entrance into this Kingdom; shewing the Designs, Oversights, and Errors on both English and Spanish sides, with the Names of the Queen's Ships and Commanders in every Expedition.

Sir Francis Drake's Voyage to the West-Indies, Anno Dom. 1585. 1585.

Ships.

*The Elizabeth Bonaventure.
The Ayde.*

Commanders.

*Sir Francis Drake.
Capt. Forbisher.
Capt. Carlee, Lieutenant General by
Land.*

UPon knowledge of the Imbargo laid by the King of Spain in the year 1585, upon the English Ships, Men, and Goods found in his Country; Her Majesty having no Means to help or relieve her subjects by friendly Treaty, authoriz'd such as sustain'd los by the said Order, to repair themselves upon the Subjects of the King of Spain; and to that end gave them Letters of Reprisal, to take and Arrest all Ships, and Merchandizes they should find at Sea, or elsewhere, belonging to the Subjects of the said King.

Her Majesty at the same time, to revenge the Wrongs offer'd her, and to resist the King of Spain's Preparations made against her, equipp'd a Fleet of 25 Sail of Ships, and imploy'd them under the Command of Sir Francis Drake, as the fittest Man by reason of his Experience and Success in sundry Actions.

It is not my intent to set down all the Particulars of the Voyages treated of, but the Services done, and the Mistakes and Oversights committed, as a warning to

those that shall read them, and to prevent the like Errors hereafter.

This Voyage of Sir Francis Drake being the first Undertaking on either side. (for it ensu'd immediately after the Arrest of our Ships and Goods in Spain) I will deliver my Opinion of it before I proceed any farther.

One Impediment to the Voyage was, that to which the ill Success of divers others that after follow'd is to be imputed, viz. the want of Viduals and other Necessaries fit for so great an Expedition; for had not the Fleet by chance met with a Ship of Biscay in her return from Newfoundland, laden with Fish, which reliev'd their Necessities, they had been reduc'd to great extremity.

The Service perform'd in this Action, was the taking and lacking Santo Domingo in Hispaniola, Cartagena on the Continent, and Santa Justina in Florida; Three Towns of great Importance in the West-Indies. This Fleet was the greatest of any Nation but the Spaniards, that had been ever seen in those Seas since the first discovery of

1587. of them; and if it had been as well consider'd of, before their going from home, as it was happily perform'd by the Valour of the Undertakers, it had more annoy'd the King of *Spain*, than all other Actions that ensu'd during the time of the War.

But it seems our long Peace made us incapable of Advice in War; for had we kept and defended those Places when in our Possession, and provided to have been reliev'd and succour'd out of *England*, we had diverted the War from this part of *Europe*: for at that time there was no comparison betwixt the Strength of *Spain* and *England* by Sea, by means whereof we might have better defended

them, and with more ease inroach'd upon the rest of the *Indies*, than the King of *Spain* could have aided or succour'd them.

But now we see and find by Experience, that those Places which were then weak and unfortifi'd, are since so fortifi'd, that it is to no purpose to us to annoy the King of *Spain* in his *West-Indies*.

And though this Voyage prov'd both Fortunate and Victorious, yet considering it was rather an awakening than a weakening of him, it had been far better to have wholly declin'd, than to have undertaken it upon such slender grounds, and with so inconsiderable Forces.

1587. Sir Francis Drake's Second Voyage to the Road of Cadiz, and towards the Tercera Islands, Anno 1587.

Ships.

The Elizabeth Bonaventure.
The Lyon.
The Rainbow.
The Dreadnought.

Commanders.

Sir Francis Drake, General.
 Sir William Borroughs, Vice-Admiral.
 Capt. Bellingam.
 Capt. Thomas Fenner.

HER Majesty having receiv'd several Advertisements, that while the King of *Spain* was silent, not seeking revenge for the Injuries the Ships of Reprisal did him daily upon his Coasts, he was preparing an invincible Navy to invade her at Home. She thereupon sought to frustrate his Designs, by intercepting his Provisions before they should come to *Lisbon*, which was their Place of Rendezvous, and sent away Sir Francis Drake with a Fleet of 30 Sail great and small, 4 whereof were her own Ships.

The chief Adventure in this Voyage (besides those 4 Ships of her Majesty's) was made by the Merchants of *London*, who sought their private Gain more than the Advancement of the Service; neither were they deceiv'd of their expectation.

Sir Francis Drake being inform'd by Two Ships of *Middleborough*, that came from *Cadiz*, that a Fleet with Provisions and Ammunition, riding there, was ready to take the first opportunity of a Wind, to go to *Lisbon* and join with other Forces of the King of *Spain*, he directed his Course for *Cadiz* Road, where he found the Advertisement he receiv'd from the Ships of *Middleborough* in every point true; and upon his Arrival attempted the Ships with great Courage, and perform'd the Service he went for, by destroying all such

Ships he found in Harbour, as well of the *Spaniards* as other Nations that were hir'd by them; and by these Means he utterly defeated their mighty Preparations which were intended against *England* that year 1587.

The Second Service perform'd by him, was, the assaulting the Castle of Cape *St. Vincent*, upon the utmost Promontory of *Portugal*, and Three other strong Holds; all which he took, some by Force, and some by Composition. Thence he went to the Mouth of the River of *Lisbon*, where he anchor'd near *Cascais*, which the Marquess of *St. Cruz* beholding, durst not with his Gallies approach so near as once to charge him.

Sir Francis Drake perceiving, that though he had done important Service for the State by this fortunate Attempt of his, yet the same was not very acceptable to the Merchants, who adventur'd only in hope of Profit, and prefer'd their private gain before the security of the Kingdom, or any other respect. Therefore from *Cascais* he stood to the *Tercera* Islands, to expect the coming home of a *Carrack*, which he had Intelligence Winter'd at *Mosambique*, and consequently she was to be home in that Month. And though his Victuals grew scarce, and his Company importun'd his return home, yet

with fair Speeches he perswaded, and so much prevailed with them, that they were willing to expect the issue some few days at the Islands; and by this time drawing near the Island of *St. Michael*, it was his good fortune to meet and take the *Carrack* he look'd for; which added more Honour to his former Service, and

gave great content to the Merchants, to have a profitable Return of their Adventure, which was the thing they principally desir'd. This Voyage proceeded prosperously and without exception, for there was both Honour and Wealth gain'd, and the Enemy greatly endamag'd.

1588.

The first Action undertaken by the Spaniards in 1588, the Duke of Medina Sidonia General, encounter'd by our Fleet, the Lord Admiral being at Sea himself in Person.

1588.

The ENGLISH FLEET.

Ships.

The Ark Royal.
The Revenge.
The Victory.
The Lyon.
The Bear.
The Elizabeth Jones.
The Triumph.
The Hope.
The Bonaventure.
The Dreadnought.
The Nonpareille.
The Swiftsure.
The Rainbow.
The Vauniguard.
The Mary Rose.
The Antelope.
The Foresight.
The Ayde.
The Swallow.
The Tyger.
The Scout.
The Bull.
The Tremontany.
The Acatice.
The Charles Pinnace.
The Moon.
The Spy.
The Noy.

Commanders.

The Lord Admiral.
 Sir Francis Drake, Vice Admiral.
 Sir John Hawkins, Rear-Admiral.
 The Lord Thomas Howard.
 The Lord Shiffeld.
 Sir Robert Southwell.
 Sir Martin Forbusher.
 Capt. Cross.
 Capt. Reyman.
 Capt. George Beeson.
 Capt. Thomas Fenner.
 Capt. William Fenner.
 The Lord Henry Seymore.
 Sir William Wentworth.
 Capt. Fenton.
 Sir Henry Palmer.
 Capt. Baker.
 Capt. John Wentworth.
 Capt. Rich. Hawkins.
 Capt. Will. Wentworth.
 Capt. Ashley.

 Capt. Roberts.
 Capt. Clifford.
 Capt. Bradbury.

Notwithstanding the great spoil and hurt Sir Francis Drake did the year past in *Cadiz Road*, by intercepting some part of the Provisions intended for this great Navy, the King of Spain us'd his utmost endeavours to revenge himself this year, left in taking longer time his Designs might be prevented as before, and arrested all Ships, Men, and Necessaries wanting for his Fleet, and compell'd them per force to serve in this Action.

He appointed for General the Duke of

Medina Sidonia, a Man employed rather for his Birth than Experience; for so many Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls, voluntarily going, would have repin'd to have been commanded by a Man of less Quality than themselves. They departed from *Lisbon* the 19th day of May 1588, with the greatest Pride and Glory, and least doubt of Victory, that ever any Nation did; but God being angry with their Insolence, dispos'd of them contrary to their expectation.

A 2

The

1588.

The Directions from the King of Spain to his General were, to repair as Wind and Weather would give leave, to the Road of *Callice* in *Piccardy*, there to abide the coming of the Prince of *Parma* and his Army, and upon their meeting to have open'd a Letter directed to them both with further Instructions.

He was especially commanded to sail along the Coasts of *Britany* and *Normandy*, to avoid being discover'd by us here; and if he met with the *English* Fleet, not to offer to fight, but only seek to defend themselves. But when he came athwart the North Cape, he was taken with a contrary Wind and foul Weather, and forc'd into the Harbour of the *Groyne*, where part of his Fleet lay attending his coming. As he was ready to depart from thence, they had Intelligence by an *English* Fisherman, whom they took, of our Fleets late being at Sea, and putting back again, not expecting their coming that year; insomuch that most part of the Men belonging to our Ships were discharg'd.

This Intelligence made the Duke alter his Resolution, and to break the Directions given him by the King: Yet this was not done without some difficulty, for the Council was divided in their Opinions; some held it best to observe the King's Command, others not to lose the Opportunity offer'd to surprize our Fleet unawares, and burn and destroy them.

Diego Flores de Valdes, who had the Command of the *Andalusian* Squadron, and on whom the Duke most reli'd, because of his Experience and Judgment, was the main Man that perswaded the Attempt of our Ships in Harbour, and with that Resolution they directed their Course for *England*.

The first Land they fell in with, was the *Lizard*, the Southermost part of *Cornwall*, which they took to be the *Rams Head* athwart *Plimouth*, and the night being at hand they tack'd off to Sea, making account in the morning to Attempt our Ships in *Plimouth*.

But whilst they were thus deceiv'd in the Land, they were in the mean time discover'd by Capt. *Flemming* a Pyrate, who had been at Sea pirsing, and upon view of them, knowing them to be the *Spanish* Fleet, repair'd with all speed to *Plimouth*, and gave notice to our Fleet, then riding at Anchor; whereupon my Lord Admiral hastned with all possible expedition to get out the Ships, and before the *Spaniards* could draw near *Plimouth*, they were welcom'd at Sea by my

Lord and his Navy, who continu'd fight with them till he brought them to an Anchor at *Callice*. The Particulars of the Fight, and the Success thereof, being things so well known, I purposely omit.

While this Armada was preparing, Her Majesty had from time to time perfect Intelligence of the *Spaniards* Designs; and because she knew his intent was to invade her at Sea with a mighty Fleet from his own Coast, she furnish'd out her Royal Navy under the Conduct of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, and sent him to *Plimouth*, as the likeliest place to attend their coming, as you have heard.

Then knowing that it was not the Fleet alone that could endanger her safety, for that they were too weak for any Enterprize on Land, without the assistance of the Prince of *Parma*, and his Army in *Flanders*; therefore she appointed 30 Sail of *Holland* Ships to lie at an Anchor before the Town of *Dunkirk*, where the Prince was to imbarque in Flat-bottom'd Boats, made purposely for the Expedition of *England*.

Thus had the Prince by the Queen's Providence been prevented, if he had attempted to put out of Harbour with his Boats; but in truth neither his Vessels nor his Army were in readiness, which caus'd the King ever after to be jealous of him, and as 'tis suppos'd to hasten his end.

Her Majesty, notwithstanding this her vigilant care to foresee and prevent all danger that might happen at Sea, would not hold her self too secure of her Enemy, and therefore prepar'd a Royal Army to welcom him upon his Landing; but it was not the Will of God that he should set foot on *English* Ground, the Queen becoming Victorious over him at Sea, with little hazard or bloodshed of her Subjects.

Having shew'd the Design of the *Spaniards*, and the Course taken by her Majesty to prevent them; I will now collect the Errors committed as well by the one as by the other, as I have promis'd in the beginning of my Discourse.

As nothing could appear more rational and likely to take effect, after the Duke had got Intelligence of the State of our Navy, than his design to surprize them unawares in Harbour, he well knowing, that if he had taken away our Strength by Sea, he might have landed both when and where he list'd; which is a great advantage to an Invader; yet admitting it had taken that effect he design'd, I see not how he was to be commended in breaking the Instructions given him by the King; what blame then did he deserve, when so ill an Event

Event follow'd by his Rashness and Disobedience?

It was not the want of Experience in the Duke, or his laying the fault upon *Valdes*, that excus'd him at his return; but he had smarted bitterly for it, had it not been for his Wife, who obtain'd the King's Favour for him.

Before th' arrival of the Ships that escap'd in this Voyage, it was known in *Spain*, that *Diego Flores del Valdes* was he who persuaded the Duke to break the King's Instructions; whereupon the King gave commandment in all his Ports, where the said *Diego Flores del Valdes* might arrive, to apprehend him; which was accordingly executed, and he carried to the Castle of *Santander*, where he was not permitted to Plead his Excuse, but remain'd there without being ever seen or heard of after, by report of his Page, with whom I spoke afterwards, we being both Prisoners together in the Castle of *Lisbon*.

If the King's Directions had been punctually follow'd, then had his Fleet kept the Coast of *France*, and arriv'd in the Road of *Callice* before they had been discover'd by us, which might have endanger'd her Majesty and the Realm, our Ships being so far off as *Plimouth*, where then they lay; and though the Prince of *Parma* had not been presently ready, yet he had gain'd time sufficient by the absence of our Fleet to make himself ready.

And whereas the Prince was kept in by the 30 Sail of *Hollanders*, so many of the Duke's Fleet might have been able to have put the *Hollanders* from the Road of *Dunkirk*, and possess it themselves, and so have secur'd the Army and Fleet's meeting together; and then how easie had it been after their joining to have transported themselves for *England*? And what would have ensu'd upon their Landing here, may be well imagin'd.

But it was the Will of him that directs all Men and their Actions, that the Fleets should meet, and the Enemy be beaten as they were, put from their Anchorage

in *Callice* Road, the Prince of *Parma* beleaguerr'd at Sea, and their Navy driven about *Scotland* and *Ireland* with great hazard and loss; which shews how God did marvellously defend us against their dangerous Designs.

And here was Opportunity offer'd us to have follow'd the Victory upon them; for after they were beaten from the Road at *Callice*, and all their Hopes and Designs frustrated, if we had once more offer'd them fight, the General, it was thought by persuasion of his Confessor, was determin'd to yield, whose Example 'tis very likely, would have made the rest to have done the like. But this Opportunity was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the Lord Admiral, but meerly through the want of Providence in those that had the Charge of Furnishing and Providing for the Fleet; for at that time of so great Advantage, when they came to Examine their Provisions, they found a general scarcity of Powder and Shot, for want whereof they were forc'd to return home: Besides, that the dreadful Storms which destroy'd the *Spanish* Fleet, made it impossible to pursue the remains of them. Another Opportunity was lost, not much inferior to the other, by not sending part of our Fleet to the West of *Ireland*, where the *Spaniards* of necessity were to pass, alter so many Dangers and Disasters as they had endur'd.

If we had been so happy as to have follow'd this Course, as it was both thought and discours'd of, we had been absolutely Victorious over this great and formidable Navy, for they were brought to that necessity, that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confess'd that were Shipwreck'd in *Ireland*.

By this we may see how weak and feeble the Designs of Men are, in respect of the Creator of Man, and how indifferently he dealt betwixt the Two Nations, sometimes giving one, sometimes the other, the advantage; and yet so that he only order'd the Battel.

1589.

The Expedition to Portugal, An. 1589.

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commanders by Land.
<i>The Revenge.</i>	Sir Francis Drake.	Sir John Norris.
<i>The Dreadnought.</i>	Capt. Thomas Fenner.	Sir Edward Norris.
<i>The Ayde.</i>	Capt. William Fenner.	Sir Henry Norris.
<i>The Nonpareille.</i>	Capt. Sackville.	Sir Roger Williams.
<i>The Foresight.</i>	Capt. William Winter.	Capt. Wilson, Sergeant Major.
<i>The Swiftsure.</i>	Capt. Goring.	Earl of Essex Voluntier.

THE last overthrow of 1588, given to the Invincible Armada or Navy, as they term'd it, did so encourage every Man to the War, that happy was he who could put himself into the Service against the Spaniards, as it appear'd by the Volunteers that went in this Voyage; which the Queen (considering the great loss the King of Spain receiv'd the year past, whereby it was to be imagin'd how weakly he was provided at home) was willing to countenance, though she undertook it not wholly her self, which was the main cause of its ill success and overthrow.

For whosoever he be of a Subject, that thinks to undertake so great an Enterprize without a Prince's Purse, shall be deceiv'd; and therefore these Two Generals, in my Opinion, never overshot themselves more, than in undertaking so great a Charge with so little Means; for where Victuals and Arms are wanting, what hope is there of prevailing?

The Project of this Voyage was to restore a distress'd King to his Kingdom, usurp'd as he pretended; and though the Preparations for this Expedition were not so great as was expedient; yet in the Opinion of all Men, if they had directed their Course whither they intended it, without landing at the Groyne, they had perform'd the Service they went for, restored Don Antonio to the Crown of Portugal, dis sever'd it from Spain, and united it in League with England, which would have answer'd the present Charge, and have settled a continual Trade for us to the West-Indies, and the rest of the Dominions of Portugal, for so we might easily have condition'd.

But the Landing at the Groyne was an unnecessary lingering and hinderance of the other great and main Design, a consuming of Victuals, a weakning of the Army by the immoderate drinking of the Soldiers, which brought a lamentable Sickness amongst them, a warning to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugal, and (what is more than all this) a discouragement

to proceed further, being repuls'd in the first Attempt.

But notwithstanding the ill Success at the Groyne, they departed from thence towards Portugal, and arriv'd at Peniche, a Maritime Town Twelve Leagues from Lisbon, where with small resistance they took the Castle, after the Captain understood Don Antonio was in the Army.

Thence General Norris march'd with his Land Forces to Lisbon, and Sir Francis Drake with his Fleet sail'd to Cascais, promising from thence to pass with his Ships up the River to Lisbon, to meet with Sir John Norris, which yet he did not perform, and therefore was much blam'd by the general consent of all Men, the overthrow of the Action being imputed to him.

It will not excuse Sir Francis Drake, for making such a Promise to Sir John Norris, though on the other hand, I would have accus'd him of great want of Discretion, if he had put the Fleet to so great an Adventure to so little purpose: For his being in the Harbour of Lisbon, signifi'd nothing to the Taking of the Castle, which was Two Miles from thence; and had the Castle been taken, the Town would have been taken of course.

Besides, the Ships could not furnish the Army with more Men or Victuals: wherefore I understand not in what Respect his going up was necessary; and yet the Fleet must have run many Hazards to so little purpose.

For betwixt Cascais and Lisbon there are Three Castles, St. Julian, St. Francis, and Bellem. The first of the Three I hold one of the most impregnable Forts to Sea-ward in Europe; and the Fleet was to pass within Calliver Shot of this Fort; though I confess, the passing it was not the greatest Danger: For with a reasonable Gale of Wind, any Fort is to be pass'd with small Hazard.

But at this time there was a general Want of Victuals; and being once entred the Harbour, their coming out again was un-

1589.

uncertain, the place being subject to contrary Winds: In the mean while, the better part of the Victuals would have been consum'd, and they would have remain'd there in so desperate a Condition, that they would have been forc'd to have fir'd one half of the Fleet, to bring home the rest: for as it was, when the Army imbarqu'd for *England*, many died for Hunger in their way home, and more would have done, if the Wind had taken them short; or, if by the Death of some of them, the rest who surviv'd had not been the better reliev'd.

Besides all these Casualties and Dangers, the *Adelantado* was then in *Lisbon* with the Gallies of *Spain*; and how easily he might have annoy'd our Fleet, by towing Fire-ships amongst us, we may suppose by the Hurt we did the *Spaniards* the year before in *Cadiz* Road; and greater we might have done had we been assisted with Gallies.

It was a wonder to observe every Man's Opinion of this Voyage, as well those that were Actors in it, as others that staid at Home; some imputing the Overthrow of it, to the Landing at the *Groyn*; others to the *Portugueses* sailing us of those Helps and Assurances promis'd by *Don Antonio*; and others, to Sir *Francis Drake's* not coming up the River with his Fleet.

Though any of these Three Reasons may seem probable enough, and the Landing at the *Groyn*, the chiefest of the Three; yet if we weigh truly the Defect, and where it was, it will appear, that the Action was overthrown before their setting out from home, they being too weakly provided of all things necessary for so great an Expedition.

For when this Voyage was first treated of, the Number of Ships was nothing equal to the Proportion of Men: Wherefore they were forc'd to detain divers *Easterlings* they met with in our Channel, and compell'd them to serve in this Expedition, for the Transportation of our Soldiers; and though these Ships were an Ease to our Men, who would have been otherwise

much pester'd for want of Room; yet their Victuals were nothing augmented; but they were put aboard the Ships, like banish'd Men, to seek their Fortunes at Sea, it being confess'd, that divers of the Ships had not four days Victuals when they departed from *Plimouth*.

Another Impediment to the good Success of this Voyage, was, the want of Field-Pieces; and this was the main Cause why we fail'd of taking *Lisbon*: For the Enemies Strength consisting chiefly in the Castle, and we having only an Army to countenance us, but no means for Battery, we were the Losers of the Victory ourselves: For it was apparent by Intelligence we receiv'd, that if we had presented them with Battery, they were resolv'd to Parley, and by Consequence to yield; and this too was made use of by the *Portugueses*, as a main Reason why they join'd not with us.

And there is as much to be said in behalf of the *Portugueses*, as an Evidence of their good Will and Favour to us, that though they shew'd themselves not forward upon this Occasion, to aid us, yet they oppos'd us not as Enemies: Whereas if they had pursu'd us in our Retreat from *Lisbon* to *Cascais*, our Men being weak, sickly, and wanting Powder, and Shot, and other Arms, they had in all probability put us to a great Loss and Disgrace. And if ever *England* have the like Occasion to aid a Competitor in *Portugal*, we shall questionless find, that our fair De-meanor and Carriage in this Expedition towards the People of that Country, have gain'd us much Reputation amongst them, and would be of singular Advantage to us: For the General strictly forbade the Raising of their Houses in the Country, and the Suburbs of *Lisbon*, which he possess'd, and commanded just Payment to be made by the Soldiers for every thing they took, without Compulsion, or rigorous Usage: And this has made those that stood but indifferently affected before, now ready upon the like Occasion to assist us.

1589. A Voyage undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, with One Ship Royal of her Majesty's, and Six of his own, and other Adventurers, Anno Dom. 1589.

Ships.

The *Victory*, the Queen's Ship.
The *Margaret*.
And Five other.

Commanders.

The Earl of Cumberland.
Capt. Christopher Lister.
Capt. Monson, now Sir William Monson,
Vice-Amiral.

AS the Fleets of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake return'd from the Voyage of Portugal, the Earl of Cumberland proceeded upon his, towards that Coast; and meeting with divers of that Fleet, reliev'd them with Victuals, who otherwise had perill'd.

This Voyage was undertaken at his and his Friends Charge, excepting the *Victory*, a Ship Royal of the Queen's, which she adventur'd.

This Voyage is writ at large by the famous Mathematician Mr. Wright, who was an Actor in it himself; what is here set down, is but a brief Collection out of his Account.

The Service perform'd at Sea, was the taking of Three French Ships of the League in our Channel, and his encountering upon the Coast of Spain, with Thirteen Hulks, who made some Resistance. Out of these he took to the Value of 7000 l. in Spices belonging to Portugal.

From thence he cross'd over to the *Tercera* Islands, about 300 Leagues from the Rock of Lisbon, and coming to *St. Michaels*, the first and greatest of the Islands, with his Boats, he fetch'd out from under the Castle which fir'd upon him, Two Ships that arriv'd there the night before from Spain.

In his Course from thence to the Island of *Flores*, the Westermost of the *Terceras*, he took a Spanish Ship laden with Sugars and Sweetmeats that came from the Island of *Madera*.

At *Flores*, he receiv'd Intelligence by an English Man of War, of divers Spanish Ships which were in the Road of *Fayal*, whereupon he suddenly made from that Island, where Captain Lister and Captain Monson gave a desperate Attempt in their Boats upon the said Ships; and after a long Fight possess'd themselves of one of them of 300 Tuns Burden, carrying Six Pieces of Ordnance, and Sixty Men. This Ship, with one other, came from the *Indies*, Two of the rest out of *Guinea*,

and another was Laden with Woad, which that Island affords in great Plenty. The Captain's returning after the carrying off that great Ship, took the rest, being Seven in all. This done, we all put to Sea again, and making the Island *Graciosa*, made several attempts there for two days to land, in order to get some Provision, but were still repuls'd with great loss; yet at last the Island came to Composition, and sent such Refreshments as it afforded. In the mean while we discover'd and took a French Ship of 200 Tun homeward bound from *Canada*.

Afterwards, sailing to the Eastward of the Road of *Terceras*, in the Evening we beheld 18 Tall Ships of the *Indies* entring into the said Road, one whereof we after took in her Course to the Coast of Spain: She was laden with Hides, Silver and Cochineal; but coming for England, she was cast away upon the *Mounts Bay* in *Cornwall*, being valued at 100000 l.

Two other Prizes of Sugar we took in our said Course to the Coast of Spain, esteemed each Ship at 7000 l. and one from under the Castle of *St. Maries* to the same Value.

There was no Road about those Islands, that could defend their Ships from our Attempts; yet in the last Assault we gave, which was upon a Ship of Sugars, we found ill success, being sharply resisted, and Two Parts of our Men slain and hurt: Which Loss was occasioned by Captain Lister, who would not be persuaded from Landing in the View of their Forts.

The Service perform'd by Land, was the taking of the Island of *Fayal*, some months after the surprizing of those Ships formerly mention'd. The Castle yielded us 45 Pieces of Ordnance, great and small: We sack'd and spoil'd the Town, and after ransom'd it, and so departed.

These Summer Services, and Ships of Sugar, prov'd not so sweet and pleasant as the Winter was afterwards sharp and painful: For in our Return for England, we

we found the Calamity of Famine, the Hazard of Shipwrack, and the Death of our Men so great, that the like befell not any other Fleet during the time of the War. All which Disasters must be imputed to Captain *Lisfer's* Rashness, upon whom my Lord of *Cumberland* chiefly reli'd, wanting Experience himself.

He was the Man that advis'd the sending the Ships of Wine for *England*, otherwise we had not known the Want of Drink; he was as earnest in persuading our Landing in the Face of the Fortifications of *St. Maries*, against all Reason and Sence. As he was Rash, so was he

Valiant; but paid dearly for his unadvis'd Counsel: For he was the first Man hurt, and that cruelly, in the Attempt of *St. Maries*, and afterwards drown'd in the Rich Ship cast away at *Mounts Bay*.

After our quitting *St. Maries*, as you have heard, we repair'd to the Island of *S. George*, as you may read in the Sixth Book, where there happened a strange Accident to me, and indeed I may say, the strangest Escape that ever befell me in my Life. I refer you to that Book, thinking it fitter to be inserted there than in this.

Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Martin Forbushier, their Voyage to the Coast of Spain and Islands, Anno 1590.

Ships.

The Revenge.
The Mary Rose.
The Lyon.
The Bonaventure.
The Rainbow.
The Hope.
The Crane.
The Quittance.
The Foresight.
The Swiftsure.

Commanders.

Sir Martin Forbushier.
 Sir John Hawkins.
 Sir Edward Yorke.
 Capt. Fenner.
 Sir George Beecham.
 Capt. Bostock.
 Capt. Hawkins.
 Capt. Burnell.

From the year 1585. until this present year 1590. there was the greatest possibility imaginable of enriching our Nation, by Actions at Sea, had they been well follow'd: The King of Spain was grown so weak in Shipping, by the Overthrow he had in 1588. that he could no longer secure the Trade of his Subjects.

Her Majesty now finding how necessary it was for her to maintain a Fleet upon the Spanish Coast, as well to hinder the Preparations he might make against her, to repair the Disgrace he receiv'd in 1588. as also to intercept his Fleets from the Indies, by which he grew Great and Mighty: she sent this year 1590. Ten Ships of her own, in Two Squadrons; the one to be Commanded by Sir John Hawkins, the other by Sir Martin Forbushier, Two Gentlemen of tried Experience.

The King of Spain hearing of this Preparation of hers, sent forth 20 Sail of Ships, under the Command of Don *Alonso de Bassan*, Brother to the late Famous Marquess of *St. Cruz*, who had not long before subdu'd the *Tercera Islands*, and overthrown the Navy of France. Don *A-*

lonso was charg'd to convoy home the Fleet from the Indies, and the Carracks expected home about that time.

But after Don *Alonso* had put off to Sea, the King of Spain becoming better advis'd, than to adventure 20 of his Ships to 10 of ours, sent for Don *Alonso* back, and so frustrated the Expectation of our Fleet.

He likewise made a Dispatch to the Indies, commanding the Fleets to Winter there, rather than to run the hazard of coming Home that Summer. But this prov'd so great a Hind'rance and Loss to the Merchants of Spain, to be so long without Return of their Goods, that many broke in *Sevill* and other Places; besides, it was so great a weakening to their Ships, to Winter in the Indies, that many years hardly sufficed to repair the Damage they receiv'd.

Our Fleet being thus prevented, spent Seven Months in vain upon the Coasts of Spain, and the Islands; but in that space, could not possess themselves of one Ship of the Spaniards; and the Carracks, upon which part of their Hopes depend-

ed, came Home without fight of the Islands, and arriv'd safe at *Lisbon*.

1591. This Voyage was a bare Action at Sea, though they attempted Landing at *Fayal*, which the Earl of *Cumberland* the year before had taken and quitted; but the

Castle being re-fortifi'd, they prevail'd not in their Enterprize: And thence forwards the King of *Spain* endeavour'd to strengthen his Coasts, and to encrease in Shipping, as may appear by the next ensuing year.

1591. *Two Fleets at Sea; the English, under the Lord Thomas Howard, and the Spanish, Commanded by Don Alonso Bassan, Anno 1591.*

Ships.

The Difiance.
The Revenge.
The Nonpareille.
The Bonaventure.
The Lyon.
The Foresight.
The Crane.

Commanders.

The Lord Thomas Howard.
Sir Richard Greenville, Vice-Admiral.
Sir Edward Denny.
Capt. Cross.
Capt. Fenner.
Capt. Vawaser.
Capt. Duffield.

HER Majesty being inform'd of the *Indian Fleets* Wintering in the *Havana*, and that Necessity would compel them home this year 1591. she sent a Fleet to the Islands under the Command of the Lord *Thomas Howard*.

The King of *Spain* perceiving her Drift, and being sensible how much the safety of that Fleet concern'd him, caus'd them to set out thence so late in the year, that it endanger'd the Shipwrack of them all; choosing rather to hazard the perishing of Ships, Men and Goods, than their falling into our Hands.

He had Two Designs in bringing home this Fleet so late: One was, he thought the Lord *Thomas* would have consum'd his Victuals, and have been forc'd Home. The other, that he might in the mean time furnish out the great Fleet he was preparing, little inferior to that of 1588. In the first he found himself deceiv'd: For my Lord was suppli'd both with Ships and Victuals out of *England*; and in the second, he was as much disappointed: For the Earl of *Cumberland*, who then lay upon the Coast of *Spain*, had Intelligence of the *Spaniards* putting out to Sea, and gave notice thereof to the Lord *Thomas*, the very Night before they arriv'd at *Flores*, where my Lord lay.

The day after this Intelligence, the *Spanish Fleet* was discover'd by my Lord *Thomas*, whom he knew by their Number and Greatness, to be the Ships of which he had warning; and by that means escap'd the Danger that *Sir Richard Greenville*, his Vice-Admiral, rashly ran into.

Upon View of the *Spaniards*, which were 55 Sail, the Lord *Thomas* warily, and like a discreet General, weigh'd Anchor, and made Signs to the rest of his Fleet to do the like, with a purpose to get the Wind of them; but *Sir Richard Greenville*, being a stubborn Man, and imagining this Fleet to come from the *Indies*, and not to be the *Armada* of which they were inform'd, would by no means be persuaded by his Master or Company to cut his Cable, to follow his Admiral; nay, so head-strong and rash he was, that he offer'd violence to those that advis'd him so to do.

But the Old Saying, *That a Wilful Man is the Cause of his own Woe*, could not be more truly verifi'd than in him: For when the *Armada* approach'd, and he beheld the Greatness of the Ships, he began to see and repent of his folly; and when it was too late, would have freed himself of them, but in vain: For he was left a Prey to the Enemy, every Ship striving to be the first should board him.

This wilful Rashness of *Sir Richard*, made the *Spaniards* triumph as much as if they had obtain'd a Signal Victory; it being the first Ship that ever they took of her Majesty's, and commended to them by some *English* Fugitives to be the very best she had; but their Joy continu'd not long. For they enjoy'd her but five days before she was cast away with many *Spaniards* in her, upon the *Tercera* Islands.

Commonly one Misfortune is accompani'd with another: For the *Indian Fleet*, which my Lord had waited for the whole Summer, the day after this mishap, fell into

into the Company of this *Spanish Armada*; who, if they had staid but one day longer, or the *Indian Fleet* had come home but one day sooner, we had possess'd both them and many Millions of Treasure, which the Sea afterwards devour'd: For from the time they met with the Armada, and before they could recover home, nigh an Hundred of them suffered Shipwrack, besides the *Ascension* of *Sevil*, and the double Fly-boat, that were sunk by the side of the *Revenge*.

All which was occasion'd by their Win-

tering in the *Indies*, and the late Dilem- boguing from thence: For the Worm which that Country is subject to, weakens and consumes their Ships.

Notwithstanding this cross and perverse Fortune, which happen'd by means of Sir *Richard Greenville*, the Lord *Thomas* would not be dismay'd or discourag'd; but kept the Sea as long as he had Victuals; and by such Ships as himself and the rest of the Fleet took, defray'd the better part of the Charge of the whole Action.

1591.

The Earl of Cumberland to the Coast of Spain, 1591.

1591.

Ships.

The *Garland* of Her Majesty's.

Seven other Ships of his and his Friends.

Commanders.

The Earl of *Cumberland*: Captain under him,
Capt. *Monson*, now Sir William Mon-
son.

THE Earl of *Cumberland* keeping the Coast of *Spain*, as you have heard, while the Lord *Thomas* remain'd at the Islands, and both to one end, viz to annoy and damnifie the *Spaniards*, though in Two several Fleets, the Earl found Fortune in a sort as much to frown upon him, as it had done upon the Lord *Thomas Howard*.

He departed *England* in *May*, and in his Course to the *Spanish Coast* met with several *Dutch Ships* which came from *Lisbon*, wherein he found a great quantity of Spices belonging to the *Portuguezes*: So greatly were we abus'd by that Nation of *Holland*, who, though they were the first that engag'd us in the War with *Spain*, yet still maintain'd their own Trade into those Parts, and suppli'd the *Spaniards* with Ammunition, Victuals, Shipping and Intelligence against us.

Upon my Lord's arrival on the Coast of *Spain*, it was his hap to take Three Ships at several times, one with Wine, which he unladed into his own; and Two with Sugars, which he enjoy'd not long: no more did he the Spices, which he took out of the *Hollanders*.

For one of the Ships of Sugar, by means of a Leak that sprung upon her, was forced to be cast off, and the Men, with much difficulty, recover'd the Shore, and sav'd their Lives.

The other being sent for *England*, and tossed with contrary Winds, was for want of Victuals forc'd into the *Gravn*, where they rendred themselves to the Enemies Mercy.

The Spices were determined to be sent for *England*, and a Ship appointed for that purpose, with other Ships to guard her to the Islands of the *Burlings*; in which Ship Capt. *Monson* was sent with Orders to see her safe dispatch'd for *England*.

But the other Ships, not observing the Directions given them, and the Night falling calm; early in the Morning, this forsaken Ship was set upon by Six Gallies, the rest of the Ships not being able to come up by reason of the Calm; and after a long and bloody Fight, the Captain and Principal Men being slain, both Ship and Spices were taken; but whether it was the respect they had to the Queen's Ship which was Admiral of that Fleet, or Honour to my Lord that commanded it; or Hope, by good Usage of our Men, to receive the like again, I know not; but true it is, that the ordinary Men were treated with more Courtesie than they had been from the beginning of the War: I mean, that of such Men as were taken, only Capt. *Monson* was detain'd as Hostage for Performance of Covenants agreed upon for Release of the rest; in which Imprisonment he remain'd almost Two years.

My Lord of *Cumberland* considering the Disasters that thus besell him, and knowing the *Spanish Fleet's* readines to put out of Harbour; but especially finding his Ship but ill of Sail, it being the first Voyage she ever went to Sea, he durst not abide the Coast of *Spain*, but

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thought

1592. thought it more Discretion to return for England, having (as you have heard) sent a Pinnace to my Lord Thomas with the Intelligence afore said; which prov'd a Service of great moment to the Queen and State, in preventing the Danger that might have otherwise ensu'd, if that Notice had not been sent.

1592. *A Voyage undertaken by Sir Walter Raleigh; but he returning, left the Charge of it to Sir Martin Forbushier, Anno 1592.*

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commander by Land.
<i>The Garland.</i>	Sir <i>Walter Raleigh.</i>	Sir <i>John Boroughs.</i>
<i>The Foresight</i> , with divers Merchant Ships.	Capt. <i>Cross</i> , and others. Sir <i>Walter</i> went not, but Sir <i>Martin Forbushier.</i>	

SIR *Walter Raleigh*, who had tasted abundantly of the Queen's Favour, and found it now began to decline, put himself upon a Voyage at Sea, and drew to him divers Friends of great Quality, and others, thinking to have attempted some Place in the *West-Indies*; and with this Resolution he put out of Harbour; but spending two or three days in foul Weather, her Majesty was pleas'd to Order his Return, and to commit the Charge of the Ships to Sir *Martin Forbushier*, who was sent down for that purpose; but with an expresse Command, not to follow the Design of the *West-Indies*.

This sudden Alteration being known to the rest of the Captains, for the present made some Confusion, as commonly it happens in all voluntary Actions. Their General leaving them, they thought themselves free in point of Reputation, and at liberty to take what course they pleas'd: Few of them therefore submitted themselves to the Command of Sir *Martin Forbushier*, but chose rather each to take his particular Fortune and Adventure at Sea.

Sir *Martin*, with his own Ship the *Garland*, and Two others, repair'd to the Coast of *Spain*, where he took a *Biscainer* laden with Iron, and a *Portuguese* with Sugar: He remain'd there not without some danger, his Ship being ill of Sail, and the Enemy having a Fleet at Sea to guard the Coast.

Sir *John Boroughs*, Capt. *Cross*, and another, stood to the Islands, where they met with as many Ships of my Lord of *Cumberland's*, with whom they consorted. After some time spent thereabouts, they had sight of a Carreck, which they chas'd; but she recover'd the Island of *Flores* before they could approach her; but the Carreck, seeing the Island could not de-

send her from the Strength and Force of the *English*, chose rather, after the Men were got on Shore, to fire her self, than we the Enemy should reap Benefit by her.

The Purser of her was taken, and by Threats compell'd to tell of Four more of their Company behind, that had Orders to fall in with that Island; and gave us such particular Advertisement, that one of them was afterwards taken.

In the mean time Don *Alonso de Bassan* was at *Lisbon* setting out 23 Gallcons, which the year before he had when he took the *Revenge*; he was directed with those Ships to go immediately to *Flores*, to expect the coming of the Carrecks, who had Order to fall with that Island, there to put on Shore divers Ordnance for strength'ning the Town and Castle. Sir *William Monson* being then releas'd out of Prison, sail'd in a *Hamborough* Ship with this Fleet.

Don *Alonso* breaking his Instructions, unadvisedly repair'd first to *St. Michaels*, and there deliver'd his Ordnance before he arriv'd at *Flores*; and in the mean time one of the Carrecks was burnt, and another taken, as you have heard.

This he held to be such a Disreputation to him, and especially for that it happen'd through his own Error and Default, that he was much perplex'd, and pursu'd the *English* 100 Leagues; but in vain, they being so far a Head.

The King of *Spain* being advertis'd of his Two Carrecks mishap, and the Error of Don *Alonso*, though he had much favour'd him before, on account of divers Actions he had been in with his Brother the Marquels of *St. Cruz*, and for what he had lately perform'd, by taking the *Revenge*; yet the King was so offended not to have his Instructions obey'd and observ'd,

observ'd, that he did not only take from Don *Alonso* his Command, but he liv'd and dy'd in Disgrace; which, in my Opinion, he worthily deserv'd.

The Queen's Adventure in this Voyage was only Two Ships; one of which, and

the least of them too, was at the taking of the Carreck; which Tide, joined with her Regal Authority, she made such use of, that the rest of the Adventurers were fain to submit themselves to her Pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently.

1593.

The Earl of Cumberland to the Coast of Spain, Anno Dom. 1593.

Ships.

The Lyon.

The Bonaventure, and Seven other Ships.

Commanders.

The Earl of *Cumberland*: Captain under him, Capt. *Monson*.

Sir *Edward Yorke*, Vice-Admiral.

THE Earl of *Cumberland* finding that many of his Voyages had miscarried through the Negligence or Unfaithfulness of those who were entrusted to lay in necessary Provisions; and yet, being encourag'd by the good Success he had the last year, obtain'd Two of Her Majesty's Ships, and Victuall'd them himself, together with Seven others that accompany'd them; and arriving upon the Coast of *Spain*, he took Two *French* Ships of the *League*, which did more than treble the Expence of his Voyage. My Lord being sever'd one day from his Fleet, it was his hap to meet with 12 Hulks, at the same place where Captain *Monson* was taken the same day two years before: He requir'd that Respect from them that was due to her Majesty's Ship, which they peremptorily refus'd, presuming upon the Strength of their 12 Ships against one only; but they found themselves deceiv'd: For after two hours Fight he brought them to his Mercy, and made them acknowledge their Error; and not only so, but they willingly discover'd and deliver'd up to him a great quantity of Powder and Ammunition, which they carried for the King of *Spain*'s Service. Here I must not let pass, as I promis'd in the beginning of my Discourse, to lay down all Errors and Miscarriages committed; and this that follows is one, for which my Lord and his Master deserve blame. My Lord, upon taking the Hulks aforesaid, stood to Sea with part of them, leaving the rest with Capt. *Monson* to be Examin'd and Rummag'd. His Lordship towards the Evening mis'd those Ships under his Custody; and it seems he had forgot that his Longboat and 50 of his Men were left with Capt. *Monson* under the Guard of one small Ship for their Defence. These Hulks

being thus dismiss'd, and coming towards Sir *William Monson* and their Consorts, Sir *William* mistrusted, as indeed it fell out, that they would take advantage of my Lord's keeping his Loose, to board and surprize them, as they had done, if Sir *William* had not prevented it by leaping into his Boat on one side, as they boarded him on the other. In which Leap he receiv'd a hurt in his Leg, which to this time, being the year 1640, he has found a prejudice to his whole Body.

My Lord of *Cumberland* having spent some time thereabouts, and understanding that *Fernantelles de Menezes*, a *Portuguese*, and the King's General of a Fleet of 24 Sail, was gone to the Islands; he pursu'd them, thinking to meet the Carrecks before they should join together. At his coming to *Flores*, he met, and took one of the Fleet, with the death of the Captain, who yet liv'd so long as to inform him both where the Fleet was, and of their Strength: The day after, he met the Fleet; but being far too weak for them, was forc'd to leave them, and spent his time thereabouts, till he understood the Carrecks were pass'd by, without seeing either Fleet or Island.

About this time the Earl being taken so ill, that his Recovery was despair'd of unless he could return to the *English* Shore, or get a Cow to supply him with Milk, Capt. *Monson* ventur'd ashore on the Island of *Corvo*, where, what with Threats, and what with Promise of Reward, he got a Cow, which he carried aboard, and in all likelihood was the Means of saving the Earl's Life.

However Capt. *Monson* valuing the Earl's Safety above all the Profit of the Voyage, halted towards home, and lost Company of the rest of the Ships by so

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1594. strange an accident that it will scarce be believ'd, though it is a most undoubted Truth; for the whole Fleet being one day becalm'd, the said Calm lasted for several days, and in it the Ships were so parted that they lost sight of one another; and never saw one another more, till they met in *England*, about four or five weeks after. Those Ships so parted from the Earl took a Prize laden with Sugar, which was a good addition to what was taken before.

1594.

Sir Martin Forbusher, with a Fleet to Brest in Brittany,
Anno 1594.

Ships.	Commanders.
<i>The Vanguard.</i>	Sir Martin Forbusher.
<i>The Rainbow.</i>	Capt. Fenner.
<i>The Dreadnought.</i>	Capt. Clifford.
<i>The Quittance.</i>	Capt. Savil.

ABOUT Three years before, and in 1591. the Queen sent Sir John Norris with 3000 Soldiers, to join with the French King's Party in those Parts of *Britany* about *Brest*. The King of *Spain*, who upheld the Faction of the League, sent Don John de Aquila with the like Forces, to join with the Duke de Merceur, who was of that side. The Spaniards arriving first, had fortified themselves very strongly near the Town of *Brest*, expecting new Succours from *Spain* by Sea; which the French King fearing, craved Assistance from the Queen, which her Majesty was the more willing to grant,

because the Spaniards had gotten the Haven of *Brest* to entertain their Shipping in, and were like to prove there very dangerous Neighbours: Wherefore he sent Sir Martin Forbusher thither in this year 1594. with Four of her Ships: And upon his arrival there, Sir John Norris with his Forces, and Sir Martin with his Seamen, assail'd the Fort; and though it was as bravely defended as Men could do; yet in the end it was taken with the loss of divers Captains, Sir Martin Forbusher being himself sore wounded, of which Hurt he died at *Plimouth* after his return.

1594.

A Fleet to the Indies, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins
Generals, wherein they ventur'd deeply, and dy'd in the Voyage,
Anno 1594.

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commander by Land.
<i>The Desiance.</i>	Sir Francis Drake.	Sir Tho. Baskerville.
<i>The Garland.</i>	Sir John Hawkins.	
<i>The Hope.</i>	Capt. Gilbert Yorke.	
<i>The Bonaventure.</i>	Capt. Troughton.	
<i>The Foresight.</i>	Capt. Winter.	
<i>The Adventure.</i>	Capt. Tho. Drake.	

THESE Two Generals, presuming much upon their own Experience and Knowledge, us'd many Persuasions to the Queen, to undertake a Voyage to the *West-Indies*, giving much assurance to perform great Services, and promising to engage themselves very deeply therein, with the Adventure of both Substance and Life. And as all Actions of this Nature promise fair till they come to be perform'd,

so did this the more in the Opinion of all Men, in respect of the Two Generals Experience.

There were many Impediments and Letts to this Voyage, before they could clear themselves of the Coast, which put them to greater Charge than they expected. The chiefest cause of their Lingring, was a mistrust our State had of an Invasion, and the Danger to spare so many good

good Ships and Men out of *England* as they carry'd with them.

The *Spaniards* with their usual subtilty, let slip no Opportunity to put us into a Fear, thereby to disappoint the Expedition, and sent Four Gallies to *Bluet* in *Britany*, from thence to fall into some part of our Coast, that so we might apprehend a greater Force was to follow. These Gallies landed at *Pensants* in *Cornwall*, where, finding the Town abandoned, they sack'd and burnt it; but this Design of theirs took little effect; for the Voyage proceeded nevertheless.

The Intent of the Voyage was to land at *Nombre de Dios*, and from thence to march to *Panama*, to possess the Treasure that comes from *Peru*; and if they saw reason for it, to inhabit and keep it. A few days before their going from *Plimouth*, they receiv'd Letters from her Majesty, communicating the Intelligence she had out of *Spain*, that the *Indian Fleet* was arriv'd; and that one of them, with loss of her Mast, was put back to the Island of *Porto Rico*. She therefore commanded them, seeing there was so good an Opportunity offer'd, as the readiness of this her Fleet, and the weakness of *Porto Rico*, to possess themselves of that Treasure; and the rather, for that it was not much out of their way to *Nombre de Dios*. Neither Years, nor Experience, that can foresee and prevent all Mishaps; which is a manifest Proof, that God is the Guider and Disposer of Mens Actions: For nothing could seem more probable to be effected than this latter Design, especially considering the Ability and Wisdom of the Two Generals; and yet was unhappily prevented, and fail'd in the Execution: For there being Five Frigats sent out of *Spain* to fetch this Treasure from *Porto Rico*, in their way it was their fortune to take a Pinnacle of the *English Fleet*, by whom they understood the Secrets of the Voyage; and to prevent the Attempt of *Porto Rico*, they hasten'd thither with all speed, (whilst our Generals lingred at *Guadalupe* to set up their Boats) and at their arrival, so strengthened the Town with the Soldiers brought in the Frigats, that when our Fleet came thither, not expecting Resistance, they found themselves frustrated of their Hopes, and were forc'd to retire with Dishonour, and loss of many Gentlemen there slain; which indeed they themselves were the occasion of, in managing their Design with no more Secresie.

This Repulse was so grievously resented by Sir *John Hawkins*, who was then sickly, that it is thought to have hastened his Death; and being great and unexpected, did not a little discourage Sir *Francis Drake's* great Mind, who yet proceeded upon his first resolved Design for *Nombre de Dios*, though with no better Success: For the Enemy having knowledge of their coming, fortified the Passage to *Panama*, and forc'd them to return with shame and loss. Sir *Francis Drake*, who was wont to rule Fortune, now finding his Error, and the difference between the present Strength of the *Indies*, and what it was when he first knew it, grew melancholy upon this Disappointment, and suddenly, and I hope naturally, died at *Portobello*, not far from the place where he got his first Reputation. The Two Generals dying, and all other Hopes being taken away by their Deaths, Sir *Thomas Baskerville* succeeded them in their Command, and began now to think upon his return for *England*; but coming near *Cuba*, he met and fought with a Fleet of *Spain*, though not long, by reason of the Sickness and Weakness of his Men. This Fleet was sent to take the Advantage of ours in its return, thinking, as indeed it happened, that they should find them both weak, and in want; but the swiftness of our Ships, in which we had the Advantage of the *Spaniards*, preserv'd us. You may observe, that from the year the *Revenge* was taken, until this present year 1598. there was no Summer but the King of *Spain* furnished a Fleet for the guarding of his Coasts, and securing of his Trade; and though there was little fear of any Fleet from *England* to impeach him, besides this in the *Indies*; yet because he would shew his greatness, and satisfy *Portugal* of the Care he had in preserving their Carrecks; he sent the Count of *Feria*, a young Nobleman of *Portugal*, who desired to gain Experience, with 20 Ships to the Islands; but the Carrecks did, as they used to do in many other years, miss both Islands and Fleets, and arriv'd safe at *Lisbon*. The other Fleets of the King of *Spain* in the *Indies*, consisted of 24 Ships, their General Don *Bernardino de Villa nova*, an approv'd Coward, as it appear'd when he came to encounter the *English Fleet*; but his Defects were supplied by the Valour of his Vice-Admiral, who behav'd himself much to his Honour: His Name was *John de Garay*.

1596. *The Earl of Essex, and the Lord Admiral of England, Generals, equally, both by Sea and Land, Anno 1596.*

Ships.

*The Repulse.**The Ark-Royal.**The Merc-Honour.**The Warspite.**The Lyon.**The Rainbow.**The Nonpareille.**The Vanguard.**The Mary Rose.**The Dreadnought.**The Swiftsure.**The Quittance.**The Tremountain.**The Crane, and others.*

Commanders.

*The Earl of Essex, Captain under him
Capt. Monson.**The Lord Admiral, Captain under him
Sir Ames Preston.**The Lord Thomas Howard.**Sir Walter Raleigh.**Sir Robert Southwell.**Sir Francis Vere.**Sir Robert Dudley.**Sir John Wingfield.**Sir George Carew.**Sir Alexander Clifford.**Sir Robert Cross.**Sir George Gifford.**Capt. King.*

THE First of June 1596. we departed from *Plimouth*; and our Departure was the more speedy, by reason of the great Pains, Care and Industry of the Sixteen Captains, who in their own Persons labour'd the Night before to get out some of their Ships riding at *Garwater*, which otherwise had not been easily effected. The Third we set Sail from *Cansom Bay*, the Wind, which when we weigh'd, was at West and by South, instantly cast up to the North East, and so continu'd till it brought us up as high as the *North Cape of Spain*; and this fortunate beginning put us in great hopes of a lucky Success to ensue.

We being now come upon our Enemy's Coast, it behov'd the Generals to be vigilant in keeping them from Intelligence of us, who therefore appointed the *Lioness*, the *True Love*, and the *Lion's Whelp*, (the three best Sailors of our Fleet) to run a Head, suspecting the *Spaniards* had some Carvels of Advice out, which they did usually send to discover at Sea, upon any Rumour of a less Fleet than this made ready in *England*.

No Ship or Carvel escap'd us, which I hold a second Happiness to our Voyage: For you shall understand hereafter the Inconvenience that might have happen'd upon our Discovery.

The 10th of June the said Three Ships took Three Fly-Boats that came from *Cadiz* 14 days before; by whom we understood the State of the Town, and that they had no suspicion of us, which we

look'd on as a Third Omen of our good Fortune to come.

The 12th of June, the *Swan*, a Ship of *London*, being commanded, as the other Three, to keep a good way off the Fleet, to prevent discovery, she met with a Fly-Boat, which made Resistance, and escap'd her. This Fly-Boat came from the *Streights*, bound Home, who discovering our Fleet, and thinking to gain Reputation and Reward from the *Spaniards*, shap'd her Course for *Lisbon*; but she was luckily prevented by the *John* and *Francis*, another Ship of *London*, commanded by *Sir Marmaduke Darrel*, who took her within a League of the Shore; and this we may account a Fourth Happiness to our Voyage. The first (as hath been said) was for the Wind to take us so suddenly, and to continue so long: For our Soldiers being Shipp'd, and in Harbour, would have consum'd their Victuals, and have been so pester'd, that it would have endanger'd a Sickness amongst them. The Second, was the taking all Ships that were seen, which kept the Enemy from Intelligence. The Third, was the intercepting of the Fly-Boats from *Cadiz*, whither we were bound, who assur'd us our coming was not suspected, which made us more careful to hail from the Coast than otherwise we should have been: They told us likewise of the daily expectation of the Galleons to come from *St. Lucar* to *Cadiz*, and of the Merchantmen that lay there, and were ready bound for the *Indies*. These Intelligences were of great moment, and

and made the Generals presently to contrive their Business both by Sea and Land, which otherwise would have taken up a longer time, after their coming thither; and whether all Men would have consented to attempt their Ships in Harbour, if they had not known the most part of them to consist of Merchants, I hold very doubtful. The Fourth, and fortunatest of all, was the taking of the Fly-Boat by the *John and Francis*, which the *Swan* let go: For if she had reach'd *Lisbon*, she had been able to make report of the number and greatness of our Ships, and might have endanger'd the loss of the whole Design, she seeing the Course we bore, and that we had pass'd *Lubon*, which was the Place the Enemy most suspected, and made there his greatest preparation for Defence: But had the Enemy been freed of that doubt, he had then no Place to fear but *Andaluzia*, and *Cadiz* above the rest, which upon the least warning might have been strengthened, and we put to great Hazard; he might also have secur'd his Ships, by towing them out with Gallies; and howsoever the Wind had been, might have sent them into the *Streights*, where it had been in vain to have pursu'd them, or over the Bar of *St. Lucar*, where there had been no attempting of them.

And indeed, of the good and ill of Intelligence, we had had sufficient Experience formerly; Of the good in 1588. for how suddenly had we been taken and surpriz'd when we least suspected, had it not been for Captain *Flemming*? Of the ill in the year before this, by the *Spaniards* taking a Barque of Sir *Francis Drake's* Fleet, which was the Occasion of the Overthrow of himself and the whole Action?

The 20th of *June* we came to *Cadiz*, earlier in the morning than the *Masters* made reckoning of. Before our coming thither, it was determin'd in Council, that we should land at *St. Sebastians*, the Westernmost part of the Land; and thither came all the Ships to an Anchor, every Man preparing to land as he was formerly directed; but the Wind being so great, and the Sea so grown, and Four Gallies lying to intercept our Boats, there was no attempting to land there without the hazard of all.

This day was spent in vain, in returning Messengers from one General to another; and in the end, they were forc'd to resolve upon a Course which Sir *William Monson*, Captain under my Lord of *Essex*, advis'd him to, the same morning

he discover'd the Town; which was to surprize the Ships, and to be Possessors of the Harbour before they attempted landing. 1588.

This being now resolv'd on, there arose a great Question, who should have the Honour of the first going in? My Lord of *Essex* stood for himself: but my Lord Admiral oppos'd it, knowing if he mis-carried, it would hazard the Overthrow of the Action; besides, he was streightly charg'd by her Majesty, that the Earl should not expose himself to Danger, but upon great necessity.

When my Lord of *Essex* could not prevail, the whole Council withstanding him, he sent Sir *William Monson* that night on Board my Lord Admiral, to resolve what Ships should be appointed the next day to undertake the Service. Sir *Walter Raleigh* had the Van given him, which my Lord *Thomas Howard* hearing, challeng'd in right of his Place of Vice-Admiral, and it was granted him; but Sir *Walter* having Order over night to ply in, came first to an Anchor; but in that distance from the *Spaniards* as he could not annoy them: And he himself return'd on Board the Lord General *Essex*, to excuse his coming to Anchor so far off, for want of Water to go higher; which was thought strange, that the *Spaniards* which drew much more Water, and had no more Advantage than he of Tide, could pass where his could not: But Sir *Francis Vere*, in the *Rainbow*, who was appointed to second him, passing by Sir *Walter Raleigh* his Ship, Sir *Walter* the second time weigh'd and went higher. The Lord General *Essex*, who promis'd to keep in the midst of the Fleet, was told by Sir *William Monson*, that the greatest Service would depend upon three or four Ships; and Sir *William* put him in mind of his Honour; for that many Eyes beheld him.

This made him forgetful of his Promise, and to use all Means he could to be foremost in the Fight. My Lord *Howard*, who could not go up in his own Ship the *Mere-bonor*, betook himself to the *Nonpareille*; and in respect the *Rainbow*, the *Repulse* and *Warspight*, had taken up the best part of the Channel, by their first coming to an Anchor, to his grief he could not get higher: Here did every Ship strive to be the headmost; but such was the narrowness of the Channel, as neither the Lord Admiral, nor any other Ship of the *Queens* could pass on. Order was given, that no Ship should shoot but the *Queens*, making account, that the Honour would be the greater, if the Victory were obtain'd

tain'd with so few. This Fight continu'd
 1588. from Ten till Four in the Afternoon:
 The *Spaniards* then set Sail, thinking either to run higher up the River, or else to bring their other Broad Sides to us, because of the heat of their Ordnance; but howsoever it was, in their floating they came a-ground, and the Men began to forsake the Ships: Whereupon it was order'd, that all the Hoys and Vessels that drew least Water, should go to them. Sir *William Monson* was sent in the *Repulse* Boat with like Directions. We possess'd our selves of the great Galleons, the *Matthew*, and the *Andrew*; but the *Philip* and *Thomas* fir'd themselves, and were burnt down before they could be quench'd.

I must not omit to describe the manner of the *Spanish* Ships and Galleys riding in Harbour at our first coming to *Cadiz*. The Four Galleons singled themselves from out the Fleet, as Guards of their Merchants. The Galleys were plac'd to flank us with their Prows before Entry; but when they saw our approach, the next Morning the Merchants ran up the River, and the Men of War to the Point of the River, and brought themselves into a good Order of Fight, mooring their Ships a Head and a Stern, to have their Broad Sides upon us. The Galleys then betook themselves to the Guard of the Town, which we put them from before we attempted the Ships.

But because I have promis'd in the beginning of my Discourse, to particularize some Errors and Miscarriages my Capacity would permit me to judge of, before I proceed further on this Voyage, I will declare a main oversight in the *Spaniards*.

After the Galleons had (as you have heard) brought themselves to the mouth of the Bay of *Cadiz*, and found themselves unable to withstand us, if, instead of running to *Point Royal*, they had put themselves under the Defence of the Town, they had been defended by their Fort *Philip*, which had added a Strength to theirs; Or being overcome, as afterwards they were, they might with more security have run themselves a ground near the Town, which would have secur'd their Men in spite of us, and not as they did where there was no Fort, nor any force of Men to support them. Besides, the Men that had then escap'd into the Town, might have defended it with their Numbers, that though we had taken the Place, it must have been upon harder Conditions than we did. But to proceed:

The Victory being obtain'd at Sea, the Lord General *Essex* landed his Men in a

Sandy Bay, which the Castle of *Puntall* commanded; but they seeing the Success of their Ships, and mistrusting their own Strength, neither offer'd to offend his Landing, nor to defend the Castle; but quitted it, and so we became Possessors of it.

After my Lord's Peaceable Landing, he consider'd what was to be done; and there being no place from whence the Enemy could annoy us, but the Bridge which crosses over from the main Land to the Island; by our making good of which Bridge, there would be no way left for the Galleys to escape us: He sent Three Regiments under the Command of Sir *Corniers Clifford*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Garret* to the Bridge; who at their first coming were encountred by the Enemy, but yet possess'd themselves of it, with the loss of some Men; but whether it was for want of Victuals, or for what other Reasons our Men quitted it, I know not, and the Galleys breaking down divers Arches pass'd it, and by that means escap'd.

My Lord dispatch'd a Messenger to my Lord Admiral, intreating him to give Order to attempt the Merchants that rode in *Port Royal*, for that it was dangerous to give them a Nights respite, lest they should convey away their Wealth, or take Example by the *Philip* and *Thomas*, to burn themselves. This Message was deliver'd by Sir *Anthony Ashley*, and Sir *William Monson*, as my Lord Admiral was in his Boat, ready with his Troops of Seamen to land, who fearing the Lord General *Essex* should be put to Distress with his small Companies, which were but Three Regiments, hastened by all means to second him, and gave order to certain Ships the next day to pursue them.

Since I have undertaken to shew the Oversights committed in any of our *English* Voyages, such as were committed here, shall without Fear or Flattery appear to the Judicious Reader.

Though the Earl of *Essex* his Carriage and Forwardness merited much, yet if it had been with more Deliberation and less Haste, it would have succeeded better: And if he were now living, he would confess Sir *William Monson* advis'd him, rather to seek to be Master of the Ships, than of the Town; for it was that would afford both Wealth and Honour: For the Riches in Ships could not be conceal'd, or convey'd away, as in Towns they might. And the Ships themselves being brought for *England*, would be always before Mens Eyes there, and put them in mind

mind of the greatness of the Exploit; as for the Town, perhaps it might be soon won, but probably not long enjoy'd, and so quickly forgotten: And to speak indifferently, by the Earl's sudden Landing, without the Lord Admiral's Privity; and his giving Advice by a Message to attempt the Ships, which should have been resolv'd upon mature Deliberation, no doubt the Lord Admiral found his Honour a little Ecclips'd, which perhaps hasten'd his Landing for his Reputation sake, whenas he thought it more advisable to have possess'd himself of their Fleet.

Before the Lord Admiral could draw near the Town, the Earl of *Essex* had entred it; and though the Houses were built in such manner, that every House serv'd for a Platform; yet they were forc'd to quit them, and retire to the Castle.

My Lord at last, in despite of the Enemy, gain'd the Market-place, where he found the greatest Resistance from the Houses thereabouts; and where that Worthy Gentleman Sir *John Wingfield* was unluckily slain. The Lord General *Essex* caus'd it to be proclaim'd by Beat of Drum through the Town, that all that would yield, should repair to the Town-House, where they should have promise of Mercy, and those that would not, to expect no Favour. The Castle desir'd Respite to consider till the morning following; and then by one general Consent, they surrend'red themselves to the Two Lord Generals Mercy. The Chief Prisoners, Men and Women, were brought into the Castle, where they remain'd a little space, and were sent away with Honourable Usage. The noble Treating of the Prisoners has gain'd everlasting Honour to our Nation, and the Generals in particular.

It cannot be supposed the Lord Generals had leisure to be idle the day following, having so great business to consider of, as the securing the Town, and enjoying the Merchant Ships: Wherefore, for the speedier dispatch, they Treated with the best Men of the City about the Ransom to be given for their Town and Liberties. 120000 Duckets was the Sum concluded on; and for Security thereof, many of them became Hostages. There was likewise an Overture for the Ransom of their Ships and Goods, which the Duke of *Medina* hearing of, rather than we should reap any Profit by them, he caus'd them to be fir'd.

We found by Experience, that the destroying of this Fleet (which did amount to the value of Six or Seven Millions)

was the general impoverishing of the whole Country: For when the Pledges were sent to *Sevil*, to take up Money for their Redemption, they were answer'd, that all the Town was not able to raise such a Sum, their Loss was so great by the destruction of their Fleet. And to speak the truth, the King of *Spain* never receiv'd so great an Overthrow, and so great an Indignity at our Hands as this: For our Attempt was at his own Home, in his Port that he thought as safe as his Chamber, where we took and destroy'd his Ships of War, burnt and consum'd the Wealth of his Merchants, sack'd his City, ransom'd his Subjects, and entred his Country without Impeachment.

To write all Accidents of this Voyage, were too tedious, and would weary the Reader; but he that would desire to know the Behaviour of the *Spaniards*, as well as of us, may confer with divers *Englishmen* that were redeem'd out of the Gallies in exchange for others, and brought into *England*.

After we had enjoy'd the Town of *Cadiz* a Fortnight, and our Men were grown rich by the Spoil of it, the Generals imbarqued their Army, with an intent to perform greater Services before their Return; but such was the Covetousness of the better Sort, who were enrich'd there, and the fear of Hunger in others, who complain'd for want of Victuals, that they could not willingly be drawn to any farther Action, to gain more Reputation. The only thing that was afterwards attempted was *Faro*, a Town of *Algarve* in *Portugal*, a Place of no Resistance or Wealth, only famous for the Library of *Osius*, who was Bishop of that Place; which Library was brought into *England* by us, and many of the Books bestow'd upon the new erected Library of *Oxford*.

Some Prisoners were taken, but of small account; who told us, that the greatest Strength of the Country was in *Lagos*, the chief Town of *Algarve*, 12 miles distant from thence; because most part of the Gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither, to make it good, expecting our coming. This News was acceptable to my Lord of *Essex*, who prefer'd Honour before Wealth: And having had his Will, and the Spoil of the Town of *Faro*, and Country thereabouts, he Shipp'd his Army, and took Council of the Lord Admiral how to proceed. My Lord Admiral diverted his Course for *Lagos*, alledging the Place was strong, of no Wealth, always held in the nature of a

1596. Fisher-Town, belonging to the *Portugueses*, who in their Hearts were our Friends; that the winning of it, after so eminent a Place as *Cadiz*, could add no Honour; though it should be carry'd, yet it would be the Loss of his best Troops and Gentlemen, who would rather dye than receive the Indignity of a Repulse. My Lord of *Effex*, much against his Will, was forc'd to yield to these Reasons, and desist from that Enterprise.

About this time there was a general Complaint for want of Victuals; which proceeded rather out of a desire that some had to be at home, than out of any necessity: For Sir *William Monson* and Mr. *Darrel* were appointed to Examine the Condition of every Ship, and found Seven Weeks Victua's (Drink excepted) which might have been supplied from the Shore in Water; and this put the Generals in great hope to perform something more than they had done. The only Service now to be thought on, was to lie in wait for the Carrecks, which in all probability could not escape us, though there were many Doubts to the contrary; but easily answer'd by Men of Experience: But in truth some Mens desires homeward were so great, that no Reason could prevail with, or persuade them.

Coming into the height of the Rock, the Generals took Council once again; and then the Earl of *Effex*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, offer'd with great earnestness to stay out the time our Victuals lasted; and desir'd to have but 12 Ships furnish'd out of the rest to stay with them; but this would not be granted, though the Squadron of the *Hollanders* offer'd voluntarily to stay. Sir *Walter Raleigh* alleadg'd the scarcity of Victuals, and the Infection of his Men. My Lord General *Effex* offer'd, in the Greatness of his Mind, and the Desire he had to stay, to supply his want of Men and Victuals, and to exchange Ships; but all Proposals were in vain: For the Riches of *Cadiz* kept them that had got much, from attempting

more; as if it had been pure Want and not Honour would have enforc'd them to greater Enterprises.

This being the last Hopes of the Voyage, and being generally withstood, it was concluded to steer away for the *North Cape*, and afterwards to view and search the Harbours of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*; and if any of the King of *Spain's* Ships chanc'd to be there, to give an Attempt upon them.

The Lord Admiral sent a Carvel of our Fleet into these Two Harbours, and apparell'd the Men in *Spanish* Cloaths to avoid Suspicion. This Carvel return'd the next day with a true Relation, that there were no Ships in the Harbours: And now passing all Places where there was any hope of doing good, our Return for *England* was resolv'd upon; and on the 8th of *August* the Lord Admiral arriv'd at *Plimouth* with the greatest part of the Army: And the Lord General *Effex*, who staid to accompany the *St. Andrew*, which was under his Charge, and reputed of his Squadron, two days after us, being the 10th of *August*, where he found the Army in that perfect Health, as the like has not been seen, for so many to go out of *England* to such great Enterprises, and to return home again so well.

He himself rid up to the Court, to advise with her Majesty about the winning of *Callis*, which the *Spaniards* took the *Easter* before: Here was a good opportunity to have regain'd the ancient Patrimony of *England*; but the *French* King thought he might with more ease regain it from the *Spaniard* who was his Enemy, than recover it again from us who were his Friends.

My Lord Admiral with the Fleet went to the *Downs*, where he landed, and left the Charge of the Navy to Sir *Robert Dudley* and Sir *William Monson*. In going from thence to *Chatham*, they endur'd more foul Weather and contrary Winds, than in the whole Voyage besides.

A Voyage to the Islands, the Earl of Essex General, Anno 1597. 1597.

Ships.

The Mere-honour.
After in the Repulse.
The Lyon.
The Warspite.
The Garland.
The Defiance.
The Mary Rose.
The Hope.
The Matthew.
The Rainbow.
The Bonadventure.
The Dreadnought.
The Swiftsuer.
The Antelope.
The Nonpareille.
The St. Andrew.

Commanders.

The Earl of Essex; Captain under him,
Sir Robert Mansell.
The Lord Thomas Howard.
Sir Walter Rawleigh.
The Earl of Southampton.
The Lord Mountjoy.
Sir Francis Vere.
Sir Richard Lewson.
Sir George Carew.
Sir William Monson.
Sir William Harvey.
Sir William Brooke.
Sir Gilly Merick.
Sir John Gilbert, he went not.
Sir Thomas Vasafor.
Captain Throgmorton.

HER Majesty having Knowledge of the King of Spain's drawing down his Fleet and Army to the Groyne and Ferrol, with an intent to enter into some Action against Her; and that, notwithstanding the Loss of 36 Sail of his Ships that were cast away upon the North Cape, in their coming thither: He prepar'd, with all possible Means, to revenge the Disgrace we did him the year last past at Cadiz. Her Majesty likewise prepar'd to defend her self, and fitted out the most part of her Ships for the Sea; but at length, perceiving his Drift was more to affright than offend her, tho' he gave it out otherwise, because she should provide to resist him at home, rather than to annoy him abroad, she was unwilling the great Charges she had been at should be bestow'd in vain, and therefore turn'd her Preparations another way, than that for which she first intended them.

The Project of this Voyage was to assault the King of Spain's Shipping in the Harbour of Ferrol, which the Queen chiefly desir'd to do for her own Security at home, and afterwards to go and take the Tercera Islands, and there to expect the coming home of the India Fleet: But neither of these Two Designs took that effect which was expected; for in our setting forth, the same day we put to Sea, we were taken with a most violent Storm and contrary Winds; and the General was separated from the Fleet, and one Ship from another, so that the one half of the Fleet was compell'd to return home, and the rest that kept the Sea, having reach'd the Coast of Spain, were commanded home, by order of the Lord General.

Thus, after their return, they were to advise upon a new Voyage, finding by their Ships and Victuals they were unable to perform the former: Whereupon it was thought convenient all the Army should be discharg'd, for saving of Victuals, except 1000 of the prime Soldiers of the Low Countries, which were put into Her Majesty's Ships, that they might be the better prepar'd, if they should chance to encounter the Spanish Fleet. Thus the second time they departed England, tho' not without some danger of the Ships, by reason of the Winter's near approach.

The first Land in Spain we fell in withal was the North Cape, the Place whither our Directions led us, if we happen'd to lose Company: Being there descried from the Shore, and not above Twelve Leagues from the Groyne, where the Spanish Armada lay, we were in good hopes to have enticed them out of the Harbour to fight us; but spending some time thereabouts, and finding no such Disposition in them, it was thought fit no longer to linger about that Coast, lest we should lose our Opportunity upon the India Fleet; therefore every Captain receiv'd his Directions to stand his Course into 36 Degrees; there to spread our selves North and South, it being a height that commonly the Spaniards sail in from the Indies.

At this tinte the Lord General complain'd of a Leak in his Ship; and two days after, towards midnight, he brought himself upon the Lee to stop it. *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, and some other Ships, being a-head of the Fleet, and it growing dark, they could not discern the Lord General's

Working, but stood their Course as before directed; and through this unadvis'd working of my Lord, they lost him, which was a great disheartening to his Fleet.

The day following, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was inform'd by a Pinnace he met, that the great *Armada*, which we suppos'd to be in the *Groyn* and *Ferrol*, was gone to the Islands, for the Guard of the *India* Fleet. This Pinnace, with this Intelligence it gave us, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* immediately sent to look out the General. My Lord had no sooner receiv'd this Advice, but at the very instant he directed his Course to the Islands, and dispatch'd some small Vessels to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, to inform him of the sudden Alteration of his Course, upon the News receiv'd from him, commanding him with all expedition to repair to *Flores*, where he would not fail to be at our Arrival. At the Islands we found this Intelligence utterly false; for neither the *Spanish* Ships were there, nor were expected there: We met likewise with divers *Englishmen* that came out of the *Indies*, but they could give us no Assurance of the coming home of the Fleet; neither could we receive any Advertisement from the Shore, which made us half in despair of them.

By that time we had watered our Ships, and relish'd our selves at *Flores*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* arriv'd there, who was will'd by the Lord General, after he was furnish'd of such Wants as that poor Island afforded, to repair to the Island of *Fajal*, which my Lord intended to take. Here grew great Questions and Heart-burnings against Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: For he coming to *Fajal*, and missing the Lord General, and yet knowing my Lord's Resolution to take the Island, he held it more advisable to land with those Forces he had, than to expect the coming of my Lord; for in that space the Island might be better provided; whereupon he landed, and took it before my Lord's Approach. This Act was held such an Indignity to my Lord, and urg'd with that Vehemence by those that hated Sir *Walter*, that if my Lord, tho' naturally kind and flexible, had not fear'd how it would have been taken in *England*, I think Sir *Walter* had smarted for it.

From this Island we went to *Graciosa*, which did willingly relieve our Wants as far as it could; yet with humble intreaty to forbear landing with our Army, especially because they understood there was a Squadron of *Hollanders* amongst us, who did not use to forbear Cruelty wherever

they came; and here it was that we met the *India* Fleet, which in manner following miraculously escap'd us.

The Lord General having sent some Men of good Account into the Island, to see there should be no Injury offer'd to the *Portugueses*, because he had pass'd his word to the contrary; those Men advertis'd him of four Sail of Ships descry'd from the Shore, and one of them, greater than the rest, seem'd to be a Carrock: My Lord receiv'd this News with great Joy, and divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, to be commanded by himself, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. The next Ship to my Lord, of the Queen's, was the *Rainbow*, wherein Sir *William Monson* went, who receiv'd Direction from my Lord to steer away South that night; and if he should meet with any Fleet, to follow them, carrying Lights, or shooting off his Ordnances, or making any other Sign that he could; and if he met with no Ships, to direct his Course the next day to the Island of *St. Michael*; but promising that night to send 12 Ships after him. Sir *William* besought my Lord, by the Pinnace that brought him this Direction, that above all things he should have a care to dispatch a Squadron to the Road of *Angra* in the *Tercera's*; for it was certain, if they were *Spaniards*, thither they would resort.

Whilst my Lord was thus contriving his Business, and ordering his Squadron, a small Bark of his Fleet happen'd to come to him, who assur'd him, that those Ships discover'd from the Land were of his own Fleet, and that they came in immediately from them. This made my Lord countermand his former Direction; only Sir *William Monson*, who was the next Ship to him, and receiv'd the first Command, could not be recall'd back. Within Three Hours of his departure from my Lord, which might be about 12 of the Clock, he fell in company of a Fleet of 25 Sail, which at the first he could not assure himself to be *Spaniards*, because the day before, that number of Ships was missing from our Fleet. Here he was in a Dilemma and great Perplexity with himself; for in making Signs, as he was directed, if the Ships prov'd *English*, it were ridiculous, and he would be expos'd to scorn; and to respite it till morning were as dangerous, if they were the *India* Fleet; for then my Lord might be out of view, or of the hearing of his Ordnance: Therefore he resolv'd rather to put his Person than his Ship in Peril. He commanded his Master to keep the

the Weather-gage of the Fleet whatsoever should become of him; and it blowing little Wind, he betook himself to his Boat, and row'd up with this Fleet, demanding whence they were: They answer'd, of *Sevil* in *Spain*; and ask'd of whence he was? He told them of *England*, and that the Ship in sight was a Gallion of the Queen's of *England*, single and alone, alledging the Honour they would get by winning her; his Drift being to draw and entice them into the Wake of our Fleet, where they would be so entangl'd, as they could not escape; they return'd him some Shot and ill Language, but would not alter their Course to the *Tercera's*, whither they were bound, and where they arriv'd to our misfortune. Sir William Monson return'd aboard his Ship, making Signs and Lights, and Report with his Ordnance, but all in vain; for my Lord altering his Course, as you have heard, stood that night to *St. Michael's*, and pass'd by the North side of *Tercera*, a farther way than if he had gone by the way of *Angra*, where he had met the *India* Fleet.

When day appear'd, and Sir William Monson was in hopes to find the 12 Ships promis'd to be sent to him, he might discern the *Spanish* Fleet Two Miles and a little more a-head of him, and a Stern him a Gallion, and a Pinnace betwixt them; which putting forth her Flags, he knew to be the Earl of *Southampton* in the *Garland*: The Pinnace was a Frigate of the *Spanish* Fleet, who took the *Garland* and the *Rainbow* to be Gallions of theirs; but seeing the Flag of the *Garland*, she found her Error, and sprang a-loof, thinking to escape; but the Earl pursued her with the loss of some time, when he should have follow'd the Fleet, and therefore was desir'd to desist from that Chase by Sir William Monson, who sent his Boat to him. By a Shot from my Lord this Frigate was sunk; and while his Men were rifling her, Sir Francis Vere and Sir William Brook came up in their Two Ships, who the *Spaniards* would have made us believe were Two Gallions of theirs; and so much did my Lord signify to Sir William Monson, wishing him to stay their coming up; for that there would be greater hope of those Two Ships, which there was no doubt but we were able to master, than of the Fleet, for which we were too weak.

When Sir William knew the Two Ships to be the Queen's, which he had before suspected, he began to pursue the *Spanish* Fleet afresh; but by reason they were so

far a-head of him, and had so little way to sail, they recover'd the Road of *Tercera*; but he and the rest of the Ships pursued them, and himself led the way into the Harbour, where he found sharp Resistance from the Castle; but yet so batter'd the Ships, that he might see the Masts of some shot by the Board, and the Men quit the Ships; so that there wanted nothing but a Gale of Wind to enable him to cut the Cables of the Hawfers, and to bring them off: Wherefore he sent to the other Three great Ships of ours, to desire them to attempt the cutting their Cables; but Sir Francis Vere rather wish'd his coming off, that they might take a Resolution what to do. This must be rather imputed to want of Experience than Backwardness in him; for Sir William sent him word, that if he quit the Harbour, the Ships would tow near the Castle; and as the night drew on, the Wind would freshen, and come more off the Land, which indeed prov'd so, and we above a League from the Road in the morning.

We may say, and that truly, there was never that Possibility to have undone the State of *Spain* as now; for every Royal of Plate we had taken in this Fleet had been two to them, by our converting it by War upon them.

None of the Captains could be blam'd in this Business; all is to be attributed to the want of Experience in my Lord, and his flexible Nature to be over-rul'd: For the first hour he anchor'd at *Flores*, and call'd a Council, Sir William Monson advis'd him, upon the Reasons following, after his Watering, to run *West*, spreading his Fleet *North* and *South*, so far as the *Eastern* Wind that then blew would carry them; alledging, that if the *India* Fleet came home that year, by computation of the last light Moon, from which time their disimboguing in the *Indies* must be reckoned, they could not be above 200 Leagues short of that Island; and whensoever the Wind should chop up *Westerly*, he bearing a slack Sail, they would in a few days overtake him.

This Advice my Lord seem'd to embrace, but was diverted by divers Gentlemen, who coming principally for Land Service, found themselves tir'd by the tediousness of the Sea. Certain it is, if my Lord had follow'd his Advice, within less than 40 Hours he had made the Queen owner of that Fleet; for by the Pilot's Card, which was taken in the Frigate, the *Spanish* Fleet was but 50 Leagues in traverse with that *Eastern* Wind when my

1597. my Lord was at *Flores*, which made my Lord wish, the first time Sir *William Monson* repair'd to him, after the escape of the Fleet, that he had lost his Hand so he had been rul'd by him.

Being met aboard Sir *Francis Vere*, we consulted what to do, and resolv'd to acquaint my Lord with what had happen'd, desiring his Presence with us, to see if there were any possibility to attempt the Shipping, or surprize the Island, and so to possess the Treasure.

My Lord receiv'd this Advertisement, just as he was ready with his Troops to have landed in *St. Michaels*; but this Message diverted his Landing, and made him presently cast about for the Islands of the *Tercera*, where we lay all this while expecting his coming. In his Course from *St. Michaels*, it was his hap to take Three Ships that departed the *Havana* the day after the Fleet: Which Three Ships did almost then countervail the Expence of the whole Voyage.

At my Lord's meeting with us at *Tercera*, there was a Consultation how the Enemy's Ships might be fetch'd off, or destroy'd as they lay; but all Men with one consent agreed the impossibility of it. The attempting the Island was propounded; but withstood for these Reasons; the difficulty in Landing, the Strength of the Island, which was increas'd by Fourteen or Fifteen hundred Soldiers in the Ships, and our want of Victuals to abide by the Siege. Seeing then we were frustrate of our Hopes at the *Tercera*, we resolv'd upon landing in *St. Michaels*, and arriv'd the day following at *Punta Delgada*, the chief City. Here my Lord imbarqued his small Army in Boats, with offer to Land; and having thereby drawn the Enemies greatest Force thither to resist him, suddenly he row'd to *Villa Franca*, three or four Leagues distant from thence; which, not being defended by the Enemy, he took. The Ships had order to abide in the Road of *Delgada*; for that my Lord made account to march thither by Land; but being ashore at *Villa Franca*, he was inform'd that the March was impossible, by reason of the high and craggy Mountains, which diverted his purpose.

Victuals now grew short with us, and my Lord General began discreetly to foresee the danger in abiding towards Winter upon these Coasts, which could not afford him an Harbour, only open Roads that were subject to Southerly Winds; and upon every such Wind, he must put to Sea for his safety. He consider'd, that

if this should happen when his Troops were ashore, and he not able to reach the Land in a Fortnight or more, which is a thing ordinary, what a desperate Case he should put himself into, especially in so great a want of Victuals: And so concluding, that he had seen the end of all his Hopes by the Escape of the Fleet, he imbarqued himself and Army, though with some difficulty, the Seas were now grown so high.

By this time the one half of the Fleet that rid in *Punta Delgada*, made away for *Villa Franca*; and those that remain'd behind being thought by a Ship of *Brazile* to be the *Spanish* Fleet, she came in amongst them, and so was betray'd: After her there follow'd a Carreck, who had been serv'd in the like manner, but for the hasty and indiscreet weighing of a *Hollander*, which made her run ashore under the Castle; when the Wind lessen'd Sir *William Monson* weighed with the *Rainbow*, thinking to give an attempt upon her notwithstanding the Castle; which she perceiving, as he drew near unto her, she set her self on fire, and burn'd down to the very Keel. She was a Ship of 1400 Tuns Burden, that the year before was not able to double the Cape of *Good Hope* in her Voyage to the *East-Indies*; but put into *Brazile*, where she was laden with Sugars, and afterwards thus destroy'd. The *Spaniards*, who presum'd more upon their Advantages than Valour, and thought themselves in too weak a Condition to follow us to the Islands, and put their Fortunes upon a days Service, subtilly devis'd how to intercept us as we came Home, when we had least Thought or Suspicion of them and their Fleet, which was all this while in the *Groyn* and *Ferrel*, not daring to put forwards while they knew ours to be upon the Coast. Their General the *Adelantado* came for *England*, with a Resolution to land at *Falmouth*, and fortifie it, and afterwards with their Ships to keep the Sea, and expect our coming home scatter'd: And having thus cut off our Sea Forces, and possessing the Harbour of *Falmouth*, they thought with a second Supply of 37 *Levantine* Ships, which the Marquess *Arumbullo* commanded, to have return'd and gain'd a good footing in *England*.

We may say, and that truly, that God fought for us: For the *Adelantado* being within a few Leagues of the Island of *Silly*, he commanded all his Captains on Board him to receive his Directions; but whilst they were in Consultation, a violent Storm took them at East, inso much that
the

the Captains could hardly recover their Ships, but in no case were able to save their Boats: The Storm continu'd so furious, that happy was he who could recover home, seeing their Design thus overthrown by the loss of their Boats, whereby the Means of Landing was taken away. Some who were willing to stay, and receive the farther Commands of the General, kept the Seas so long upon our Coast, that in the end they were taken; Others put themselves into our Harbours for Refuge and Succour; and it is certainly known, that in this Voyage the Spaniards lost Eighteen Ships, the *St. Luke* and the *St. Baribolomew* being Two, and in the Rank of his best Galleons.

We must ascribe this loss of theirs to God only; for certainly the Enemies De-

signs were dangerous, and not diverted by our Force, but by his Will, who from time to time would not suffer the Spaniards in any one of their Attempts to set footing in *England*, as we did in all Quarters of *Spain*, *Portugal*, the Islands, and both *Indies*. 1597.

In this Voyage to the Islands, I have set down my Lord's Design upon the *Spanish* Fleet lying at *Ferrol*, wherein his Lordship requir'd a Captain he most relied on to have his Opinion in Writing; First, Whether he should attempt the Ships in Harbour, or no? Secondly, Whether before or after his being at the *Tercera*? And lastly, The Manner how to Assault them? The Captain's Answer follows, which you may Read and Judge of.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex.

IN answer to your Lordship's demand, Whether to give an Attempt upon the Ships in *Ferrol*, before the landing your Men, and the Castles gain'd, (this I say) that before I can give my Resolution, I must describe the State of the Harbour, and the Situation of the Forts, with the Strength of the Ships; for out of these must proceed my Reasons.

I conceive at the entrance of the Harbour there are Two Castles, the one on the Southside, the other on the North, both commanding any Ship that shall enter; they are seated low by the Water, the Cliffs on both sides very high, and the Harbour to be Chain'd.

My Opinion is, if your Lordship do land your Men in the Bay before you take the Forts, as there is no other Place of Landing, you must consider it is an open Road, the Coast subject to Northerly Winds, which beat so hard on the Shore, that you cannot land your Soldiers and their Furniture with convenience and safety, especially being sure to find Resistance at your Landing.

But your Lordship may Answer, That he who attempts Great Things, must run all Hazards; And as it is Wisdom to forecast all Doubts and Dangers, so were it too great Security not to hazard Loss upon hope of Victory; And whereas the danger of Landing by reason of the Seas breaking on the Shore is alledged, you may think we are not always sure of a Northerly Wind, nor of so great a Sea, and therefore you must put your Attempt in adventure.

But for your Lordship's Satisfaction in this Point: You must know that you cannot seize that Coast, but with such a Wind as makes such a Sea as renders it difficult for you to Land. Or, suppose that being upon the Coast as you were the last year, when you came from *Cadiz*, and that the Wind should now do as then it did, chop up from the South-west to the North-west, your Lordship would be imbay'd, and forc'd to seek the Harbour of the *Groyn* or *Ferrol*, and make good those Places, which then you might have done; but now you must consider your Army is not so great as it was then, and their Fortifications and Shipping are much stronger than they were: My Opinion is therefore, That there is little Possibility of attempting the Shipping without gaining the Forts; neither do I see any Possibility to possess them with your small Army.

But your Lordship may alledge, that though the Ports were impregnable, yet they may be pass'd with a large Wind, for every Shot that comes from them hits not, or if it does it kills not, but though it should it sinks not.

I allow it is no great difficulty to pass any Fort with a Ship under Sail, being a moveable thing, where no certain aim can be had, yet I think no Place more dangerous than *Ferrol*, because of the highness of the Hills, and the narrowness of the entrance that makes a continual Calm, or the little Wind so uncertain, that every Puff brings sundry shift

of

1597.

of Wind; many of the King of Spain's Ships have been there lost: And therefore the advantage of a Ship in passing a Castle is the force and largeness of a Wind; as to the contrary, these Ports will be able to annoy a Ship upon the former Reasons.

But allow that your Lordship's Fleet should enter safely, for the greatest Difficulty is not to pass in, but to perform the Service when they are within; your Fleet being entred, they will be in the State of a Prisoner, that cannot get out of a House without Leave of his Keeper, for the Wind that is good and large for them to enter, is as much against their coming out; and therefore it behoves every Commander, as well to think of bringing himself off with Discretion, as of falling on with Resolution.

Hitherto I have shewed the uncertainty of your Lordship's Landing, the doubtfulness of your Attempt, and the danger in not having the Castles; but I will now suppose the Ports to be ours, and the whole Shipping pass'd them without any loss, yet will the Enemy have as great an advantage as they can wish; for the number of Men and Shipping, and the greatness of their Vessels, are known to exceed ours; and where there is an equality in Shipping on both sides, the Victory is not to be obtain'd on neither side, whilst there is Ammunition and Men on the other side, unless it be by a general Boarding, or Stratagem of Firing, in which the Spaniard shall have advantage of us, they being in their own Harbour, where they may be supplied; and we can have no Relief but what we bring with us.

If your Lordship shall hold it convenient, as in Discretion I think you will not, to send in her Majesty's Ships upon this Service, then you must consider the rest of your Fleet to be far inferior to the Enemies Strength, and so you will send them apparently to their own Destruction, Slaughter and Ruin.

As I am against the Attempt of Ferrol before you return from the Islands, so I am also against your Lordship's presenting your self upon that Coast; for in thinking to intice forth the Fleet, besides that you shall discover your own Strength, you shall give them occasion to Arm their Country; and besides, it

will be in their choice, whether to Fight with you or no; for they will be able to discover and judge of your Forces; and such is their Discipline, that though they had your Lordship upon advantage, yet they dare not attempt you without a Special Order from the King; which your Lordship found by Experience in the Count de Fuentes his Answer to your Lordship's Challenge at the Walls of Lisbonne. And to conclude, since your Lordship intends to go from Ferrol to Tercera, it were much better, in my Opinion, first to attempt that Island, whilst your Army is strong and in health; it is a Place of much more importance, and more likelihood of prevailing than in your Enterprize upon the Shipping; That Island being possess'd, will draw Contributions from the rest to maintain it; your Lordship will cut off the Supplies the Spaniards and Portugueses receive from both the Indies, Guinea and Brazil; your Lordship will provide a Place of Refuge for our Fleet hereafter, from whence they may with ease keep the Seas, and endanger all the Trades aforesaid; your Lordship will Unite that Island to the Crown of England; and if there be an Agreement of Peace betwixt the Two Nations, you will gain advantageous Conditions to the State of England upon a Treaty; your Lordship will be in a possibility of drawing the Armada of Ferrol to pursue you thither, that Island importing them so much to defend, and then your Lordship will have your desire to Fight them upon equal Terms at Sea. If you attempt Ferrol at first, and should happen to be repulsed, your Lordship will confess it will be so great a Dishonour and Loss, that you will not be able to resolve upon any other Service, and then will your Expedition for the Tercera's be utterly void; whereas if you would please to make your Attempt upon the Tercera's first, it will not take away your Hope of Ferrol afterwards; for in your return from thence, you will find the Shipping either in the same State you left them in Harbour; or if you meet them at Sea, you will Encounter them upon advantage. Thus have I answer'd your Lordship's Demand as you requir'd.

W. M.

*The Lord Thomas Howard Admiral in the Downs, from whence
he return'd in a Month, Anno 1599.*

Ships.

*The Elizabeth Jonas.
The Ark Royal.
The Triumph.
The Mere honour.
The Repulse.
The Garland.
The Defiance.
The Nonpareille.
The Lyon.
The Rainbow.
The Hope.
The Foresight.
The Mary Rose.
The Bonaventure.
The Crane.
The Swiftsure.
The Tremontain.
The Advantage.
The Quittance.*

Commanders.

*The Lord Thomas Howard.
Sir Walter Rawleigh.
Sir Fulke Grivel.
Sir Henry Palmer.
Sir Tho. Vavasor.
Sir Will. Harvey.
Sir Will. Monson.
Sir Robert Cross.
Sir Richard Lewson.
Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir John Gilbert.
Sir Tho. Sherley.
Mr. Fortescue.
Capt. Troughton.
Capt. Jonas.
Capt. Bradgate.
Capt. Slingsby.
Capt. White.
Capt. Reynolds.*

I Cannot write of any thing done in this Year of 1599. for there was never greater Expectation of War, with less Performance. Whether it was a Mistrust the one Nation had of the other, of a Policy held on both sides, to make Peace with Sword in Hand, a Treaty being entertain'd by consent of each Prince, I am not to examine; but sure I am, the Preparation was on both sides very great, as if the one expected an Invasion from the other: And yet it was generally conceiv'd, not to be intended by either; but that ours had only relation to my Lord of Essex, who was then in Ireland, and had a Design to try his Friends in England, and to be reveng'd of his Enemies, as he pretended, and as it prov'd afterwards by his Fall. Howsoever it was, the Charge was not so great as necessary: For it was commonly known, that the *Adelantado* had drawn both his Ships and Gallies to the *Groyn*; which was not usually done, but for some Action intended upon England or Ireland, though he converted them afterwards to another use; for the Gallies were sent into the *Low Countreys*, and pass'd the Narrow Seas, whilst our Ships lay there, and with the Fleet the *Adelantado* pursu'd the *Hollanders* to the Islands, whither he suspected they were gone. This Fleet of *Hollanders*, which consisted of 73 Sail, were the first Ships that ever displayed their Colours in War-like sort against the *Spaniards*, in any Action of

their own: For how cruel soever the War seem'd to be in *Holland*, they maintain'd a Peaceable Trade in *Spain*, and abus'd us. This first Action of the *Hollanders* at Sea prov'd not very successful: For after the Spoil of a Town in the *Canary's*, and some Hurt done at the Island of *S. Tome*, they kept the Sea for some seven or eight months, in which time their General and most of their Men sickned and died, and the rest return'd with Loss and Shame. Another Benefit which we receiv'd by this Preparation, was, That our Men were now taught suddenly to Arm, every Man knowing his Command, and how to be commanded, which before they were ignorant of: and who knows not, that sudden and false Alarms in an Army, are sometimes necessary? To say truth, the Expedition which was then us'd in drawing together so great an Army by Land, and rigging so great and Royal a Navy to Sea in so little a space of Time, was so admirable in other Countreys, that they received a Terror by it; and many that came from beyond Sea, said, the Queen was never more dreaded abroad for any thing she ever did.

Frenchmen that came aboard our Ships, did wonder (as at a thing incredible) that her Majesty had Rigg'd, Victuall'd and Furnish'd her Royal Ships to Sea in 12 days time: And *Spain*, as an Enemy, had reason to fear, and grieve to see this sudden Preparation; but more, when they

understood how the Hearts of her Majesty's Subjects join'd with their Hands, being all ready to spend their dearest Blood for her and her Service. *Holland* might likewise see, that if they became insolent, we could be as soon provided as they; nor did they expect to find such celerity in any Nation but themselves.

It is probable too, that the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Duke, were hereby drawn to entertain Thoughts of Peace:

For as soon as our Fleet was at Sea, a Gentleman was sent from *Brussels*, with some Overtures, though for that time they succeeded not. However, whether it was, that the intended Invasion from *Spain* was diverted, or that her Majesty was fully satisf'd of my Lord of *Essex*, I know not; but so it was, that she commanded the suddain return of her Ships from Sea, after they had lain three weeks or a month in the *Downs*.

1600.

Sir Richard Lewson to the Islands, Anno Dom. 1600.

Ships.

The Repulse.
The Warspight.
The Vanguard.

Commanders.

Sir Richard Lewson.
 Capt. Troughton.
 Capt. Sommers.

THE last year, as you have heard, put all Men in expectation of War, which yet came to nothing. This Summer gave us great hope of Peace; but with the like effect: For by consent of the Queen, the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Duke, their Commissioners met at *Bologne* in *Picardy*, to Treat of Peace; a Place chosen indifferently, the *French* King being in League and Friendship with them all. Whether this Treaty were intended but in shew only, or, that they were out of hopes to come to any Conclusion; or, what else was the true and real cause of its breaking off so suddenly, I know not; but the pretence was slender, for there grew a difference about Precedency betwixt the Crowns of *Spain* and *England*; and so the hopes of Peace were frustrated; though had it been really intended, matters might easily have been accommodated.

The Queen suspected the Event hereof before their meeting, and the rather, because the *Spaniards* entertain'd her with the like Treaty in 1588. when at the same Instant their Navy appear'd upon her Coast to Invade her; therefore, lest she should be guilty of too great security, in relying upon the success of this doubtful Treaty, she furnish'd the Three Ships before named, under pretence to guard the Western Coast, which at that time was infested by the *Dunkirkers*.

And because there should be the less notice taken, part of the Victuals was provided at *Plimouth*, and Sir Richard Lewson, who was then Admiral of the Narrow Seas, was appointed General, for

the more secret carrying on of the Business; so as it could not be conjectur'd, either by their Victualling, or by their Captain, being Admiral of the Narrow Seas, that it was a Service from home. As they were in a readiness at *Plimouth*, expecting Orders, the Queen being fully satisf'd that the Treaty of *Bologne* would break off without effect, she commanded Sir Richard Lewson to hasten to the Islands, there to expect the Carrecks and *Mexico* Fleet. The *Spaniards* on the other side, being as circumspect to prevent a Mischief, as we were subtil to contrive it; and believing (as we did) that the Treaty of Peace would prove a vain, hopeless shew of what was never meant, furnished Eighteen tall Ships to the Islands, as they had usually done since the year 1591. The General of this Fleet was Don Diego de Borachero.

Our Ships coming to the Islands, they and the *Spaniards* had Intelligence of one another, but not the sight, for that Sir Richard Lewson hailed Sixty Leagues Westward, not only to avoid them, but in hopes to meet with the Carrecks, and *Mexico* Fleet, before they could join them: But the Carrecks being formerly warned by the taking of one of them, and burning of another in 1591. had ever since that year endeavour'd to shun the sight of that Island; so that our Fleet being now prevented, as they had often before been, (nothing being more uncertain than Actions at Sea, where Ships are to meet one another casually) they return'd home, having consum'd time and Victuals to no purpose, and seen not so much as one Sail, from the time they quitted the Coast of

Eng-

England, till their return, two Ships of thicker) which Ships Sir Richard Lewson
Holland excepted, that came from the reliev'd, finding them in great distress
East-Indies, (for then began their Trade and want. 1601.

Sir Richard Lewson into Ireland, Anno 1601.

Ships.

The Warpsight.
The Garland.
The Defiance.
The Swiftsuer.
The Crane.

Commanders.

Sir Richard Lewson.
Sir Amias Preston.
Captain Goer.
Captain Sommers.
Captain Mainwaring.

IN the Year 1600, and part of the Year 1601, there was a kind of Cessation from Arms, tho' not by Agreement; for this Year gave a hope of Peace, which failing, the former course of annoying each other was reviv'd; we in relieving the Low Countries, the Spaniards in assisting the Rebels in Ireland. This was the Summer that the Arch-Duke besieg'd Ostend, which was bravely defended, but principally by the Supplies out of England. And towards Winter, when the Spaniards thought we least look'd for War, Don Diego de Borachero, with 48 Sail of Ships, and 4000 Soldiers, was sent to Invade Ireland.

In his way thither he lost the company of his Vice-Admiral Siriago, who return'd to the Groyn; which, when the King heard, he was much distast'd with Siriago, and commanded him, upon his Allegiance, to hasten with all speed for Ireland, as he was formerly directed. Don Diego's Landing was known in England, when it was too late to prevent it; yet, least he should be supply'd with further Forces, Sir Richard Lewson valiantly enter'd the Harbour, drew near their Fortifications, and fought the Enemy for the space of one whole day, his Ship being an hundred times shot through, and yet but Eight Men slain. God so blest him, that he prevail'd in his Enterprize, destroy'd their whole Shipping, and made Siriago fly by Land into another Harbour, where he obscurely embarked himself in a French Vessel for Spain. All this while the main Army, which Landed with their General Don Juan de Avila, was at Kingsale, expecting the Aid of Tyroen, who promis'd every day to be with him. Our Army,

commanded by the Lord Montjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, besieg'd the Town, so that he prevented their meeting, and many Skirmishes pass'd betwixt them.

The Siege continu'd, with great Miseries to both the Armies, and not without cause, considering the Season of the Year, and the Condition of the Country, that afforded little Relief to either. Some few days before Christmas Tyroen appear'd with his Forces, which was some little heartening to the Enemy, in hopes to be freed of their Imprisonment; for so may I call it, they were so strictly beleaguerr'd. The day of Agreement betwixt the Spaniards and Tyroen was Christmas-Eve, on which day there happen'd an Earthquake in England; and, as many times such Signs prove *aut bonum, aut malum Omen*, this prov'd Fortunate to us, the Victory being obtain'd with so little Loss, as is almost incredible.

This was the day of Tryal, whether Ireland should continue a Parcel of our Crown, or no; for if the Enemy had prevail'd in the Battel, and a Treaty had not afterwards obtain'd more than Force, it was to be fear'd Ireland would hardly have been ever recover'd. The Spaniards in Ireland seeing the Success of Tyroen, and the Impossibility for him to reinforce his Army, being hopeless of Supplies out of Spain, and their Poverty daily encreasing, they made Offers of a Parley; which was granted, and a Peace ensu'd: The Conditions whereof are extant in Print. They were furnished with Ships, and secur'd of their Passage into Spain, where arriving in English Vessels, the Ships return'd back for England.

1602.

Sir Richard Lewson, and Sir William Monson, to the Coast of Spain, Anno 1602.

Ships.

*The Repulse.
The Garland.
The Defiance.
The Mary Rose.
The Warpsight.
The Nonperil.
The Dreadnought.
The Adventure.
The English Carvel.*

Commanders.

*Sir Richard Lewson, Admiral.
Sir William Monson, Vice-Admiral.
Captain Goer.
Captain Slingsby.
Captain Sommers.
Captain Reynolds.
Captain Mainwaring.
Captain Trevor.
Captain Sawkel.*

THE last Attempt of the Spaniards in Ireland awaken'd the Queen, who, it seems for two or three Years together, entertain'd the hopes of Peace, and therefore was sparing in setting forth her Fleets. But now perceiving the Enemy had found the way into Ireland, and that it behov'd her to be more vigilant than ever, she resolv'd, as the safest Course, to Infest the Spanish Coasts with a continual Fleet; and this year furnish'd the Ships aforelaid, having Promise from the States of Holland to join to them 12 Sail of theirs; and because this important Service requir'd great speed, she had not time enough to Man them, or supply them with Provisions altogether so well as they were usually wont to be, but was content with what could be got in so short a warning, so desirous was she to see her Ships at Sea.

Sir Richard Lewson set sail with Five of them the 19th of March, and left Sir William Monson behind with the other Four, to attend the coming of the Hollanders; tho' within two or three days after Sir William receiv'd Command from the Queen to hasten with all speed to Sir Richard Lewson; for that she was advertis'd, that the Silver Ships were arriv'd at the Tercera's. Sir William Monson hereupon neglected no time, nor stay'd either to see himself better Mann'd, or his Ships better turnish'd, but put to Sea the 26th of March.

This Intelligence of the Queen's was true; for the Plate Fleet had been at the Tercera's, and departing thence, in their Course for Spain, Sir Richard Lewson, with his few Ships, met them, but to little purpose, wanting the rest of his Fleet, and the help of the 12 Hollanders. We may very well account this not the least Error or Negligence that has been committed in our Voyages; for if the Hollanders had

kept touch according to Promise, and the Queen's Ships had been fitted out with Care, we had made Her Majesty Mistress of more Treasure than any of her Progenitors ever enjoy'd.

Sir Richard Lewson's Design against the India Fleet, notwithstanding his great Valour, being thus frustrated, and by the Hollanders slackness cross'd, he ply'd towards the Rock, to meet Sir William Monson, as the Place resolv'd on between them; but Sir William having spent 14 days thereabouts, and hearing no Tidings of him, went round to the Southward Cape, where he was likewise frustrated of a most promising Hope; for meeting with certain Frenchmen and Scots, at the same instant, he descri'd three Ships of ours, sent by Sir Richard to look him. These French and Scottish Ships came from St. Lucar, and gave an account of five Galeons, ready the next Tide to set sail for the Indies: They likewise told him of two others that departed three days before, wherein went Don Pedro de Valdes, to be Governor of the Havana, who had been Prisoner in England in 88.

These two latter Ships were met one night by the Warpsight, whereof Captain Sommers was Commander; but whether it was by the darkness of the night, or by what other Casualty, (for the Sea is subject to many) I know not, but they escap'd.

This News of the five Galeons, and the three Ships of the Queen's so happily meeting together, made Sir William direct his Course into the Latitude the Spaniards were most likely to sail in; and coming to it, he had sight of five Ships, which, in respect of their Number and Course, he made reckoning to be the five Galeons; and thought that day should fully determine and try the difference between the Strength and Puissance of the English and Spanish

Spanish Ships, their Number and Greatness being equal: But his Joy was soon abated; for coming up with them, he found them to be *English* Ships from the *Streights*, and bound home; yet this did not lessen the Hope he had conceiv'd that the *Spaniards* might be met withal; and the next day he gave Chase to one Ship alone that came out of the *Indies*, which he took, tho' he had been better without her; for she brought him so far to Leeward, that at night the Galeons pass'd to Windward, not above eight or ten Leagues off us, by report of an *English* Pinnace that met them, who came in to our Company the day following. These Misfortunes lighting first upon Sir Richard, and after upon Sir William, might have been sufficient Reasons to discourage them; but they knowing the Accidents of the Sea, and that Fortune could as well laugh as weep, having good Ships under foot, their Men sound and in health, and plenty of Victuals, they did not doubt but that some of the Wealth which the *Indies* sent forth into *Spain* would fall to their shares.

Upon *Tuesday*, the first of *June*, to begin our new Fortune with a new Month, Sir Richard Lewson and Sir Wm. Monson, who some few nights before had met accidentally in the Sea, were close on board the Rock, where they took two Ships of the *East* Country, bound for *Lubon*; and while they were romaging these Ships, they descried a Carvel from Cape *Espichel* bearing with them: which, by Signs she made, they perceiv'd had a desire to speak with them. Sir Richard immediately chas'd her, and left Sir William with the two *Easterlings* to abide about the Rock till his return. The Carvel being fetch'd up, gave Account, That a Carreck and 11 Gallies were in *Cerimbra* Road, and that she was sent by two Ships of ours, the *Nonpareille* and the *Dreadnought*, which lay thereabouts, to look out the Admiral. With what Joy this News was apprehended may be easily imagin'd: Sir Richard made Signs to Sir William to stand with him; and lest he should not be discern'd, he caus'd the Carvel to ply up with him, wishing him to repair to him; but before they could approach the Cape, it was midnight, and nothing chanc'd all that time, but the exchanging of some Shot, that pass'd betwixt the Admiral and the Gallies.

Upon *Wednesday*, the second of *June*, every Man look'd early in the morning what Ships of Her Majesty's were in sight, which were five in number; the

Warspight, wherein Sir Richard was; for the *Repulse* he had sent for *England* some few days before, by reason of a Leak; the *Garland*, the *Nonpareille*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, besides the two *Easterlings* taken the day before. All the Captains resorted on board the Admiral, to counsel, which took up most part of the day. At first there was an Oppolition by some, who alledg'd the Danger and Impossibility of taking the Carreck, being defended by the Castle and 11 Gallies: But Sir William Monson prevail'd so far, as that all consented to go upon her the next day, and concluded upon this Course following, That he and Sir Richard should anchor as near the Carreck as they could, the rest to ply up and down, and not anchor. Sir William was glad of this Occasion, to be reveng'd of the Gallies, hoping to requite the Slavery they put him to when he was Prisoner in them, and singled himself from the Fleet a League, that the Gallies might see it was in defiance of them; and so the Marquess of St. Cruz, and Frederick Spinola, the one General of the *Portuguese*, the other of the *Spanish* Gallies, apprehended it, and came forth with an intent to fight him; but being within Shot, were diverted by one John Bedford, an *Englishman*, who undertook to know the Force of the Ship, and Sir William that commanded her.

Before I go farther, I will a little digress, and acquaint you with the Situation of the Town, and the manner of placing the Gallies against us. The Town of *Cerimbra* lies in the bottom of a Road, which is a good Succour for Ships with a Northerly Wind. It is built with Freestone, and near the Sea is erected a strong and spacious Fort, well replenish'd with Ordnance: Above the Town, upon the top of a Hill, is seated an ancient, strong Friery, whose Situation makes it impregnable, and able to command the Town, Castle and Road: Close to the Shore lay the Carreck, like a Bulwark to the West side of the Castle, so as it defended both that and the East part of the Town: The 11 Gallies had flank'd and fortify'd themselves with the small Neck of a Rock on the West side of the Road, with their Prows right forward, to play upon us, every one carrying a Cannon in her Beak, besides other Pieces in their Prows; and they were no way to be damaged by us, till our Ships came so nigh the Town, that all these Forces might play upon us in one instant.

1602. The Galleys being plac'd to this great Advantage, they made account (as a Captain of one of them we took confels'd) to have sunk our Ships of themselves, without any farther Help. We saw the Tents pitch'd, and great Troops of Soldiers drawn together; which was no less than the whole Country in Arms against us: The Boats pass'd betwixt the Shore and the Carreck all the day long, which we suppos'd was to unlade her; but we found afterwards it was rather to strengthen her with Men and Ammunition. Here appear'd many Difficulties and Dangers, and little hope of taking; but rather of sinking or burning her, as most Men conjectur'd. The Danger from the Galleys was great, they being flank'd with the point of a Rock at our Entrance, as you have heard, it being likewise calm, and they shooting low: Another Danger was, that of the Wind: For if it had come from the Sea, the Road being open, and the Bay deep, our Attempt must have been in vain. And notwithstanding these, and many more apparently seen; and that there was no Man but imagin'd, that most of the Carrecks Lading was ashore, and that they would hale her aground under the Castle, where no Ship of ours should be able to come at her; all which Objections, with many more, were alledg'd; yet they little prevail'd: Procrastination was perilous, and therefore with all expedition they thought convenient to charge the Town, the Fort, the Galleys, and Carreck, all at one instant. And they had determin'd, if the Carreck had been aground, or so nigh the Shoar, that the Queen's Ships could not reach her, that the Two Easterlings, the day before taken, should Board and Burn her.

Thursday the Third day, early in the morning, every Man commending himself to God's Tuition and Protection, expected when to begin, according to the agreement the day before. A Gale of Wind happening about Ten of the Clock, the Admiral weigh'd, shot off a Warning-piece, and put forth his Flag in the Main-top: The Vice-Admiral did the like in his Foretop, according to the Custom of the Sea; every Captain encourag'd his Men, which so imbolden'd them, that though they were weak and feeble before, they now revived and bestir'd themselves, as if a new Spirit had been infus'd into them. The Admiral was the first that gave the Charge, after him follow'd the rest of the Ships, shewing great Valour, and gaining great Honour; The last of all was the Vice-Admiral, who entering into

the Fight, still strove to get up as near the Shore as he could, where he came to an Anchor, continually fighting with the Town, the Fort, the Galleys, and Carreck, all together, for he brought them betwixt him, that he might play both his Broad-sides upon them. The Galleys still kept their Prows towards him, the Slaves offer'd to forsake them and swim to us, and every thing was in confusion amongst them; and thus they fought till Five of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Vice-Admiral was Anchor'd in such a place, that the Galleys Row'd from one side to another, seeking to shun him, which Sir Richard Lewson observing, came on Board him, and openly, in the view and hearing of his whole Company, embrac'd him, and told him, *He had won his heart for ever.*

The rest of the Ships, as they were directed, plied up; except the Admiral, who by the negligence of his Master, or some other impediment, when he should have Anchor'd, fell so far to Leeward, that the Wind and Tide carry'd him out of the Road, so that it was the next day before his Ship could be fetch'd in again; whereat the Admiral was much inrag'd, and put himself into the *Dreadnought*, and brought her to an Anchor close to the Vice-Admiral, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon. There was no Opportunity let pass, for where the Admiral saw defect in any other Ship, he presently caus'd it to be supply'd; and the Easterlings, who were appointed to Board the Carreck, beginning to faint, and fail of observing the Directions given them, the Vice-Admiral perceiving it, went on Board them himself, vowing, that if they seem'd backward in putting in Execution the Design of firing the Carreck, they should look for as little Mercy from the *English*, as they could expect from the Enemy. Whilst the Vice-Admiral was thus ordering things, Sir Richard Lewson came to him, and would in no case suffer him to Board the Carreck himself, but carry'd him into the *Dreadnought*, where they consulted how to preserve the Carreck, and enjoy her.

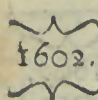
The Result of this Consultation was to offer her Parley, which they presently put in practice, and commanded all the Ships to leave shooting till the return of the Messenger: The Man employ'd was one Captain Sewell, who had escap'd, and swam to us, having been Four years Prisoner in the Galleys, as did many *Turks* and *Christians*. The design of this Parley was to persuade them to yield, promising

missing honourable Conditions; and he was to intimate, as from himself, that the Gallies, whose Strength they presum'd upon, were beaten, some burnt, the rest fled; That we had the possession of the Road, the Castle not being able to abide our Ordnance, much less the Carreck; and if they refus'd this offer of Mercy, they were to expect all the Cruelty and Rigour that a Conquerour could impose upon his Enemy: After some Conference to this effect, the Captain of the Carreck told him, He would send some Gentlemen of Quality, with Commission to Treat, and desir'd that some of like Quality from us, might repair to him to the same purpose.

These Gentlemen came aboard the *Dreadnought*, where the Admiral and Vice-Admiral were, attending the return and success of Capt. Sewell; after the delivery of their Message, they would needs hasten on Board the Carreck again, for that, as it seem'd, there was an uproar and a division in her, some being of Opinion to entertain a Parley, others to save themselves, and set her on fire: which Sir William Monson hearing, without further delay or conference with Sir Richard, what was to be done, he leap'd suddenly into his Boat, and row'd to the Carreck; when he drew near to her, he was known by diverse Gentlemen on Board her, as having once been a Prisoner among them: they seem'd to be very glad of this Meeting, and they imbrac'd in remembrance of their o'd Acquaintance: The Captain was Don Diego Lobo, a Gallant young Gentleman, of a Noble House. He came down upon the bend of the Ship, and commanded his Men to stand aside; Sir William did the like to his Company in the Boat; The Captain demanded of him if he had the Portuguese Language; he told him he had enough to Treat of that Business; acquainted him of the Place he commanded in the Fleet, intimated the affection and respect he bore to the Portuguese Nation, and that the Treaty which was offer'd was his Motion, and wish'd him to make his Proposals, which were as follows: The first Demand he made was, *That they should be safely put ashore with their Arms.* The Second, *That it should be done the same Night.* The Third, *That they should enjoy their Ship and Ordnance, as appertaining to the King, but we the Wealth.* The Fourth, *That the Flag and Ancient should not be taken down, but worn while the Carreck was unlading.* His Speech being ended, Sir William told him, *That his Demands gave suspicion; but under*

pretence of Parley, they meant Treachery, or that their hopes were greater than there was cause; and, but that he knew it was the use of some Men to demand great things, when less would serve them, he would not lose his advantage to entertain a Parley. He desired, that what they intended might be quickly concluded, for Night growing on might advantage them, and for his Resolution he should understand it in few Words, *viz.* To his first Demand, *He was willing to yield, That they should be put ashore with their Arms.* To the Second, *That he was content they should be set ashore that Night, except Eight or Ten of the Principal Gentlemen, whom he would detain Three days.* To the Third, *He held it idle and frivolous to imagine he would consent to separate Ship and Goods, and look'd upon it as a Jest.* To the Fourth, *He would not consent, being resolv'd never to permit a Spanilh Flag to be worn in the presence of the Queen's Ships, unless it were disgracefully over the Poop.* There was long Expostulation upon these Points; and Sir William Monson seeing the obstinacy of the Captain, offer'd in a great rage to leap into his Boat, resolving to break the Treaty; which the rest of the Gentlemen perceiving, and that he had propounded nothing but what might very well stand with their Reputation, they intreated him once more to ascend into the Carreck, and they would enter into new Capitulations: The effect whereof, as it was agreed upon, were these that follow;

That a Messenger should be sent to the Admiral, to have his Confirmation of the Points concluded on; and that in the mean time the Flag and Ancient should be taken down; and if the Admiral should not consent to the Agreement, they to have leisure to put out their Flag and Ancient before the Fight should begin. That the Company should be presently set on Shore; but the Captain, with Eight others of the Principal Gentlemen three days after. That the Ship with her Goods, should be surrender'd without any Practice or Treason. That they should use their endeavours, that the Castle should forbear shooting whilst we rid in the Road; and this was the effect of the Conditions agreed upon. This Carreck winter'd in *Mesembique*, in her return from the *Indies*, a Place of great Infection, as appear'd by the Mortality among them: For of 600 and odd Men, twenty liv'd not to return Home. After a great deal of Calamity and Mortality, she arriv'd at this Port of *Cerimbra*, as you have heard, the Viceroy of Portugal having

1602.  ving sent Eleven Gallies to her Rescue, and 400 *Mocas du Camera*, which is a Title of Gentlemen that serve the King upon any Honourable Occasion, when they are commanded. That she was brought to this pass, and forc'd to yield on these Conditions, Sir *Robert Cecil* was wont to impute to the Gentlemens Acquaintance with Sir *William Monson*. Though three days were limited for setting the Captain on Shore, yet it was held Discretion not to detain them longer than till the Carreck was brought off safely to our Ships; and therefore Sir *William Monson* having carry'd the Captain, and the rest of the Gentlemen aboard him, where they Supp'd, had variety of Musick, and spent the Night in great Jollity; the Morning following he accompany'd them ashore himself, whither the *Conde de Vidigueira* had drawn down all the Force of the whole Country, amounting to the number of 20000 Men.

I must not omit to describe the Behaviour of the Gallies in the Fight, that every Man may have that Honour that is due to him: Those of *Portugal*, being of the Squadron of the Marquess of *St. Cruz*, betook themselves, with their General, to Flight in the middle of the Fight; but *Frederick Spinola*, who was to convey his Gallies out of *Spain* into the *Low-Countries*, follow'd not the Example of the Marquess, but made good the Road; which the other seeing, with Shame return'd; but to both their Costs: for before they departed, they found the Climate so hot, that they were forc'd to fly, their Gallies being so miserably beaten, and their Slaves so pitifully slain, that there wanted nothing but Boats to possess them all, as well as the Two we took and burnt; which is a thing has been seldom seen or heard of, for Ships to take and destroy Gallies. The number of Men slain in the Town, the Castle, the Carreck and Gallies, is unknown, though they could not chuse but be many: The Wealth of the Carreck could then as ill be estimated, though after sound to be great: The Value of the Two Gallies burnt with their Loading of Powder, is hard to judge, though it's known to have been a Service of great Importance. For our Loss, it was not much, only one Man kill'd in the Fly-Boat, five slain, and as many hurt in the *Garland*, and one hurt in the *Adventure*: Sir *William Monson* had the left Wing of his Doublet shot off, but receiv'd no other Hurt.

The day following, with a favourable Wind, we stood our Course for *England*,

which brought us into 47 Degrees; and there we met a Pinnace, sent with a Pacquet from the Lords, signifying the readiness of a second Fleet to supply us, and the setting out of the *Hollanders*, which were so long look'd for; which Fleet of *Holland* was in View of the Pinnace the same Night; but pass'd by us unseen. This unlook'd for Accident made the Admiral and Vice-Admiral consider what to do, and concluded, they could not both appear at Home, and leave a Fleet of so great Importance upon the Enemies Coast without a Guide or Head; and therefore they held it fit the Vice-Admiral should put himself into the *Nonpareille*, as the ablest Ship of the Fleet, and make his Return once more to the Coast of *Spain*; but he having taken his Leave, and standing his Course for the Coast, a most violent Storm, with a contrary Wind took him, which continu'd ten days, and discover'd the weakness of his Ship, who had like to have foundered in the Deep. The Carpenters and Company seeing the apparent Danger, if he bore not up before the Wind, presented him with a Petition, beseeching him to have regard to their Lives; for by keeping the Seas they should all perish. Thus was he forc'd by mere extremity to bear for *England*; and coming for *Plimouth*, he found the Carreck safely arriv'd, and the Fleet he went back to take Charge of, not to have quitted the Coast of *England*.

Though it be somewhat impertinent to this Voyage, to treat of more than the Success thereof; yet I will a little digress, and relate the Misfortune of that worthy Young Gentleman Don *Diego Lobo*, Captain of the Carreck; and because his Worth will more appear by his Answer to Sir *William Monson's* Offer to him when he was his Prisoner: Thus it was; Sir *William Monson* told him, he doubted, that by the loss of the Carreck, he had lost his best Means; for that he suppos'd, what he had gain'd in the *Indies* was laden in her; and therefore offer'd, that what he would challenge upon his Reputation to be his own, he should have Freedom to carry along with him. The Gentleman acknowledg'd the Favour to be extraordinary; but replied, that what he had, he gain'd by his Sword; and that his Sword, he doubted not, would repair his Fortunes again, utterly refusing to accept any Courtesie in that kind: But, poor Gentleman, ill Fortune thus left him not: For the Viceroy, Don *Cristoval de Mora*, holding it for a great Indignity to have the Carreck taken out of the Port, that

that was defended by a Castle, and guarded with Eleven Gallies, and especially in his hearing of the Ordnance to *London*, and in the view of Thousands of People who beheld it; some of them feeling it too,

by the loss of their Goods that were in her; others grieving for the Death of their Friends that were slain; but every Man finding himself touched in Reputation.

The Names of the Carrack and Eleven Gallies.

The St. Valentine, a Carrack of One thousand seven hundred Tuns.

The Christopher, the Admiral of Portugal, wherein the Marques de Sancta Cruz went.

The St. Lewis, wherein Frederick Spinola went General of the Gallies of Spain.

The Forteleza, Vice-Admiral to the Marques.

The Trivida, Vice-Admiral to Frederick Spinola, burnt.

The Leva, in which Sir William Monson was Prisoner, 1591.

The Occasion, burnt, and the Captain taken Prisoner.

The St. John Baptist.

The Lazar.

The Padilla.

The Philip.

The St. John.

And the Viceroy not knowing how to clear himself so well as by laying it upon the Gentlemen he put on Board her, the same Night they return'd to their Lodging, he caus'd most of them, with their Captain, to be apprehended, imputing the loss of the Carrack to their Cowardise and Fear, if not Treason and Connivance with the Enemy. After some time of Imprisonment, by mediation of Friends, all the Gentlemen were releas'd but the Captain, who receiv'd secret Advice, that the Viceroy intended his Death, and that he should seek by Escape to prevent it. Don Diego being thus perplex'd, practis'd with his Sister, who finding Means for his Escape out of a Window, he fled into *Italy*, where he liv'd in Exile, from 1607. when this happen'd, till 1615. His Government of *Malaca* in the *Indies*, for which he had a Patent in Reversion, was confiscate, and he left hopeles ever to return into his Native Country, much less to be restor'd to his Command; an ill Welcome after so long and painful a Navigation. Having thus spent Thirteen years in Exile, at the last he advis'd with Friends, whose Council he follow'd, to repair into *England*, there to enquire after some Commanders, that had been at the taking of the Carrack, by whose Certificate he might be clear'd of Cowardise or Treason in the loss of her, which would be a good Motive to restore him to his Government again. In the year 1515. he arriv'd in *London*, and after some Enquiry found out Sir William Monson, to whom he complain'd of his hard Mishap,

craving the Assistance of him and some others, whom Sir William knew to be at the taking of the Carrack, and desir'd him to tellise the manner of surprizing her, which he alledg'd, was no more than one Gentleman was bound to afford another in such a Case.

Sir William wonder'd to see him, and especially upon such an Occasion: For the present he entertain'd him with all Courtesie; and the longer his stay was in *England*, the Courtesies were the greater which Sir William did him, who procur'd him a true and effectual Certificate from himself, Sir Francis Howard, Capt. Barlow, and some others who were Witnesses of that Service; and to give it the more Reputation, he caus'd it to be inrolled in the Office of the Admiralty. The Gentleman being well satisfied with his Entertainment, and having what he desir'd, return'd to *Flanders*, where he presented his Certificate to the Arch-Duke and the Infanta, by whose Means he got Assurance, not only of the King's Favour, but of Restitution likewise to his Government. The Poor Gentleman having been thus toss'd by the Waves of Calamity, from one Country to another, and never finding rest, Death that Masters all Men, now cut him off short, in the midst of his hopes, as he was preparing his Journey for *Spain*; and this was an end of an unfortunate gallant young Gentleman, whose Deserts might justly have challeng'd a better Reward, if God had pleas'd to afford it him.

1602.

Sir William Monson to the Coast of Spain, Anno 1602.

Ships.

The Swiftsure.
The Mary Rose.
The Dreadnought.
The Adventure.
The Answer.
The Acquittance.
The Lions Whelp.
The Paragon, a Merchant.
A small Carvel.

Commanders.

Sir Will. Monson.
Capt. Trewers.
Capt. Canfield.
Capt. Norris.
Capt. Brodgate.
Capt. Browne.
Capt. May.
Capt. Jason.
Capt. Hooper.

THE Fleet of Sir Richard Lewson being happily returned, with the Fortune of a Carreck, as you have heard, and the Queen having now no Ships upon the Spanish Coast, to impeach the Enemies Preparations, she fear'd, the Fleet which was ready at the Groyne, would give a Second Assault upon Ireland; whereupon Sir William Monson, who by this time was arriv'd at *Plimouth*, was sent for in great haste by her Majesty, to Advise about, and take on him the Charge of the Fleet then at *Plimouth*. After a long Conference with Sir William Monson, in the Presence of her Majesty, her Lord Admiral, Treasurer, and Secretary, it was Resolv'd, That Sir William should repair to *Plimouth*, and with all speed get forth those Ships, and others that were there making ready. His Directions were, to present himself before the Harbour of the *Groyne*, being the Place where the Spaniards made their Rendezvous; and if he found any likelihood of a Design upon Ireland, not to quit that Coast till he saw the Issue; but if he found Ireland secure, and the Enemies Preparations to be intended only for defence of their own Coasts, then his Instructions led him thence, to the place where the Holland Fleet had order to attend, and expect him; and afterwards, the whole Carriage of the Action was referr'd to his Discretion, but with this Caution, that above all respects of other Profit or Advantage, he attended the Affair of Ireland. The Wind this part of the Summer hung contrary, and it was six weeks before he could clear the Coast, during which time he lost his greatest hopes, by the return of the Carracks of the Indian Fleet, which happen'd a full Month before his arrival: He set Sail from *Plimouth* the last of August, with a scant Wind, which continu'd with foul Weather till he recover'd the *Groyne*, choosing rather to keep

the Sea, than hazard the overthrow of the Voyage by his return.

He stay'd at the *Groyne* till he understood that the Fleet which was suspected to be prepar'd for Ireland, was gone to *Lisbon*, to join with Don Diego de Borachero, who all that Summer durst not budge forth for fear of our Fleet, that made good the Coast thereabouts. Sir William in his way to the Rock, commanded his Carvel to repair to the Islands of *Bayona*, as the likeliest Place to procure Intelligence of the State of those Parts: As the Carvel drew near the Islands, she discern'd the Spanish Fleet, consisting of Twenty four Sail, whose Design was, as she understood by a Boat she took, to look out the English Fleet, whose coming they daily expected upon the Coast; and meeting Sir William with this News, he held it a good Service to be thus warn'd of them. Here he took Two goodly Ships of France, bound for *Lisbon*, which Harbour he put them from, and took Pledges, that they should directly return into France, without touching in any Harbour of Spain, for that he understood the Spanish Fleet was ill provided of Men, and many other Things which these Ships could supply. Sir William and the *Dreadnought* were carry'd with a Chase into the Road of *Cerimbra*, where the Carrack was taken not long before, and after some Fight with the Castle, who defended the Vessel chas'd, they came to a Friendly Treaty, and Presents past between them.

That Night, while the Admiral tid in the Road, a Carvel coming in, not mistrusting him, was taken, but dismiss'd in a friendly manner; by whom he understood the Affairs of *Lisbon*, but could get no notice of the Holland Fleet, which was appointed to attend at the Rock, whither once more he repair'd.

Coming

Coming thither the 26th of September, a light was spied in the Night, which the Admiral chas'd, thinking it had been the Fleet of *St. Tome*, or *Brazil*, bound for *Lisbon*, where they were expected; but drawing so near them, that he might hail them, he found them, by the hugeness of their Vessels, and the number, which answer'd the relation the Carvel made, to be the *Armada* of *Spain*: whereupon he sought means how to clear himself, being engag'd amongst them, and made a *Spaniard* that serv'd him call to them, but they could not hear him; the *Adventure* only, and the *Whelp*, were left with him, the rest losing company four Nights before in a Storm: The Enemy perceiving our Lights, and thinking it to be some Fleet of *Flemmings*, stood in amongst us, but the *Adventure* being discover'd to be an Enemy, the Alarm was soon taken, and they shot at her, and slew and hurt some of her Men; as soon as the day appear'd, the *Spaniards* beheld the Three *English* Ships a-head of them, which they chas'd, and Three of them, which were better Sailers than the rest, fetcht upon us, and drew near the *Whelp*, who was of small Force to resist them.

But the Admiral resolving, tho' it was to his own evident Peril, not to see a Pinnace of her Majesty's so lost, if he could rescue her with the loss of his Life, tho' it was much against the Persuasions of his Master and Company, he struck his two Sails for the *Whelp*, and commanded her to stand her course, while he staid for the Three *Spanish* Ships, with hope to make them have little list to pursue us: The Admiral of the *Spaniards* perceiving how little he cared for his Three Ships, in that he linger'd for their coming up, took in with the Shore, and shot off a piece for his Three Ships to follow him. It may appear by this, as by several other Expeditions of ours, how much the swift Sailing of Ships does avail, being the principal Advantage in Sea-service, and indeed the main Thing we could presume upon, in our War against the *Spaniards*. Sir *William* having thus escap'd the Enemy, in his traverse at Sea, there happen'd, as there does upon all Coasts, where there is plenty of Trade, divers occasions of Chases; and one one day Sir *William* following one Ship, and the *Adventure* another, they lost company for the whole Voyage.

Sir *William* was advertis'd by a Ship he took, being a *Frenchman*, who came from *St. Lucar*, that the *St. Domingo* Fleet was look'd for daily, which Intelligence made

him bear up for the *South Cape*, as well in hopes to meet with them, as to have news of his Fleet.

He was no sooner come to the *Cape*, but he was inform'd by some *English* Men of War, that the *St. Domingo* Fleet was pass'd by two days before; here he met with Ships of several Nations, some he rescu'd from Pyrates, and to others that were in League with her Majesty, he gave his safe Conduct for their free Passage on the Sea; he kept that Coast till the 21st of October, on which morning he gave chase to a Galeon of the King of *Spain*, who recover'd the Castle of *Cape St. Vincent*, before he could fetch her up; tho' he knew the strength of the Castle, yet he attempted, and had carried her, had it not been for the Fear and Cowardize of him at the Helm, who bore up, when he was ready to Board her: The Fight was not long, but sharp and dangerous, for there never past Shot between them, till they were within a Ship's length one of another: The Castle play'd her part, and tore the *Swiftsure*, so that a Team of Oxen might have crept through her under the Half-Deck, and one shot kill'd seven Men. Between the Castle and the Galeon, they slew in the Admiral ten Men, and hurt many more, in the view of *Sireago* and his Quadron, to the Westward, and of divers *English* Men of War, to the Eastward, who durst not put themselves upon the Rescue of Sir *William*, for fear of the Castle: Sir *William* being now left alone, and seeing what head Land soever he came to, he was to encounter a *Spanish* Squadron, stood his Course that night to Sea, thinking to try if the Islands of *Tercera* would afford him any better Fortune, but coming within Forty or Fifty Leagues of the Islands, he was taken short with the Wind, yet still bearing up what he could for the Rock; but at length finding his Victuals grew short, his Mast perish'd, and the Dangers he was expos'd to, by keeping that Coast, he directed his course for *England*, and came to *Plimouth* the 24th of November, where he found the *Mary-rose* and *Dreadnought*, most part of their Men being dead or sick.

The *Adventure* arriv'd within an hour after him, who in her way homewards fell amongst the *Brazil* Fleet, and encountering with them, lost divers Men, but took none: The *Paragon* was at home long before, with a Prize of Sugar and Spices, which countervail'd the charge of the Voyage. The *Quittance* in her return, met two Ships of *Dunkirk*, and in fight with them, her Captain was slain, but she

acquitted

1602. acquitted her self very well, without further harm. This Fleet, as you have heard, was to keep the Enemy busy'd at home, that he might be diverted from the thoughts of *Ireland*; what hazard it endur'd by the Enemy, the fury of the Sea, and foul Weather, does appear; and no marvel; for it was the latest Fleet in Winter that ever kept upon the *Spanish Coast*, as it was likewise the last Fleet her Majesty employ'd; for in *March* after she died, and by her Death all War ceas'd. As Sir William Monson was General of this last

Fleet, so he was a Soldier, and a Youth, at the beginning of the Wars, and was at the taking of the first *Spanish Prize* that ever saw the *English Coast*, which yet was purchas'd with the loss of Twenty five of our Men, besides Fifty hurt. This Prize was afterwards a Man of War, and serv'd against the *Spaniards*, and was in those days reckon'd the best Ship of War we had; she was call'd the *Commander*, and belonged to Sir George Carew, then Governor of the *Isle of Wight*.

1603. *Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson into the Narrow Seas, Anno 1603.*

Ships.

The Repulse.
The Mere-Honour.
The Defiance.
The Warspite.
The Rainbow.
The Dreadnought.
The Quittance.
The Lyons Whelp.

Commanders.

Sir Richard Lewson.
 Sir William Monson.
 Capt. Goer.
 Capt. Seymers.
 Capt. Trevor.
 Capt. Reynolds.
 Capt. Howard.
 Capt. Polwheele.

SIR William Monson returning with his Fleet, in *November*, there was a Resolution to furnish another against *February*, which should be recruited with fresh Ships, Men and Victuals, in *June*. Sir Richard Lewson was to command the Fleet, and Sir William Monson the later: For the Queen found it a Course both Secure and Profitable, to keep a continual Force upon the *Spanish Coast*, from *February* to *November*, that being the time of the greatest Peril to her Majesty; and she was the rather encourag'd thereto, by the safety she found the last Summer, and the Wealth and Riches she had from time to time taken from the Enemy. The Complaint of the ill furnishing out of her Ships in other Voyages, made it more carefully to be look'd to now, and there was better Choice of Victuals and Men than usually had been; but in the mean time, it pleas'd God to visit her Majesty with Sickness, which caus'd a lingring, tho' no absolute dissolving of the Fleet; but when her Danger was perceiv'd to increase, the Ships were hasten'd out to Sea, it being a point of good Policy, to keep our Seas guarded from any Foreign Attempt, till his Majesty should be peaceably settled in *England*.

This Fleet departed from *Quinborough* the 22th of *March*, and arriv'd in the *Downes* the 25th of the same, being the day after her Majesty's Death: The News whereof, and Commandment to proclaim King James the Sixth of *Scotland*, our Lawful King, and the Rightful Inheritor to the Crown, arriv'd both together; which put us into two contrary Passions, the one of Grief, the other of Joy: Grief for the Loss of the Queen, Joy for accepting of the King in that peaceable manner, which was a Happiness beyond all Expectation, either at home or abroad.

As the Design of this Fleet was to guard and defend our own Coasts from any Incurfion that might be made out of *France* or the Low Countries; so the Commanders were vigilant to appear on those Coasts once in two days, to dishearten them, in case they had any such Thought; but the truth is, it was beyond their Abilities, whatever was in their Hearts, to impugn his Majesty. And because the Archduke would make the Candidness of his Intention apparent to the World, he call'd in his Letters of Reprizal against the *English*; and published an Edict for a free and unmolested Traffick into *Flanders*: So that now our Merchants might again Trade

Trade peaceably into those Parts, from which they had been debarr'd the space of Eighteen years. The King finding, that *France* neither impeach'd his Right, nor gave any Jealousie by the raising of an Army; and that the Archduke made a Demonstration of his desire of Peace, his Majesty did the like, acknowledging the League he had with those Princes, with whom the late Queen had Wars: For

Wars betwixt Countries are not hereditary, but commonly end with the Death of their Kings: Wherefore he commanded his Ships to give over their *Southern* Employment, and to repair to *Chatham* giving manifest Testimonies, how desirous he was that his Subjects should recover that Wealth and Freedom by Peace, which they had formerly lost by War.

1603.

The Voyage of the Earl of Cumberland to the Island of Puerto Rico, and the Reasons why it is inserted at the end of this First Book.

I Shall exceed my first design, by adding this Voyage to *Puerto Rico* to the rest of her Majesty's Actions, or those where her Ships were employ'd at the Charge of others; yet because this was the greatest Undertaking by Subjects, without the help or assistance of the Queen, both in number of Ships and Land-Forces, being furnish'd as well for Land as Sea Service, as also, because so great a Person as the Earl of *Cumberland* took upon him the Command of it, having by several Voyages before attain'd to a perfect Knowledge in Sea-Affairs, for these Reasons I have inserted this Action to *Puerto Rico* among the rest of the Queen's, aforesaid.

The Earl being naturally addicted to the Sea from his Youth, as may appear by his Undertakings, the first shew whereof was in a Voyage he undertook at his great Charge and Expence in 1586 intending his Ships should pass to the South-Sea by the Straights of *Migellan*, but unadvisedly they fail'd: After this he made sundry Adventures in his own Person, as in the former Discourse is declar'd; and he often obtain'd the favour of her Majesty, to assist him with some of her Ships, which she was the more willing to grant, to encourage him in his Enterprizes, and to cherish the forward Spirit of so great a Person.

But at last my Lord began discreetly to consider the Obligation he had to the Queen, for the loan of her Ships from time to time, and withall, weigh'd what fear and danger he brought himself into if unluckily any of those Ships should miscarry, for he valued the Reputation of the least of them at the rate of his Life.

Upon these Considerations, no persuasions being of force to divert him from his resolution of attempting some great Action on the Sea, where he had spent much Time and Money, and thinking thereby as well to enrich himself, as to shew his forwardness to do his Prince and Country Service, he resolv'd to build a Ship from the Stocks, that should equal the middle Rank of her Majesty: An Act so Noble and so Rare, it being a thing never undertaken before by a Subject, that it deserv'd immortal Fame.

This Ship which he nam'd the *Malice Scourge* (for by that Name it seems he call'd the Envy of some that repin'd at his honourable Atchievement) was 800 Tuns burthen, proportioned in all degrees to equal any of her Majesty's Ships of that Rank, and no way inferior to them in sailing, or other property or condition of Ships.

When built, she had several Employments to Sea; whilst my Lord was owner of her, and prov'd as all other Ships and Men usually do, sometimes Fortunate and sometimes otherwise; for there is nothing that a Man can account firm or stable in this World, especially where the Sea hath the most predominant Power.

And for her last farewell to Sea, my Lord perform'd this Voyage to *Puerto Rico* in her, where he had tryal of her Goodness and Wholesomeness in the Sea, by the violent Storms he endur'd, better than most part of his Fleet.

It was not the ceasing of warlike Actions by the King's coming to his Crown, who brought Peace with him, that made this Ship cease from doing the Part for which she was built: But another while, she

1603. she was employ'd by the Merchants of the *East-Indies*, who bought her for that Trade, and whither she resorted, and made two happy Returns: But in her third, what by foul Play and Treachery, she became a Prey to the *Hollanders*, where she ended her days in fire, being worthy of a far better Funeral.

My Lord being aboard this Ship (the *Malice-Scourge*) and having divers others of burthen and strength under his Command, he set sail from *Plimouth* the 6th of *March*, 1597. Besides his general Design to take, to destroy, or any way else to impoverish and impeach the King of *Spain*, or his Subjects, he grounded his Voyage upon two hopes, the first more probable, than the second in my opinion, who undertake as I have said before, to observe the Errors committed in such Voyages.

From *Plimouth* he directed his course to the Mouth of the River *Tagus*, upon which River the City of *Lisbon* is seated, that sends forth yearly a number of Ships to the *East-Indies*, called Carracks, and that in the Month of *April*: There was no question to be made of the certainty of their departure, because if they stay beyond that Month, they meet with much bad weather, and cannot weather the Capes South of the Line in their Voyage to the *Indies*, but particularly that of *Good Hope*.

My Lord's principal end in this Voyage was to intercept those Carracks, which for Burthen exceed all other Ships in *Europe*, and go full freighted with Commodities for the *East-Indies*, besides the abundance of Money transported in them, which would have enrich'd my Lord abundantly, and the rest of the Adventurers.

Against the time they should depart out of Harbour, my Lord appear'd with his Fleet before it, which did so much dishearten and dismay the *Portugueses*, that rather than they would put themselves in hazard of him and his Fleet, they chose to give over their Voyage, and lose the excessive Charge they had been put unto in furnishing their Ships, by means whereof their Carracks lay at home, without Employment, the whole Year after.

Besides the Profit my Lord propos'd to himself by this Project thus frustrated, it tended to a matter of greater Consequence to the State of *England*, if it had prov'd Successful; for you must understand that in the *East-Indies* they are prohibited planting of Vines, and want many other things for their sustenance, with which they are supply'd yearly out of *Portugal*, that the

Indies may not subsist without *Portugal*. Then let us consider what Hindrance and Losses both *Portugal* and the *Indies* receiv'd, by hind'ring their Ships from going to the *Indies* that Year.

And if one Year prov'd so prejudicial to them, what would three or four Years have done, if they had been so serv'd and prevented? It would have reduc'd them to great want, and forc'd them to accept of a friendly Traffick with us, or in time we might have divided the *Indies* from *Portugal*, especially if we had carried a younger Son of Don *Anthony*, whom no doubt they might have been forc'd to accept as King.

The Error committed in the Prosecution of this Voyage, must be imputed to my Lord himself, in not forecasting how to prevent the Hazard and Fears that might be impediments to his Design: Therefore he worthily deserv'd blame, to present himself and Fleet in the Eye of *Lisbon*, to be there discover'd, knowing, that the secret Carriage thereof gave Life and Hope to the Action: By a familiar Example, of a Man that being safely seated in a House and in danger of an Arrest, knows that Catchpoles lie to attack him, and yet notwithstanding would venture abroad, and not seek to avoid them; so far'd it with the Carracks at that time, who rather chose to keep themselves in Harbour, than venture upon an unavoidable Danger.

If my Lord had done well and providently, his Fleet should have been furnish'd without Rumour, Noise, or Notice, in several Harbours in *England*; the Men that went in them not to know or imagine the design of their Voyage, or that they should meet to compose a main Fleet, till they were come to the height the Carracks were to sail in, and after that each Captain to have open'd their Directions, with a special Caution not to appear within sight of the Shore, for fear of Discovery: This way and no other there was, to lull the *Portugueses* into Security, or to avoid mistrust, till they had fallen into their hands.

My Lord's other hope, if this should fail, was to give an Attempt with his Land-Forces, either upon some Island or Town that would yield him Wealth and Riches, being the chief end of his Undertaking; and after many Propositions made at Council, his Resolution was to make an Attempt upon the Island of *Puerto Rico*, in which Island there is a Town of convenient bigness and strength, which my Lord not long after took and possessed, with

with little Loss of Men on either side, because they came to Composition.

Herein lies my part to except against this Design of my Lord's, as I promis'd in my former Relations; for whereas all Men's Actions have a reasonable shew of likelihood of good to redound to them in their intended Enterprizes, yet cannot I conceive how a Land Attempt upon Towns could yield my Lord any Profit, or the Merchants that adventur'd with him; for my Lord by Experience well knew, having been himself at the taking of some Towns, that they afforded little Wealth to the Taker, because Riches of Value will be either bury'd, or secretly convey'd away. And for Merchandizes of great Bulk, which that poor Island yielded, it was only some few Hides, Black Sugar and Ginger, which would not amount to any great matter, to countervail the Charge of so costly a Journey.

Commonly that Island sends out two or three Ships of a reasonable Burthen to transport the yearly Commodities it yieldeth; for tho' it have the Name of being in the *Indies*, yet it is a Place remote, and unfrequented with Traffick, either from the *Indies*, or any other Place: Or tho' the Island should be surprized at such a Season of the year as their Commodities were ripe, and ready for Transportation, yet the Value is not to be esteem'd, where so many People that adventur'd with my Lord were to look for a Dividend according to their Adventure.

And yet I will not deny but by Accident this Island was made worthy an Attempt upon it, by Example of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, who, as you have heard, sail'd thither on their own account, Anno 1595. and their Defeat made it the more admir'd, and purchas'd my Lord's greater Honour, in that he carry'd it with a smaller number of Men, and less Loss than Drake was repuls'd.

But because time and opportunity alter the Circumstances of Things, therefore, to satisfy these common and vulgar People, who judge according to Event, and not to Reason, you shall understand the Difference, and the Cause that made the

Difference betwixt Sir Francis Drake in the year 1595. and the Earl of Cumberland in 1598. 1603

Sir Francis Drake was commanded thither by Directions from the Queen; not that she expected Profit or Benefit from the Island, which she well knew of it self was unworthy any Enterprize; but what she did was upon Intelligence she receiv'd of a Galeon of Plate; which, with the loss of her Mast, was forc'd into that Island, as I gave an Account, when I treated before of that Voyage of 95.

In the mean time Five Frigats were preparing in Spain to bring home that Treasure, and in them to the number of 8 or 900 Soldiers, who in their Course to *Puerto Rico* surpriz'd a Pinnace of Sir Francis Drake's Fleet, that gave Intelligence of his Design, as well against that Place as *Nombre de Dios*, whither he was bound; by which Accident his Designs were prevented, and the Enemy had leisure to Fortifie, Strengthen, and Man the Town with the Soldiers brought in by the Frigats, which made Sir Francis Drake suddenly and dishonourably retire, with the loss of divers Gentlemen and others of good Quality. This Misfortune was suppos'd to hasten the Death of Sir John Hawkins, who then dy'd, after he had seen himself thus repuls'd.

My Lord might as well have consider'd that no use could be made of the Situation of that Island, as of other Islands of less value and Riches there might be; as for instance, the *Tercera*, which, tho' the Soil yields not that Plenty and Profit *Puerto Rico* does, yet, by our Inhabiting it, the Spaniards and Portuguese would find great Annoyance in their returns from their *Indies*, *Brazil* and *Guinea*; in which Seas our Ships would continually lie, and endeavour cutting them off: As on the contrary, *Puerto Rico* is seated so lonelom, that they have scarce the sight of a Ship in the whole year, except those few of their own I have formerly spoke of.

And thus much for my Exception against my Lord's Voyage to *Puerto Rico*. Now will I collect some brief Proceedings in that Voyage, taken out of the Printed Copy publish'd by Dr. Laseild, Chaplain to my Lord in that Expedition.

1603.

Ships.

The Malice Scourge.
The Merchant Royal.
The Ascention.
The Sampson.
The Alcedo.
The Consent.
The Prosperous.
The Centurion.
The Galeon Constance.
The Affection.
The Gueanna.
The Scout.
The Antony.
The Pegasus.
The Royal Defence.
The Margaret and John.
The Bartley Bag.
The Old Frigate.

Commanders.

The Earl of Cumberland.
Sir John Bartley.
Capt. Flicke.
Capt. Clifford.
Capt. Coach.
Capt. Slingsby.
Capt. Langton.
Capt. Palmer.
Capt. Foliambe.
Capt. Fleming.
Capt. Caletburst.
Capt. Jolliffe.
Capt. Careless.
Capt. Goodwyn.
Capt. Bromley.
Capt. Dixon.
Capt. Lea.
Capt. Harper.

My Lord, with the Ships aforesaid, being furnished with all Things necessary for such a Fleet, set sail from *Plimouth* the 6th of *March*, 1597. and directed his Course for *Cape Finister*, the Northernmost Cape of *Spain*.

But before he could reach that Coast, he found a Defect in his Main-mast, which was almost perill'd, and he forc'd to favour it with a slack Sail, until he arrived at the Island of the *Burlings*, over-against *Peniche* in *Portugal*, where he anchored, and commanded his Fleet to keep a good distance off at Sea, to avoid being discovered from the Shore, knowing that the hopes of his Voyage consisted in Secrecy.

He was not many days sitting his Mast, having Carpenters and Materials enough for Disasters: But notwithstanding his Directions to his Ships to stand off to Sea, it could not keep the Enemy from knowledge of them at *Lisbon*, where the Carracks lay ready to depart, and thus the Expectation of my Lord's Voyage was frustrated; for the Carracks being fallen down as low as the Bay, ready to sail, they were instantly commanded to give over their Voyage and return to *Lisbon*.

My Lord finding it Bootless to expect any good of the Carracks, upon which the Grounds of his Voyage depended, directed his Course to the *Canaries*, rather to refresh his Men ashore, who were raw Soldiers, and wearied at Sea, than out of expectation of Gain, or any way to annoy the Enemy: He Landed without Resistance at the poor Island of *Lanzarote*, and the rather, because he was made believe a Marquis lived there, who

being taken Prisoner, would yield Ten thousand Pounds Ransom; but the Projector knew as little of the truth thereof, as he did of the Place when he came to Land.

This miserable Island afforded nothing but Earth to walk on, and some little store of Wine, not worth the speaking of; and yet, as small a quantity as it was, it put his Company into a mutinous Disorder of Drunkenness; that to pacifie them, my Lord was forc'd to use Threats and the Rigour of his Commission, and to admonish them how to carry themselves ever after, upon danger and Peril of their Lives.

The 21st of *April* he set sail from thence; and being off at Sea, he call'd a Council, in which he propos'd to his Captains, Whether in their Opinions it was better to direct his Course for *Fernand-Buco* in *Brazil*, or *Dominica* in the *West-Indies*, and there to take a new Conful-tation. After long discussing this Point, every Man having the liberty to use his best Argument, it was at last resolv'd for *Dominica*, whether he hasten'd, and Landed there on the 23d of *May*. Having water'd, for the Island afforded nothing else, he stood for the Island of *Virgines*, a Place unpeopl'd, where he Landed, and muster'd his Soldiers, and found the greatest part of them both rude and raw.

At this Island he was not far from *Puerto Rico*, whither his former Resolution led him: My Lord himself went in his Boat to view a convenient Landing-place, and found a sandy Bay fit for his purpose; whereupon he instantly put his Men ashore on the 6th of *June*, where he found no Resistance: And because there needs

no long Account of the Assault he gave to the Outworks, before his Approach to the Town, I shall say no more, to avoid Prolixity, but that in two days he took both Town, Fort, and what else were Impediments to his Enterprize.

Having brought the Enemy to his mercy, he carry'd himself both Nobly and with Pitty: And whereas in such Tumults Disorders cannot be avoided; yet, if they appear'd, or were made known to him, he punish'd the Actors with great Severity, and in sight of the *Spaniards*, who beheld the Justice of his Carriage.

We have one Instance of it in a Valiant Soldier, who otherwise had deserv'd well, and whom, for having committed Violence upon the Wife of a *Spaniard*, (my Lord being without hearkening to Mediation or Mercy) hang'd in the Publick Market place. A Sailor had been so serv'd for defacing the Church, but, by the Importunity of other Sailors, (for at that time there was occasion to please them above Soldiers) my Lord forbore his Execution, after he was brought to the Gibbet. As the Fleet lay in Harbour, upon *St. Peter's Day*, there was a Ship came bearing in amongst them from *Angola* in *Africk* laden with Blacks, a Commodity that Country does chiefly deal in, and was there secur'd: Another had been so serv'd, but that seeing so many Ships in the Harbour, she suspected they could not be *Spaniards*, and so escap'd. There was another which came from *Trinidad*, but of so small value that she is not worth mentioning.

After all things were thus quieted and settled in the Town, there was a Consultation whether it should be kept or quit- ted; but in the end one Reason prevail'd against all Objections, which was a sudden Sickness among the Soldiers, which in a few days swept away 400 of them.

There was nothing more to do now but to embark Ordnance, and Goods as the Town afforded, which consisted of Hides, Ginger, and course Sugar; things of small value to countervail so great an Expence as that of this Voyage. In fine he return'd into *England*. It is needless to set down Accidents at Sea, but he arriv'd safely in the Month of *October* following.

And thus much concerning the Voyages, Successes, Designs, and Commanders, from the year 1585, to 1603, that the Wars ceased; wherein it plainly appears how Conquering and Victorious our Nation has been in their latter Actions at Sea: And to add the more to their Ho-

nour, you must observe the Exploits they have performed by Land in the Land 1603. Voyages, in taking and spoiling of Towns, Ports, Fortresses, and other Places of Moment, which for a time they have enjoy'd and possess'd in the several Dominions of the Kings of *Spain*; as namely, in the *Indies*, *Brazil*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, the Islands, and farther than all these, in the *South Sea*, which at that time no Nation fail'd to but the *Spaniards* themselves, till the Voyage of *Sir Francis Drake* and *Mr. Cavendish*.

The Taking of these Places following is to be justify'd by the Lawfulness of a War begun 1585. betwixt England and Spain.

Sir Francis Drake, at his First Voyage, which was in the year 1585. took these Places following in the *West-Indies*.

Playa, } in *Cape Verde*.
St. Jago, }
St. Domingo in *Hispaniola*.
Carthagera in *Terra-Firma*.
St. Antonio in *Florida*.
St. Hellena and the Fort of *St. John* in *Florida* likewise.
Ria de la Hacha.
Tapia.
Rancheria.

Sir Francis Drake in the *West-Indies*, 1595.

Sancta Marta.
Nombre de Dios.
Porto-Bello.

Captain Preston in the *West-Indies*, 1595.

Puerto Sancto.
Choco.
Chapa.
St. John de Lima.
Cumena.

Captain Parker in the *West-Indies*, 1601.

St. Vincent in *Cabo Verde*.
Porto-Bello once more.
The Fort of *St. Jago*.
Triana.
Campeachy.

The Earl of *Cumberland*, 1597.

The Island of *Langarete*, one of the *Canaries*.

The Isle and Town of *Puerto Rico*.

Captain Newport in the *West-Indies*, 1591.

Taguana, } in *Hispaniola*.
Oieda, }
Truxilo.

1603.

Sir John Burroughs took a Town in the Island of *Trinidad* in the *West-Indies*, and Sir Walter Rawleigh another after.

Mr. Cavendish's First Voyage about the World, 1586.

A Fort and Ordnance in the Streights of *Magellan*.

Sancta Maria.

Marmaroma.

Arica.

Pisco.

Paraca.

Cherisca.

Paite.

The Isle of *Puna*.

Acapulco in *New Spain*.

The Port of *Nanidad*.

The Port of *St. Jago*.

The Bay of *Compostella*.

The Isle of *St. Andrea*.

The Bay of *Mascallan*.

All in the South Sea.

Mr. Cavendish's Second Voyage to *Brazil*, 1591.

Sanctos.

St. Vincent.

Fernando Buco taken and quitted, and the Carracks and Goods brought from thence by Capt. *Lancaster* and others.

Capt. *Langton* in the *West-Indies*, 1593. burnt and ransom'd several Farms and Plantations in *Margarita*, *Hispaniola*, and *Jamaica*.

Drake to the Bay of *Cadiz*, 1587. and 1589. took two or three Forts upon Cape *St. Vincent* and Cape *Sagre*.

He and Sir John Norris took in the Voyage to *Portugal* *Peniche*, and several Villages: In Sir John Norris's March to *Lisbon* he took the Suburbs of *Lisbon*, and *Drake* took *Cascais*.

1589. The Earl of *Cumberland* took the Island of *Fayal*, and made *Graciosa*, the Island of *Flores*, and *Cuervo*, give him Relief.

1596. The Earl of *Effex* and the Lord Admiral took the City of *Cadiz*, the Bridge of *Swase*, and the Town of *Euro* in *Portugal*, (a Bishop's Seat.)

1597. The Earl of *Effex* took the Island and Town of *Fayal*, and *Villa-Franca* in the Island of *St. Michael*.

I omit divers other Places taken by Private Ships of War.

The Names of such Private Persons as went to the *West-Indies* upon their own account, with such Prizes as they took; by which may appear how little hurt we have done or can do to the Spaniards in the *West-Indies*, in comparison of other Places we have annoy'd them in; as I have more largely prov'd in my Second Book.

1587. Sir George Cary set out three Ships, two of which took nothing, and the third took a Prize, and brought her into *Bristol*, worth 2000 l.

1589. Captain *Michelson*, in the *Dog*, took three Ships, but of no value, none of which he brought for *England*.

1593. A small Ship of Sir George Cary's took nothing, but had like to be taken her self.

In the same year Captain *Newport* return'd with the like Success.

1594. These Ships following were set forth:

Capt. *Lane* with 3 Ships of Mr. *Wat's*.

Captain *Roberts* in a Ship of *Bristol*.

Captain *Benjamin Wood* with 4 Ships of my Lord *Thomas*.

Captain *Kevill* of *Lime-House*; and Captain *King* of——: In all 13. which return'd not the Charge of their Voyage.

1594. Sir Robert *Dudley* having two Ships and two Pinnaces, did not countervail his Charges.

1596. Sir *Anthony Shurley* and Captain *Parker* took some Towns, but no Profit to them.

1596. My Lord of *Cumberland*, as I have said, took *Puerto Rico*, without Profit.

1593. Two Ships and a Pinnace of my Lord of *Cumberland* did some Spoil to the Spaniards, but little good to themselves.

1601. Captain *Parker* did some Spoil upon Towns, but they were like the rest in Profit.

David Middleton brought home a Prize of 140 Tuns of *Campeachy* Wood, but of little value.

1595. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* to *Guiana*, no Profit at all; and the year before Sir John *Borroughs* with the like Success.

There were divers Pinnaces that went several years to discover *Guiana*, and the River of *Amazons*, but never any of them return'd with Profit.

1601. Captain *Cleive*, with a Ship and a Pinnace, took a Prize of Hides, which he restor'd at his return, the Peace being concluded between the Two Kingdoms in the time of his Absence.

These

These Private Voyages being compar'd with the rest of the Queen's that went before, a Man may plainly perceive that they produc'd greater Loss, Spoil and Damage to the *Spaniards*, than Profit or Advantage to the *English*; for computing the Expence of our Publick Actions and Private Adventures with the Gain that

arose out of them, we shall find they were much more Chargeable than Gainful to us; tho' I confess in that case we are not to value the Expence and Loss in our Disbursements, for it was repaid with the Honour we gain'd, which will immortalize our Nation.

The Advantages of keeping a Fleet on the Coast of Spain in time of War.

I Omit in this First Book to insert a Treatise I was requir'd by Sir Robert Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State, to write, concerning the Abuses and Corruptions at Sea, which then began to creep in, not only in Ships, Men and Victuals, but in the Designs; with a Remedy how to amend and redress them: But because it is more proper for my 3d Book, where I treat of Projects, a Reformation of the Abuses of the Navy; as also how to make an Offensive and Defensive War upon our neighbouring Countries that oppose us on the Seas, I refer you to that Book, and have gather'd by this that follows; That whilst the *Spaniards* were employ'd at home by our yearly Fleets, they never had opportunity nor leisure either to make an Attempt upon us, or to divert the Wars from themselves; by which means we were secur'd from any Attempt of theirs; as will appear by what follows.

The *Spaniards* stood so much in awe of Her Majesty's Ships, that when a few of them appear'd on the Coast, they commonly diverted their Enterprizes; as namely, in the year 1587. when Sir Francis Drake with 25 Ships prevented an Expedition that Summer out of *Cadiz* Road for *England*, which the next year after they attempted, in 1588. because not molested as the year before.

Our Action in *Portugal* following so quick upon the Overthrow in 88. made the King of *Spain* so far unable to offend, that if the Undertaking had been prosecuted with Judgment, he had been in ill Circumstances to defend it, or his other Kingdoms.

From that year to the year 1591. he grew great by Sea, because he was not busy'd by us as before; which appear'd by the Fleet that took the Revenge: Which Armada of his it is very likely had been employ'd against *England*, had it not been diverted that year by my Lord Thomas Howard.

And for 4 years together after this the King employ'd his Ships to the Islands,

to guard his Merchants from the *Indies*, which made him have no leisure to think of *England*.

The Voyage to *Cadiz* in 96. did not only frustrate his intended Action against *England*, but we destroy'd many of his Ships and Provisions that should have been employ'd in that Service.

He design'd the second Revenge upon *England*, but was prevented by my Lord of *Essex* to the Islands; which Action of his, if it had been well carry'd, and that my Lord would have believ'd good Advice, it had utterly ruin'd the King of *Spain*.

The next year that gave Cause of Fear to the Queen was 99. the King of *Spain* having a whole year, by our Sufferance, to make his Provisions, and brought his Ships and Army down to the *Groyn*, which put the Queen to a more Chargeable Defensive War, than the value our Offensive Fleet would have been maintain'd with upon his Coast.

This great Expedition was diverted by the Fleet of *Holland*, which the *Adelantado* pursu'd to the Islands.

The following years, 1600. and 1601. there was hope of Peace, and nothing was attempted on either side till the latter end of 1601. that he Invaded *Ireland*, but with ill Success, as you have heard.

The last Summer, 1602. he was brav'd by Her Majesty's Ships in the Mouth of his Harbour, with the loss of a Carrack, and render'd unable to prosecute his Designs against *Ireland*; for no sooner was Sir Richard Lewson return'd, but Sir William Monson was sent back again upon that Coast; as you have heard, who kept the King's Forces so employ'd, that he betook himself only to the guard of his Shores.

It is not the meanest Mischief we shall do the King of *Spain* if we War thus upon him, to force him to keep his Shores still arm'd and guarded, to the infinite Vexation, Charge and Discontent of his Subjects; for no time or Place can secure them so long as they see or know us to be upon the Coast.

1603. The Sequel of all these Actions being duly consider'd, we may be confident, that whilst we busie the Spaniards at home, they dare not think of Invading England or Ireland; for by their absence their Fleet from the Indies may be endanger'd, and in their Attempts they have as little hope of prevailing.

The Names of such Ships as Her Majesty left at her Death.

Names of Ships.	Tunnage.	Men in Harbour.	Men at Sea, whereof	Mariners.	Gunners.	Sailors.
<i>Elizabeth Jonas</i>	900	30	500	340	40	120
<i>Triumph</i>	1000	30	500	340	40	120
<i>White-Bear</i>	900	30	500	340	40	120
<i>Victory</i>	800	17	400	268	32	100
<i>Merc-honour</i>	800	30	400	263	32	100
<i>Ark-Royal</i>	800	17	400	268	32	100
<i>Saint Matthew</i>	1000	30	500	340	40	120
<i>Saint Andrew</i>	900	17	400	268	32	100
<i>Due Repulse</i>	700	16	350	230	30	90
<i>Garland</i>	700	16	300	190	30	80
<i>Warspight</i>	600	12	300	190	30	80
<i>Mary-Rose</i>	600	12	250	150	30	70
<i>The Hope</i>	600	12	250	150	30	70
<i>Bonaventure</i>	600	12	250	150	30	70
<i>The Lion</i>	500	12	250	150	30	70
<i>Nonpareil</i>	500	12	250	150	30	70
<i>Defiance</i>	500	12	250	150	30	70
<i>Rainbow</i>	500	12	250	150	30	70
<i>Dreadnought</i>	400	10	200	130	20	50
<i>Antelope</i>	350	10	160	114	16	30
<i>Swiftsure</i>	400	10	200	130	20	50
<i>Swallow</i>	330	10	160	114	16	30
<i>Forefight</i>	300	10	160	114	16	30
<i>The Tide</i>	250	7	120	88	12	20
<i>The Crane</i>	200	7	100	76	12	20
<i>Adventure</i>	250	7	120	88	12	20
<i>Quittance</i>	200	7	100	76	12	20
<i>Answer</i>	200	7	100	76	12	20
<i>Advantage</i>	200	7	100	70	12	20
<i>Tiger</i>	200	7	100	70	12	20
<i>Tremountain</i>		6	70	52	8	10
<i>The Scout</i>	120	6	66	48	8	10
<i>The Cat</i>	100	5	60	42	8	10
<i>The Charles</i>	70	5	45	32	6	7
<i>The Moon</i>	60	5	40	30	5	5
<i>The Advice</i>	50	5	40	30	5	5
<i>The Spy</i>	50	5	40	30	5	5
<i>Merlyn</i>	45	5	35	26	5	4
<i>The Sun</i>	40	5	30	24	4	2
<i>Synnet</i>	20	2				
<i>George Hoy.</i>	100	10				
<i>Pennyrose Hoy</i>	80	8				

Her Majesty left these Ships aforenam'd at her Death in good Condition, and whilst she liv'd they gain'd her and her Realms Honour, by the Exploits and

Victories they and her Subjects obtain'd; and she left in every one of those Ships Officers, serving in their several Places whilst they lay in Harbour.

But

But as Abuses by continuance of time are crept in for want of Care and Over-looking, like Chimneys that gather Soot by continual Fires, that may indanger the House if it be not prevented by Sweeping; So far'd it with our Navy at the latter end of the Queen's Reign, which

Sir Robert Cecil, the Principal Secretary, carefully foresaw, and caus'd me to write the ensuing Discourse how the then Abuses might be taken away, and a Course settled for a Reformation, that the like might not hereafter happen; which I Directed to him as follows.

To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil Principal Secretary to Her Majesty.

I Have by your Honour's Command, and my own Experience and Observation, briefly collected the Abuse of our Seamen, and the Corruptions that are tollerated; and shew the Injuries offered

in Furnishing, Victualling, and Manning her Majesty's Ships; and lastly, how such Wrongs may be Reform'd; all which I humbly represent to your Honour.

Concerning the Abuses of our Seamen.

Nothing breeds Disorders in our Sailers, but Liberty and over-much Clemency; The one they have in their ordinary Ships of Repriſal, where no Discipline is us'd, nor Authority obey'd; The other in escaping Punishment when they justly deserv'd it, which hath brought her Majesty's Service to be no more accompted of, than the Actions of Private Men: It is strange what Misery such Men will choose to endure in small Ships of Repriſal, though they be hopeles of Gain, rather then serve her Majesty, where their Pay is certain, their Diet plentiful, and their Labour not so great; Nothing breeds this but the Liberty they find in the one, and Punishment they fear in the other.

The Ships these Men covet to go in, are neither of Service nor Strength to the State, or annoyance to the Enemy; their Owners are Men of as base Condition as themselves, making no more reckoning what Outrages their Ships commit at Sea, than the Men themselves that commit them; They grow so hold upon the Lenity us'd toward them, that they as confidently detain Men after they are Preſt, as if there were no Law to prohibit it; Nor are they satisfied with a Competent number of Men in their Ships, but commonly carry twice as many as their Ships and Victuals require; and the first Catvel or Fisherman they take, they put their spare Men into, who many times sink in the Sea, famish for want of Victuals, or are forc'd ashore into Spain, where they must either be compell'd to serve against their Country, or dye in misery. And thus have more Seamen been consum'd, then in all other Actions or Enterprizes

against Spain. And no Man dares reprove it, because the Lord Admiral is interest'd in all such Prizes as these unprofitable Ships take.

It is time to foresee and prevent these Inconveniencies; for it is apparent this neglect of the Queen's Service lost her Majesty the Indies Fleet Sir Richard Lewson met withall, being forc'd to leave Sir William Monson with half the Ships at Plymouth for want of Sailers to Man them; when at the same time more Men were suffered to go in private Ships of War, then would have Mann'd her Majesty's Navy.

And yet this is not all the Mischief that ensues upon it; for these Men being thus suffer'd to go, her Majesty's Ships are supplied with Fishermen at the Season of their Voyage to Newfoundland; so that not only the poor Sailers, but the Countreys about them that are supported by that Trade, are half undone. The Men themselves are so unserviceable, and of so little spirit, that I look upon it as a Principal Cause of Sickness in her Majesty's Ships. These Abuses are well known to the Spaniards, which made Sereago, General of their Sea, covet nothing more than to board one of her Majesty's Ships, knowing how ill they are Mann'd in comparison of Privateers.

Besides, many private Voyages have prov'd prejudicial to her Majesty's Designs, for very often those Men that go in such Ships are taken Prisoners, and give notice of our Intentions, whereby the Enemy is provided, and we prevented. As for Example, the Two Voyages of Sir Francis Drake and Mr. Cavendish about the World, which though Honourable to them-

1602. themselves, yet it had been much better for the Queen that they had not been undertaken, but with greater Forces; for we have now discovered to the Spaniards our finding the way through the Straits of Magellan, which they thought to conceal from us: We have pass'd by the Coast of Chile and Peru up to Panama, cross'd over to the Philippine and Molucco Islands, and the East-Indies. Thus have we warn'd, without annoying them, to strengthen themselves in those Parts; so that such Places as had no defence, are now made able both to defend and offend, as appear'd by the taking of Mr. Hawkins in the South-Sea 1594.

And since that time, it is apparent by Three several Voyages made by the *Hollanders*, the one in 1597 with Five Ships; the Second in 1614 with as many; but lastly, and especially, in the Fleet call'd by the Name of the *Nassaw Fleet* in 1623. all which Fleets pass'd the Straits of Magellan, attempted landing in divers Parts of Peru and New-Spain, with a Force of 3000 Soldiers, and were repuls'd in those Places which Mr. Cavendish had taken and enjoy'd Anno 1587. but with 30 Shot.

How to Redress these Disorders.

IF it be true, as it is held to be, an easier thing to cure than discover a Disease, then may there be hopes of amendment of these Enormities and Abuses. But the first thing that must be obtain'd, is, the Consent and Countenance of the Lord Admiral; for I have shew'd, that these Abuses are crept in by his Permission, or at least his Officers.

The Second is, not to admit of all Men to become Owners and Captains, that are able to Buy or Victual a Ship, but to Examine their Condition, their Estate and Qualities, and to cause them to give Security not to connive at the Abuses here mention'd.

Thirdly, to restrain all private Actions whilst her Majesty's are on foot; but if they will adventure, to let it be done in the Company of her Ships, where they shall have a Share proportionable to their

Adventure; and I believe it will prove more beneficial than now they find it: Or if they refuse it, it shall be Lawful for them to adventure alone Four Months in the year, (when it is not fit to keep the King's Ships at Sea) but to injoin them to return at a day limited; and the Care to see this executed, may be committed to the Vice-Admiral of every County, who is to take care they carry no more Men than the Ships requires, nor less Provision than is requisite, lest they run into the Misfortunes above-mention'd.

This will be the way to Redress all Abuses, to make Men Obedient to Discipline and Command, to avoid Sickness in her Majesty's Ships, to imploy none but such as are serviceable, not to molest the poor Labouring Fishermen, to give the Merchants Satisfaction, and to Preserve the Life and Liberty of Sailors.

Now follows the Abuses in her Majesty's Ships.

THERE are so many and several Abuses in her Majesty's Ships, that the Reforming of one is to little purpose, unless there be a Reformation in the whole; and I will first begin with Victuals, upon which the Lives of Men depend: In this there is such great Abuse in every Voyage, that there is no Man but has cause to Complain.

The Gunners, into whose Charge is committed the Strength of the Ship, are preferr'd to their Places rather for Money than Merit; and to descend to the Ships themselves, there are so many Impedi-

ments in them in our Southern Voyages, that we cannot say any thing is strong or serviceable about them. And though their Wants be made known before their going from Home, the Officers of the Navy, either out of Frugality, or following Precedents of former Ages, not considering there was no such Employment for the Queen's Ships heretofore, have not that Care which is expedient: And lastly, the Men that serve in them are so ill Treated, that they allege it for the cause of their backwardness to serve the Queen.

The Manner how to Reform these Abuses.

THE way to Redress every Abuse is to execute severe Justice upon the chief Men in Office; As, First, the Victualler, if he fail either in Goodness or Quantity of her Majesty's Allowance, let his Life answer it, for no Subject's Estate is able to countervail the Damage her Majesty may sustain by such Defect; and to take away all Excuses of his part, and to provide there may be no failing of the Service, it were convenient to have a Surplus of Victuals transported in other Ships, to be exchange'd, if upon view the other prove to be ill Condition'd.

Secondly, for the Gunners; their Frauds in Powder and Shot, and other Things under their Charge, are intollerable; and they have been the more embolden'd, by the Baseness of some Captains who have consented to their Theft.

For Reformation hereof, it were good to have a Deputy appointed in every Ship from the Officers of the Ordnance, to take Charge of Powder, Shot, Musket, &c. and to deliver them to such Men as shall be accountable for them at the end of the Voyage; for it is no Reason so great a Charge should be committed to the Gunners, who make no Conscience to Steal, and may Steal without controlement when it is in their possession.

Another thing, a Captain must have Orders to forbid, and look precisely it be obey'd, which is the Lavishness of Shooting for Pleasure, at the Meeting of Ships, passing by Castles, and Feasting a-board, for indeed there is more Powder wastefully spent in this sort than against an Enemy.

For the Third, which is the Disability of Ships to the Southward; it is occasion'd by the great weight of Ordnance, which makes them Labourfome, and causes their Weakness; and considering how few Gunners are allowed to every Ship, it were better to leave some of these Pieces at home, then to pester the Ships with them. I must say, and with truth, that all her Majesty's Ships are far undermanned; for when People come to be divided into Three Parts, the One Third to Tackle the Ship, the other to Ply their Small Shot, and the Third to Manage their Ordnance; all the Three Services fail for want of Men to execute them.

Neither do I see that more Men can be contain'd in the Queen's Ships to the Southward, for want of Stowage for Victuals, and Room to lodge in. No

Ship that returns from the Southward should go to Sea again under half a years respite; in which time she will be well Ayr'd, and her Ballast must be chang'd.

There should be a General Workman appointed in Harbour, carefully to overlook the Ships that shall be employed: This Man should go the Voyage, and have the like Charge at Sea. Nothing that is necessary for Ships, but must be carried in a great abundance by a Deputy from the Officers of the Navy, as I have formerly said in the like Case of the Officers of the Ordnance. All Precedents of former times of furnishing the Queen's Ships to be abolish'd; and whosoever takes upon him this Office as Deputy, to be bound to give an account of the Surplusses remaining, that what is not spent may be restor'd; which will nothing increase the Charge in carrying them to Sea; and yet the Ships shall be so provided, as no Casualty that can happen at Sea will bring them into Distress. Besides, they shall supply the want of such Prises as they take, who by reason of their long Voyages have consum'd their Sails, Ropes, and Tackling, as in the like Case we found by the Carrack, which we could not have brought for *England* if we had not supply'd her want out of the Queen's Ships.

And lastly, For the Men that Sail in the Ships, without whom they are of no use, their Usage has been so ill at the end of their Voyages, that it is no marvel they shew their unwillingness to serve the Queen; for if they arrive Sick from any Voyage, such is the Charity of the People ashore, that they shall sooner dye then find Pity, unless they bring Money with them.

And seeing her Majesty must and does Pay those that Serve, it were better for them, and much more Profit and Honour to the Queen, to Discharge them upon their first Landing, than to continue them longer unpaid; for whether they are Sick, or lie idle in Harbour, their Pay runs on till the Ships and they are Discharg'd, to the great Consumption of Victuals and Wages, which falls upon the Queen.

Wherefore it is necessary, that an Under-Treasurer be appointed in every Fleet, who should carry Money for all necessary Disbursements. I have borrow'd some part of these Reforms, and annex them to my Fifth Book, which I presented to the King's View, shewing the Abuses of this time both in Ships, Victuals, Men, &c.

When

1603

When all these Things are Reform'd and well Order'd, and Ships ready Furnish'd to Sea, the next Important Thing in a General is to provide how to get Intelligence of his Enemy, and to keep the Enemy from having Intelligence of him; which in our late Wars with Spain we compass'd by the following Means.

WHAT I have said touching an Offensive and Defensive War with Spain, needs no other Repetition than what is contain'd in the Fifth Book; for as I have often said in the precedent Discourses, the Life of all Action by Sea is to get Intelligence of an Enemy, and to keep the Enemy from Intelligence; for in so doing a Man is arm'd to encounter an Enemy naked and unprovided, as I have instanc'd in many Examples before; for whosoever is Successful by chance and good Luck, rather than by Providence and Foresight, cannot challenge the Honour as his own, but must allow Fortune a share with him; for Success is the Mistress of Fools, and true Management proceeds from Judgment.

And to the end in our succeeding Actions and Wars with Spain, if ever there should happen a new Breach, we may not be Ignorant how to proceed against that Nation by our former Precedents, I have annexed these following Precepts as a Light and Guide how to get Intelligence at our arrival upon that Coast, by which we shall be able the better to direct our selves in the whole Voyage; for it is an easier thing to follow a Lesson well taught us, then to compass it by our own Practice or Study.

The first Means we us'd to get Intelligence of the Affairs of Spain upon our arrival, was to hail into the height of the *Burlings*, a small desert Island, whether every night the Carvels of *Periche*, opposite to it, resorted to take Fish, which serv'd the whole Country. About the time the Carvels were to draw near the Island, in the night time, we us'd to leave some Ships Boats, well Mann'd, near the Shore, where there could be no suspicion of them, and at the Dawning of the Day the Shallops suddenly boarded and seiz'd some of the said Carvels, of which we made good use in Two Kinds: The first was the Intelligence we receiv'd of the State and Affairs of *Lisbon*, and the whole Coast, as also what Preparations were made either to defend or offend; The Second was in respect of the Carvels excellent Sailings, for there were few Ships but they could fetch up, and then keep sight of them both night and day, till our approach to them; Thirdly, by the unusual Sails Carvels carry, by means whereof we deceiv'd the *Spaniards*, and made them believe they were their own. At last, when the Voyage was at end, the Poor Men were restor'd again to their Vessels, and some Reward bestow'd on them.

The Means how we obtain'd Intelligence of the South Parts of Spain by a Method of my own.

IN the Voyage of Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson to the Coast of Spain, you will find an Intelligence I receiv'd from certain *Scotch* and *French* Ships, of Five Galleons riding at *St. Lucas*, watching an opportunity of Wind and Spring Tides to pass the Bar of *St. Lucar*, being ready bound for the *West-Indies*; And because I would be particularly resolv'd of all the Circumstances thereof, I Imploy'd Captain *William Love* to the Ports of *Sally* and *Mamora* in *Barbary* with the following Instructions:

Imprimis, That you first repair to *Sally*, and if you cannot be fully inform'd of such things as you desire to know, to de-

part thence to *Mamora*, 7 Leagues Eastward of *Sally*.

Item, You are to have especial Care to Manage your Business with Secrecy, as well from the *English* that go with you in the Bark, as from the *Spaniards* and *Moors* resident in the Country. And because you shall have the better Pretence of coming into their Ports, I will deliver you certain Commodities to Trade with that are vendible in that Country.

Item, You are to inquire and seek for the Chiefest *Englishman* in either of the Two Places, and to deliver him a Letter with a Supercription, *To my Faithful Countryman*. And finding no such Man there,

there, if you break your mind to any other Stranger, let it be to a *Hollander*, that either lieth there as Agent or Merchant, to whom you shall have another Letter To my Dear Friend and Neighbour.

Item, If you find neither *English* nor *Hollander*, you having the Language, may insinuate your self into the Acquaintance of some *Portuguese* or *Spaniard*, of whom you may learn by Circumlocutions, so that he may find you have an intention to be inform'd of any thing in particular; and if you find his Intelligence to concur with that I received from the *French* and *Scotch*, you may the more boldly give credit to him.

Item, The Things you are principally to enquire after, are these following; The Number and Quality of all Ships at *Cadiz* or *St. Lucar*; Secondly, Whether the Galeons you are employ'd to hearken after, be gone to the *Indies* or no; or, whether they came over the Bar the last Spring Tide; Or, if they be not gone, to demand the cause of their stay, or when they will depart; To enquire whether there be any Ships appointed to convoy them to the *Canaries*, and how many, and their Names, because I have a Catalogue of all the King of *Spain*'s Ships, and may judge of their Strength accordingly. To learn whether they alter their ordinary Course of Sailing for

fear of her Majesty's Ships being upon their Coast: Speak nothing of their Wealth, lest it should give some cause of Mistrust: I will not write thus particularly either to the *Englishman* or the *Hollander*: But they having my Letter to credit what you shall say, and shewing my Hand to these Instructions, it will be sufficient to give them Satisfaction.

Item, That you suffer not any of the Barks Company to go ashore, nor as near as you can any of the *Moors* to come aboard; But if any of the *English* should happen to go ashore, to give them great charge not to discover the Place or Height I lie in, or that any of the Queen's Ships are at Sea, pretending it was Four Months since you left *England*, unless the cleanness of your Ship may give suspicion, and then you may tell them you trim'd her at *Mogador*, an Island in *Barbary*.

Item, That finding your selves fully inform'd as to these things you desire, or what else you think convenient to know, then speedily to repair to me in the same height you left me: And missing me there, to direct your Course to *Puerto Santo*, near the Island *Madera*, where I intend to refit my Ships after the Fight, if I chance to meet with the Galleons aforesaid.

Given on Board the *Garland* the 17th of April 1602.

The Means to get Intelligence at the Tercera Islands.

THE Instructions following I have formerly us'd to be inform'd of Affairs in those Parts, and employed Captain *Whitkens* in a small Carvel to the effect following:

Imprimis, You are to keep Company with the *Primrose* of *London*, which is bound for *Gratiosa*, till you come short of that Island, and then to ply into the Road of *Villa Franca* and *St. Michael*, where you shall use your endeavour to speak with the Ships there Riding, that Trade under the *Scots* Colours, but are properly *English*; and to avoid suspicion and danger that may after arise to the said *Englishmen*, you shall speak with them in the night.

Item, The Things you shall desire to know are these, *viz.* Of the State of the *West-India* Fleet, and whether they still continue at the *Tercera* Islands, not venturing to go from thence without a Convoy from *Spain*; To learn the time of their departure from thence, and what Port they mean to repair to; Learn whe-

ther they keep their Treasure aboard, or if it be landed, and how far their Ships ride from the Shore; Whether they have any Intelligence of Sir *Richard Lunsen* and my being at Sea; What you can learn of the Carracks coming home, or any thing else in general touching these Points.

Item, When you are thus satisfied of all your Demands, That from thence you go to the Island of *Tercera*, and view the Road of *Angra*, to see in what State the Ships there ride, and the possibility to surprize them at an Anchor.

Item, That this being done, you repair to *Gratiosa*, where you shall find the *Primrose* aforesaid, who against your coming will be able to inform you of all Particulars contain'd in the Second Article.

Item, If you find the Fleet of Treasure to be gone for *Spain*, then to make no stay about the Islands, but return to the Coast of *Spain*, where you shall find the Admiral or me 10 or 12 Leagues West from the Rock.

Item, If you be inform'd that the Fleet of the *Indies* hover about the Island, expecting a Convoy from *Spain*, that you endeavour to speak with some *English* Man of War, and there to deliver them this Letter, the Contents whereof you are

already acquainted with, which will direct both you and the Man of War with whom you shall meet : And so wishing you prosperous Success, I rest.

From a-board the *Garland*, at *Plimouth*,
March 27. 1602.

A Copy of the said LETTER sent by Captain Whiskens.

After my hearty Commendations ;
Whereas the Queen's most Excellent Majesty is advertis'd of the late arrival of the Plate Fleet in the Road of *Angra*, at the Island of *Tercera*, in their Course from the *West Indies* towards *Spain* ; and forasmuch as her Majesty hath sent divers of her Ships to Sea, whereof Sir *Richard Lewson* is Admiral, and my self Vice-Admiral, to hinder and impeach the said Silver Fleet's Passage through the Seas, as a Service of the highest Importance to lessen the Greatness of so dangerous and mighty an Enemy as the King of *Spain* ; so it is, that my Admiral, Sir *Richard Lewson*, is put to Sea some few days before me, and before her Majesty was advertis'd of the said Fleet's arrival at the *Tercera* ; wherefore I have employ'd this Bearer, Captain *Whiskens*, with such Instructions for the Accomplishment of the Service, as is thought most convenient for the effecting of it ; which Instructions I have given him order to acquaint you with upon your meeting, and the delivery of this Letter, which contains a Request, and as much as lieth in my power, to Command all you *English* Captains and Masters, with whom he shall meet in the Sea, to be helping, aiding, and assisting to him, in so great and weighty a Service, as well in Council and Advice, as in Willingness to execute the Directions given in my said Letter, viz. If you shall understand the Plate Fleet intends not to venture home without Ships to guard it, that you presently thereupon use the best Means to give notice to Sir *Richard*, or me, when you shall know by Captain *Whiskens* where to find us ; or else that you keep about the Road of *Angra*, and send Captain *Whiskens* himself to look us, whichsoever of you comes, must observe these Directions following.

Upon the *Spanish* Fleet's putting to Sea, both of you to pursue them a-stern, till you bring them to the height they mean to hayl in ; and that done, then one of you to lose company of them in the Night, and to ply with all possible speed to the Place aforesaid, to meet Sir *Richard* or me.

And that the other Bark do still attend the Fleet, that if they should alter their height, she may in like manner leave them in the Night, and follow the Directions aforesaid, as the other Bark is directed ; but with this Caution, that you keep a strict Account of the shifting of the Winds, from the time you left them until your meeting with us ; for knowing their height, and observing the Winds shifting, there will be little doubt of our meeting. The Service you will do to the Queen and State by this, and the Good that will redound to your self, needs no repetition ; and therefore not doubting of your willingness and care herein, I bid you farewell.

From on Board the *Garland*, the 26th of
March, at *Plimouth*, 1602.

I have known our State use this Policy in time of War. When they desir'd to be inform'd of the State of the King of *Spain's* Ships, the Places of their abiding, furnishing and building, they have sent a Spy disguis'd like a Pilgrim, to Travel through all the Ports of *Biscay* and *Galicia*, in his way to *Saint Iago de Compostella*, pretending his going to be in Devotion, by which means he has seen and discover'd all those things he had in charge, and return'd with a true relation how things then stood.

The *Spaniards* in all their actions against *England* by Sea, could never set Foot on Shore, but in the year 1595, when with four Gallies they pass'd from *Bluez* in *Britany*, which they had taken from the *French* King, into *Pensance* in *Cornwall*. These four Gallies took, spoil'd and rifled that poor Town of *Pensance*, made no long stay there, but speedily return'd again for *Britany*.

The Plotter of this Stratagem was one Captain *Burleigh*, an *Englishman*, who was afterwards well requited for his Treachery : For to be even with him for so foul a Fact, Sir *Robert Cecil*, the Principal Secretary, writ a Letter to him residing in *Lisbon*, pretending that he was employ'd as a Spy, and gave him thanks for some particular Service he nam'd he had done, when indeed there

there was no such cause, for the Man was ever too honest to that side.

Sir Robert Cecil so order'd it, that this Letter fell into the hands of some Ministers of the King of Spain; whereupon Burleigh was Apprehended, close impri-

son'd, and cruelly Tortur'd, when he deserv'd no such severe Usage; I speak this, because I would have the World judge how justly he deserv'd it, and how prettily the Spaniards were impos'd upon by it.

Some Observations of my own.

WHether we shall impute it to the Work of God, who disposes of all things, or to the Queen's good Fortune, which attended throughout the greatest Part of her Reign, or to the wise Conduct of those she repos'd Trust in, or to the Care and Skill of the Captains, Masters and Mariners that took charge of her Ships, I know not which to judge of them; but it is very certain, we must acknowledge it for a great and admirable Work of God, that in her Majesty's Eighteen years War with Spain by Sea, her Fleets, which were continually employ'd on the Spanish Coast, in the Indies and other Places, continually abiding and enduring the fury of all Winds and Weather, never out of motion, and working in troublesome Water; never for the space of 3, 4, 5, or 6 Months so much as putting into Harbour, or Anchoring, or having any other Refreshment from Shore, but still tossing on the Waves of Mountainous Seas that never break, in comparison of ours that seem but little Hills to them, the difference in Times and Tides much altering the case; for upon our Coasts and Narrow Seas, where our greatest Wars have been, no Disaster to our Ships but might be easily remedy'd and amended, for commonly we were never further from home than we might repair to some of our Ports in Twenty four hours.

The Marvel I speak of is, that notwithstanding the apparent Dangers and Casualties of the Sea aforesaid, yet not one of her Majesty's Ships ever miscarry'd, but only the *Revenge*, which I said in her Voyage in 1591. was taken by the Spaniards by the unadvis'd Negligence and

wilful Obstinacy of the Captain, Sir Richard Greenville.

And we may partly judge by that Ship the *Revenge's* precedent Misfortunes, that she was design'd, from the hour she was built, to receive some fatal blow; for to her, above all other her Majesty's Ships, there happen'd these unfortunate Accidents: In 1582. in her return out of Ireland, where she was Admiral, she struck upon a Sand, and escap'd by Miracle. Anno 1586. at Portsmouth, being bound upon a Southern Expedition, coming out of the Harbour she run a-ground, and against the Expectation of all Men was sav'd, but was not able to proceed upon her Voyage. The third Disaster was in 1589. as she was safely Moor'd in Chatham, where all the Queen's Ships lay, and as safe one would think as the Queen's Chamber, and yet, by the extremity of a Storm, she was unluckily put ashore, and there over-set, a Danger never thought on before, or much less happen'd: And to make this Misfortune the more strange and remarkable, the same Night, being Twelfthnight, it was my chance to be at Cork in Ireland, and pass'd down from thence in a Boat to Cross-Haven, in the greatest Calm I have seen.

If we compare these Fortunes of the Queen's with those of her Father's, who next to her had the greatest Employment for his Ships at Sea, you will find great difference betwixt them, altho' we cannot properly call them Voyages of King Henry the Eighth's time, for his Ships were never so far from home, but they might return again with a good Wind in 24 Hours sail; as the others never expected to see the English Shore, under four, five, or six Months, and many times more.

The Disasters of some of King Henry the 8th his Ships and the Lord Admiral.

UPon the Coast of Britany, in a Fight, betwixt the English and the French, the Regent, otherwise call'd the Sovereign of England, encountred with a Carrack of Brest, and being grappled together, were both burnt; and the Captain, Sir Thomas

Nevet and 700 Men in her: And the Captain of the Carrack was Sir Pierce Morgan, with 900 Men that perish'd with him.

The *Mary Rose*, next to the Regent in Bigness and Goodness, after this was cast away betwixt Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight,

Wight, the very same day King *Henry* boarded her and din'd in her. Part of the Ribs of this Ship I have seen with my own Eyes. There perish'd in her 400 Persons.

The next disaster that befel the King at Sea, was the Lord Admiral himself, Lord *Edward Howard*, who offering to Land in his Boat at *Bertaume-Bay* near *Brest* in *Britany*, was there slain and drown'd together.

When the Lady *Mary*, Sister to King *Henry*, was transported into *France* with fourteen Ships of his Majesty's, to marry *Lewis XII.* King of *France*, three of his Ships were cast away; and the Admiral, wherein the Lady went, being the best and the greatest of the rest, called the *Lubeck*, was one of them that perish'd; but by good hap, and industry and pains of Men, the Lady escap'd, but 400 and odd Persons were drown'd.

Within two days after the casting away the *Mary-Rose*, aforesaid, a Pinnace of the King's, call'd the *Hedge-Hog*, riding before *Westminster-Bridge*, by a misfortune of shooting off a Gun a Barrel of Powder took fire and blew her up.

As I have set down in this First Book the State of the War with *Spain* by Sea, from 1585. when it began, till 1602. when it ended; for the conclusion of the Affairs of that time, I will annex the Advice and Resolution of our State, and the Council of War, for making a Defensive War against *Spain*, when we fear'd an Invasion in 88.

If the following Discourse seem more tedious to the Reader than is fitting, let it not be imputed a Fault in me, for I neither add nor diminish one word from the Original Copy resolved on by the Council of War, whose Names here follow.

The Lord *Gray*,
Sir *Francis Knowles*, Treasurer of
the Household,
Sir *Thomas Laken*,
Sir *Walter Rawleigh*,
Sir *Richard Greenville*,
Sir *John Norris*,
Sir *Richard Bingham*,
Sir *Roger Williams*,
Ralph Lane Esq;

The 27th of November, 1587.

PROPOSITIONS.

Such Means as are consider'd to be fittest to put the Forces of the Realm in order to withstand an Invasion, and the

Places most to be suspected, that the Spaniards intend to Land in.

Milford,
Heylford,
Falmouth,
Plimouth,
Torbay,
Portland,
Portsmouth,
The Isle of Wight.

These are aptest for the Army of *Spain* to Land in.

Nesse in *Suffex*,
The *Downes*,
Margate in *Kent*,
The River of *Thames*,
Harwich,
Tarmouth,
Hull and *Scotland*.

These are aptest for the Army of *Flanders*.

How many of these Places may be put in Defence to hinder their Landing.

Milford for *Wales*,
Plimouth for the West.
Portland for the middle of the
West Parts.
The Isle of Wight,
Portsmouth, and the
River of *Thames*.

MILFORD.

Although we do suppose the Barrenness of the Country to be such as it is not likely to be Invaded, yet touching *Milford-Haven*, in respect of the Goodness of the same, we think it convenient, that there should be Trained the number of 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, to be Levied and had in readines: And for the increase of Horsemen, if any lack be, then the Gentlemen with their Serving-men may be commanded to supply the Default of the Number aforesaid.

PLIMOUTH.

The Reason why *Plimouth* is thought to be the most likely Place, is, for that it is unlikely that the King of *Spain* will engage his Fleet too far within the Chanel, before he has Master'd some good Harbour; and *Plimouth* is the nearest to *Spain*, easie to be won, speedily to be by them Fortify'd, and conveniently Situated to send Succour to, either out of *Spain* or *France*.

PORT-

P O R T L A N D.

The reason why *Portland* is also an apt Place to land in, is, for that there is a great Harbour for all his Ships to ride in, and good landing for Men; the Isle being won, is a strong Place of Retreat, the Country adjoining *Champion*, where with great Conveniency he may march with his whole Army.

The reason why the *Downes*, *Margate*, and the River of *Thames*, are thought fit Landing Places, is in respect of the Commodity of Landing, and nearness to the Prince of *Parma*, in whose Forces the King of *Spain* repos'd special Trust.

Now in these Places following, Order may be taken to binder their Landing, whether by Fortification or Assembly of the People, or both.

For Plimouth, both by Fortification and Assembly of People.

In *Devon* and *Cornwal* there are of train'd Men in the Counties and Stannaries 5000 Men, which are to be assembled for the Defence of *Plimouth*, standing equal to both Counties; of which we are of Opinion, in place of Muster-days, which is very Chargeable, and in effect to no purpose, That Two thousand of those should be assembled together at *Plimouth*, under such a General as shall be ordain'd to govern that *Western* Army, to the intent that they may know their Leaders, be acquainted, be thoroughly instructed to all Purposes, that on sudden Occasions there may be no Amaze, nor any Confusion: This shall be done, the one half at the Charge of her Majesty, the other at the Charge of the Country, if the Country's Charge do not surmount the ordinary Trainings.

For Portland, by assembling of Men and fortifying.

In *Dorset* and *Wiltshire* there are of train'd Men 2700, which are to be assembled for the Defence of that Place; and that 2000 of the said number should be assembled and exercis'd, as before is said, at *Plimouth*, or in some Place of *Wiltshire*, appointed for the *Isle of Wight* to take *Somersetshire*, in which there are 2000 Foot.

At Sandwich and the Downes, by the assembling of Men.

In *Kent* and *Suffex* there are of train'd Men 4500, which are to be assembled in

those Places for Defence thereof; and 2000 of the same number to be assembled at *Sandwich*, to be govern'd and exercis'd as before is said for *Plimouth*.

So likewise for *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, like Order to be observ'd.

Our farther Meaning is, That these Garrisons shall remain but for 20 days; to be thoroughly Train'd and acquainted with Encamping, and then every such 2000 Men in Garrison being so acquainted with this Discipline, shall give Example to a great Army of raw Men, whereby there shall be no manner of Confusion on all sudden Emergencies.

Farther, we are of Opinion, That to these 2000 Men, there shall be 20 Captains appointed; which 20 Captains having each of them 100 Train'd Men, shall receive under their Charge, when the Army shall assemble, 100 more; so as in effect there shall be 4000 Men in Order, and under Martial Discipline: The Choice of which Captains, we think for the one half, to be left to the Choice of the General of the Army, and the other to be of the principal Gentlemen of the Country, under whom there may be Soldiers appointed for their Lieutenants.

The like Order is to be observ'd in every of the other Places of Garrison.

What Order must be taken to fight with the Enemy, if by force he be landed.

For the manner how to fight with the Enemy, it must be left to the Discretion of the General; only we give this Advice, That at his Landing, he may be Impeach'd, if conveniently it may be done; and if he march forward, that the Country be driven so as no Victuals remain, but such as they shall carry on their Backs, which will be small; That he be kept waking with continual Alarms; but in no case that any Battel be adventur'd, till such time as divers Lieutenants be assembled to make a gross Army, as we have before specified, except upon a special Advantage.

Farther, it is thought necessary, that in these two Provinces, and in all others where many Lieutenants be, there should one be appointed to be chief to lead the Army; for among many Lieutenants there may be some straining of Curtesie; left by such Delay and Confusion great Inconveniencies do grow to the Country, and Advantages to the Enemy: And therefore any Lieutenant coming out of any Country with his Force, his Authority only to extend to govern his Company

pany as Colonel of that Regiment, and so to be commanded by the General Lieutenant: As for example, in *Devon* and *Cornwall* there are 10 Lieutenants, whereby it may be known who shall command in either, as need shall require.

What Proportion of Men must be prepared to serve to that end.

Wheresoever the Enemy shall land; as if at *Plimouth* for example, then by the computation of 6000 Men arm'd, and furnish'd in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, we conceive that the Assistance of *Wiltshire*, *Dorset* and *Somerset*, adjoining to the 6000 of the *West*, will make a sufficient Army, being strengthen'd by the Gentlemen and Serving-men, and other of the Country that shall be adjoin'd, tho' not so thoroughly arm'd as the *West*: And if it happen, either by Design or contrary Weather, that the Enemy pass over *Plimouth*, and land at *Portland*, then the Arm'd Men and Train'd Soldiers of the *West* shall repair to them. And farther, if the Invasion be in *Kent*, or any otherwhere to the West of the River of *Thames*, then those middle Shires directed to assist the *West*, may turn to the *East* along the Coast.

If the Army of *Flanders* land in the River of *Thames*, then the same order is to be taken with the Shires adjoining, as is aforesaid; namely, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Essex*, and the City of *London*.

And because there is a special Regard to be had of Her Majesty's Person, we think it most necessary that an Army should be provided to that end, to be compos'd of such Counties as are appointed and reserved for that purpose, and to join with the Forces of the City of *London*, and such other as may be arm'd out of her Majesty's Store.

Farthermore, generally for the increase of Foot lacking Armour, we think it fit that there be of the able Men unarm'd, whereof Choice may be made of the train'd Men arm'd, one fourth part more; of the which fourth part of unarm'd Men 80 may be Pikes, and 20 Billmen; for the providing of which Pikes and Bills, there must be speedy Provision made, being Weapons that the Realm does furnish.

Also for the increase of arm'd Pike-men in this time of Scarcity of Armour, we do think it good, that all the arm'd Billmen may be converted to be made arm'd Pikemen, and that all able Billmen unarm'd should be levied, and chosen in

their Places; because the Ranks of Billmen in order of Battel are always environ'd and encompass'd about with Pike-men; for the Billmen serve especially for Execution, if the Enemy in Battel shall be overthrown: But here is to be noted, that there must be reserv'd a few arm'd Billmen and Halbardiers to guard the Ranks, wherein the Ensigns and Drums, &c. are placed in the order of Battel.

Also, since upon any sudden Invasion, it would be too late to provide these Things, which shall be necessary for Defence, it is thought necessary, that beforehand a Store of Ordnance and Ammunition be provided; as also Powder, Spades, and all other Furniture whatsoever, and to be left in these forenamed Places, in which these Garrisons shall remain.

It is also to be provided, That all those General Assemblies be held for Training as well the Horsemen as Footmen; and to that end, that at *Plimouth*, *Portland*, *Sandwich*, and any other Places that shall be fit to have the like Training, the Horsemen of the next adjoining Counties be brought together; as namely, at *Plimouth*, those of *Devon*, *Cornwall* and *Somerset*; at *Portland*, those of *Dorset* and *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*; at *Sandwich*, those of *Kent*, *Suffex*, *Surrey*, &c. But because it may fall out, that in those Places appointed for Training of the Infantry there may want Forage, or Place fit for Horsemen, it may be left to the Discretion of the Lieutenants to chuse the fittest for the Cavalry, as near the Foot as conveniently they may.

SCOTLAND.

Farther, as touching *Scotland*, where Landing we cannot resist, we think it meet that a stronger Proportion be consider'd of for that Part; namely, 6000 Foot and 2000 Horse, whereof to be 1000 Lances, Arms of far more Defence, and may be furnish'd as good cheap as the Jack, and to be taken out of the Tower.

If therefore the Army of *Flanders* should happen to land in *Scotland*, whereby their Forces and Strength shall be so great, as the Army aforesaid shall not be able to encounter them, then we think fit that a good part of the Army prepar'd to guard her Majesty's Person shall march to support the Army of the *North* against that Enemy, and join with the train'd Men of that Country, and the Army of the *West* be brought to supply that Charge.

It is also most carefully to be consider'd, that the King of *Spain* is not hopeles of some Party of Papists and Malecontents.

All which, if these small Regiments before spoken of, be not in readines, it will be too late both to assemble for resistance of any Foreign Enemy, and to withstand them at Home both on one day: For every Man shall stand in fear of firing of his own House, and destruction of his Family; therefore, if any stir should happen, such severe Proceedings, or Execution towards such Offenders, would be us'd by Marshal Law.

And to conclude, when it shall be brut in *Spain*, that there are at *Plimouth* and other Places, such a Number of Arm'd Soldiers under Ensigns and Leaders, the Number will be reported to be double or treble; so as the King of *Spain*, upon good probability, may conceive, that these Soldiers, and such as are in other Places upon the Coast in like readines, are determin'd to Land in *Portugal* or the *Indies*; the same Opinion being fortify'd by the Preparations of so many Ships as are given in charge to be made ready in those Parts by Sir *Francis Drake*.

We think it also very necessary, that throughout all the Countries of the Realm, this Proportion, as well amongst the Arm'd and Train'd, as the Unarm'd Pikes and Bills, may be observ'd, that is to say, that of every Hundred there be 80 Pikes and 20 Bills.

We think it necessary also, that some Order and Provision be taken by their Lordships, that her Majesty's Ships being at *Rocheſter*, be not entrapp'd.

Thus far is the Direction and Resolution of the Honourable Commissioners aforesaid, concluded on *November 27. 1587.*

Now follows an Exception to some Points of the Resolution aforesaid.

If I had been of that Age and Experience as now I am, and worthy to have been call'd upon for my Opinion, by so many Noble and Able Personages, to the Propositions aforesaid, I should have dissented in some things from them, under Correction be it spoken, as shall appear by these ensuing Reasons.

Our Safety upon an Invasion depends on three Defences; the one on the good Success of our Ships at Sea; the second on our Repulsing an Enemy in offering to Land; and the third on our Forces within the Kingdom if they chance to Land: All which are at large handled in the precedent Discourse, by the Prime and most Experienc'd Soldiers of our time.

MILFORD-HAVEN.

The first Direction of Propositions by them is *Milford-Haven*, as a Place of Danger, and wish it may be guarded with 2000 Foot and 500 Horse, with some supplies of Gentlemen and their Servants, which they think sufficient, in respect of the Barrenness of the Country of *Wales*.

The Answer to Milford-Haven.

I conceive, as *Milford-Haven* has the Advantage of all Havens in *England*, or almost in *Europe*, for the Largeness and Goodness of the Port, so there are multitude of Landing Places; for it is said of *Milford Haven* that 1000 Ships may ride in it, and not one see another, whereby an Enemy may Land to his Advantage when he list, without Resistance; and in that case, where 2500 Soldiers are design'd to withstand the Enemy's Landing, there is no possibility for them to do Service, unless the Shore should be as well Fortify'd, which would be a thing impossible.

I would therefore advise, if it were not too great a Presumption in me, not to hazard any part of the 2500 Men in seeking to defend their Landing, but to draw them to a Head, and seek to take advantage of them after their Landing, as namely, in cutting off the Rear, and Stragglers in their Marches, wearying them with often Alarms, to prevent the Foraging of the Country of Victuals; and in the mean time to draw and convey their Cattle of all kinds into the Mountains, that an Enemy can neither possess, nor know where to find them: And for other kind of Victuals, as Corn, &c. that cannot be conveniently transported, to set them on fire, that the Enemy may meet with Hunger and Famine, instead of Food.

And if the Invaders intend to march from *Milford-Haven* to the inward Part of the Land, (for that is the end of all Conquerors) it will easily appear what imminent dangers they will run themselves into.

Their Victuals in that Part of *Wales* will not sustain them, and it will be the less, being before destroy'd. Secondly, Their march will wearisome and tedious, where they must pass mighty Mountains, and find themselves destitute of all Succour; in which Passages the 2000 Foot and 500 Horse aforesaid, knowing the Country so perfectly well, as the others do not, they may take great Advantage of them: Thirdly,

Thirdly, The further they march they will be the greater distance from their Ships, and consequently from Succour and Assistance: And in the mean time, whilst they are upon their troublesome and dangerous March, the Queen will have time enough to draw her Forces from the furthest Part of *England*.

P L I M O U T H.

The next that is alledg'd is *Plimouth*, as the likeliest Place, in respect it is the nearest Port to *Spain*, to give Succour; and that they will not in reason adventure their Fleet further into the Chagel before they are Masters of some good Harbour.

A N S W E R.

I approve these Reasons, as a chief Ground for an Enemy to settle upon; for whosoever Invades by Sea, above all things must seek to obtain a Port for his Fleet: Only I disapprove the Election of *Plimouth* before *Falmouth*, for *Falmouth* lies more convenient for *Spain*, 14 or 15 Leagues nearer to it, a better Harbour and Outlet, and at that time of less defence than *Plimouth*; and being possess'd by the *Spaniards*, it will be made stronger by the Situation. Moreover, *Falmouth* is in *Cornwall*, a small Shire, and narrow betwixt Sea and Sea, and has no Country Neighbour to it Westward to give us Assistance, as *Devonshire* hath *Cornwall* to the West, and *Somersetshire* to the East; but the one and the other I hold as fit to be fortify'd, as any two Harbours of *England*.

P O R T L A N D.

Portland is alledg'd to be an apt Place for the *Spaniards* to arrive in, for that it is a great Harbour for all their Ships to ride in, and a good Landing for their Men; that the Island being won, it is a strong Place for Retreat, the Country adjoining to it Champion, where with great conveniency they may march with their whole Army.

In *Dorset* and *Wiltshire* there are of Train'd-Men 2500, which are to be assembled for Defence of that Place; and the Honourable Commissioners do advise, that 2000 of the same Number should be Assembled and Exercised, as before is said of *Plimouth*; and that some Place be appointed in *Wiltshire* for the Succour of the *Isle of Wight*, and to take the help of *Somersetshire*, which are 2000 Foot.

A N S W E R.

The Honourable Commissioners are misinform'd in the State of *Portland*; for it is neither an Island, nor has, as they conceive, a Harbour for Ships to lie in safely from all Weather; it hath only an open Bay, where with an Easterly Wind Ships ride in danger. And if the Fleet of *Spain* should arrive there, I should sooner look to have them wrack'd upon the Shore, then to return safe again to Sea.

Portland is a Road some Leagues over from Shore to Shore, and within it lieth a small Bar and dry Haven, call'd *Weymouth*, of no defence against an Enemy's landing, nor fit for great Ships, as is all that Shore, except only a small Port of no importance upon the Road.

This Place is in the State of *Milford-Haven*, that hath an infinite number of places to land in, and no possibility to impeach an Enemy's landing; And this will serve as well for an Answer to the *Isle of Wight*, and other Places of that sort, where there are several Landings.

The Road of *Portland* gives us an advantage over the *Spaniards*, if they should Anchor there, by reason of the breadth of the Road, which is such, that no Fortifications from the Shore can impeach our Attempts upon them. For suppose we should not be able to cope with them in Ships, yet keeping our selves to Windward of them during the time of the whole Flood, we shall be able to put in execution Stratagems, in firing them with Vessels we may drive among them; or, if we fail one Flood, we shall be able to attempt them as often as we list, and the Flood shall run without danger to our selves, for during the Flood they cannot come to us; and with the first of the Ebb, we shall be able to ply out, without endangering our selves any manner of way.

I confess it is necessary that the Men be Mustred and Train'd in every Shire, to make them able Soldiers; but, in my Opinion, it is not safe to design so many Men to so many several Places, without there be Works and Trenches made to defend them, and to inable them to repulse an Enemy's Landing; for if those Men should be defeated, the loss of their Arms would equal the loss of so many Men, and dishearten others that have not been acquainted and accusom'd to the Accidents and Chances of War.

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Something I have said to this part of keeping an Enemy from landing in my Fifth Book, where I Treat of Stratagemis, by example of the *Dourne* and other Places where the Shore-side is full of small Stones and Shingles call up by Sea.

How to Fight.

The next that follows is the Order to be taken to Fight the Enemy if he be Landed, which must be left to the Discretion of a General: What ensues more, by the Advice of the Honourable Commissioners, I refer to their former Directions which you have read; and for brevity sake will deliver my Opinion for the World to consider.

A N S W E R.

There must be great Consideration, not only how to Fight, but a Place must be chosen within the Land to make their Rendezvous for all their Forces to meet together with most conveniency; for the Enemy being Landed, we must lay aside all other Propositions or Stratagemis, more than to think how to force them in a main Battel, as we shall hear they direct their Course, either by dividing their Army, or marching in a whole Body.

And for the effecting hereof, we must resolve to gather and draw so many Men into a Body as will make Two main Battles, the one to attend the South and West Coast, the other to be ready to attend the Prince of *Parma* and his Army in the East.

If our Ships fail of intercepting the *Spaniards* landing, they will become Masters of all our Ports; and there is no Coast where they shall arrive in *England*, but will yield them store of Landing Places without resistance, as before I have express'd: And therefore our chief Defence must consist in our Land Army, if we must not imploy so many Men as is design'd to withstand their Landing as aforesaid.

For the Place of Rendezvous for our Western Army, I hold *Salisbury* the most convenient Seat; it lieth half way betwixt *London* and *Plsmouth*, which will make the easier March for them both; not 40 miles from *Portland*, and that Southern Coast; not above 18 from *Southampton*, nor 30 to the Isle of *Wight* and *Portsmouth*; so that we shall in a manner be upon the Enemy before they can be provided or prepar'd for their March.

All the Soldiers that are design'd to oppose their Landing in *Cornwall*, *Devon*,

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Somerset, *Dorset* and *Hampshire*, Being join'd with the rest that shall be drawn out of the Inland Shires, will make an Army able to encounter more Men then Three such Fleets can either contain or bring.

When it comes to this extremity, the Countries must have care to drive away their Cattel and Live Things of all sorts, and to convey their Corn and other Victuals in Carts, and one Cart to take it of another, that the first may return back for another Load; and if they have not time enough, then to burn the rest and Carts also, that the Enemy may be disappointed of Carriages as well as Victuals; and for Forrage for their Horses, they coming by Sea, their number cannot be great.

The Place to drive their Cattel to be near the Army, which will surely guard them. This being done, the General is to advise whether to march and meet the Enemy before their further entrance into the Land, or to suffer him to march into the inward Country, to have the greater advantage of them, being far from their Ships, and by consequence from all Relief and Help that they can afford them: But I am utterly against the adventuring of our People by Handfulls before they come to a main Battle.

The Place of our Rendezvous for our Eastern Army was well and advisedly chosen in 88. when her Majesty repair'd to her Army; First, in respect of the small distance from *London*, from whence they were to receive Supplies; Secondly, by the Provision made of Building a Bridge of Boats to pass over the River to the Succour of *Kent*, or *Kent* of them; and Thirdly, for appointing their Rendezvous on the *Essex* Shore, rather than in *Kent*: For if an Enemy land in *Kent*, he is kept by the River of *Thames* from coming to *London*, unless it be by the Bridge of *London* or *Kingston*, which may be prevented by breaking them down; whereas if an Enemy land on *Essex* side, he may march directly to *London* without let, impeachment, or other impediment, but by the Encounter of an Army, that may be drawn out of *Essex*, *Kent*, *Hartfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Huntington*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Middlesex*, and *London*. And for *Berkshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Gloucestershire*, *Worcestershire*, and the Shires thereabout, they lie indifferently to give Assistance as well to the Western as Eastern Armies.

The Honourable Commissioners did conceive, that this great Preparation of ours, would so much terrifie the *Spaniards*, that it would divert them from their intended

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tended Invasion upon *England*; but I believe it proceeded rather out of a Hope, or an Imagination, than out of any Ground or Reason; for so great an Expedition as this of the *Spaniards*, is not to be fear'd away like Birds with wisps from a Cherry Tree. But if you do it as a Policy to amaze them, I fear they are not so unprovided of Intelligence from *England*, but to know, that the Preparation of Ships, the Quantity of Victuals, and the Raising of Soldiers, does intend no great Matter from home.

Besides, if we should fright them with a Voyage to the *Indies*, there are many Things requir'd in such a Voyage, that cannot be suddenly provided; as namely, the Sheathing our Ships, Provisions of all kinds, Iron Hoops for Cask, and many other Things, needless to express.

But suppose we should actually undertake such a Voyage from home, I know not how we can give a greater Advantage to the *Spaniards*, they having so great an Army and Navy in readiness to assault us wheresoever we arrive, and in such a Place where they shall be continually supplied from home; whereas we shall find nothing but what we carry with us.

PROPOSITION.

Whereas the Council of War do advise, that in the Army that shall be raised, there be an increase made of Pikes and Bills, as Weapons that the Country affords, and shews the necessity of their being put into such Mens hands as have not been taught other Arms.

I will be bold, without derogating from those Noble Persons, to deliver my Conceit to this Point, and to commend to them a Weapon, that tho' it be known to us, yet has never been used in War, or against publick Enemies; and yet in my Opinion it may be made useful in the Field, where there is neither Castle, Fort, nor Town of Strength.

The Weapon is a Pike-Staff, such as Keepers and Warreners use for the guard of the Game; and that every Wood affords us without Cost.

This Staff to have an extraordinary long Pike, and three small ones to be scrued in at the sides of the Staff, and so light, that a Man may easily command him, every Man in a Town to be enjoyn'd to have one: And to give the more Credit and Reputation to this Weapon, and to encourage Men to the use of it, as an Exercise of Value, Credit and Pleasure; as Football, Hurling and Wrestling, have

been anciently used, when there was more Society and Friendliness among Men than now a-days, I would advise, that all People thus arm'd with Staves, may every Holiday have a Place and time appointed for Meeting and Conversation, to use these commendable Exercises and Sports, and amongst them to have Men of Skill appointed to instruct them, as Masters of Defence do their Schollars, till they be made perfect.

At this Meeting they may also use Wrestling, and other laudable Sports, which would put Life and Agility of Body into them; it will make them Courageous to encounter an Enemy, and Skilful to take an Advantage upon him: They need take no care but to wield their Staffs with such Advantage as shall be taught them; as a Muskietier, with whom they are to encounter, has his Musket, his Rest, Shot, Powder and Match, to look to, one whereof failing, he may cast away his Piece for any other Service he can do.

Let the Muskietier in this case be sure to kill him he levels at, or else the Pike will be within him before he can load again, and have the Advantage of his Weapon upon him; and the Pikeman being taught to wrestle, will suddenly kick up the other's Heels; and if he carry ever a Dagger or Knife in his Pocket, he will be the Death of his opposite, if his Staff fails him.

The Bill in this case is improper, under Correction to the Commissioners, whose use is, if an Army be routed, to fall upon them pell-mell with Blows only: A Bill is short, and not so nimble in a Man's hand as a Staff; it will be commanded by the Horse, and a great trouble to him that carries it, after the Pursuit of an Enemy: A Staff has no Impediment, but may easily overtake a Muskietier that is laden with his Piece and Furniture, that he shall be either forced to yield, or cast away his Arms, to escape by Flight: It will also be an advantage to a Man if he be put to leap a Ford or Ditch, and many other uses may be made of it.

This Meeting for Recreation will make good Conversation and Love amongst Men; it will make them abandon Alehouses, and think on nothing but on Holidays to spend their time in Sports, which for many years they have been debarr'd of. And for the better governing it, and to avoid any hurt that may arise by it, it is wish'd, that at the time of Practice the Pikes be taken out of their
Screws;

Screws; and 'at every such Meeting the Constable and his Deputy be appointed to govern them, and punish Abuses.

Thus shall all Men in the Kingdom be made to serve their Prince and Country without Murmuring, Exception, or Offence offer'd by one or other: They are drawn to no Expence or Charge by

it, or time lost or spent in vain, to hinder their other Affairs or Labours; the Holiday yields them free Liberty for their Delights and Sports, which have been of later times worse spent.

And thus much of a gentle private Opinion, to be compar'd with that of the Honourable Commissioners.

The Queen's Death, and the Advantages of the Peace that ensu'd, above the War in her time.

HAVING run over as briefly as I could such Accidents as the 18 years War did produce betwixt *Spain* and us; now happen'd, as you have heard, the Queen's Death, which, as was to be expected, produc'd Alterations in *Europe*, tho' not much in *England*; for commonly every State changes with time, and sometimes to its Advantage; for Subjects Fondness of Princes is uncertain, and they are often Friends to day and Enemies to morrow.

When God call'd Her Her Majesty to his Mercy, it had been long look'd for, and desir'd by her Foes, and fear'd by her Friends; some laugh'd, some lamented; *Spain* and its Adherents rejoyc'd, having tasted the bitterness of 18 years of War with her: *Holland* fear'd, and suspected their good days began to wain; because his Majesty needed not to support Factions abroad to defend his just and lawful Title.

These Two Nations that were opposite one to another had their particular Ends; but the People that heartily and inwardly mourn'd, were the *English*, to see themselves depriv'd of a Sovereign so Good and Gracious, so Virtuous and Victorious, whose Reign had continu'd so long, as few had before in *England*, which made them the more uneasy.

But this Trouble was soon turn'd into Joy; for when his Majesty appear'd, they recover'd a new Life and Spirit, and receiv'd him with that Alacrity, that they had soon forgot their Grief, and fix'd their Hearts as faithful to serve the King, as they had willingly obey'd the Queen.

But before I end with the Queen's Death, I will show you and the World, by comparison, the difference betwixt Peace and War in the Queen's time, if she had been so happy as to enjoy it; for tho' her Actions were of great Reputation to her and her Subjects, through the Success she had against so Mighty and Potent an Enemy as the King of *Spain*,

yet I must confess, the Actions of our Two succeeding Kings (King *James* and King *Charles*) settled a firm and quiet League and Peace in this Kingdom, that has produc'd greater Happiness and Benefit, if we will lay aside Passion and Partiality.

Peace has eas'd us of needless Taxes, which in War Princes are forc'd to lay upon their Subjects; Peace takes away all Fear of Enemies, so that every Man may live quietly under his Olive Tree. Our Peace has trebled our number of Ships to that of former times; Mariners are abundantly increas'd, and Wealth plentifully augmented; so that we are better enabled and provided to resist the Fury of War, either by Land or Sea, if there should be occasion.

And if 18 years of Peace have produc'd so great an Alteration and Change to this Kingdom, in comparison of the 18 years of War past, how happy had we been if the 18 years afore said had been converted into the same number of Peace: All Blessings had been poured upon this Land, which by War was hinder'd; for who sees not that 18 years of Trade doubly increas'd those Riches that Time consum'd. These Errors of ours will serve for a Warning to us in future times; for it is an old Saying, *That Example is of greater force than Precept*, and, *That Custom teacheth Nations, Reason Men, and Nature Beasts*.

Spain is more punish'd by the King's Peace than by the Queen's War; for by our Peace *England* is enlarg'd by several Plantations in *America*, all Neighbours to *Spain* in their Habitations of the *West-Indies*, in case they become insolent, or offer Injuries: Which Plantations in 18 years are brought to afford Plenty of Food without the help of *England*, which is no small Benefit to us, considering the increase of *Scots* and *French* that are ready to devour us. And besides this Abun-

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dance of Victuals, the Soil of that Country will produce, whatever we shall Plant or Graft there; so that *England* need spare nothing out of it, that will bring a Want to it; for their chiefest want is of Tools, Materials, and other Instruments.

The Air it delightful and the Climate wholesome, and lies most convenient for other Nations to take off their Commodities: Then judge, if Queen *Elizabeth* had not been diverted by War, what Honour, what Wealth, and all other Blessings, had she left as a Legacy to her Subjects, which was afterwards encreas'd by our two Kings aforesaid.

And besides these seven Western Plantations, begun and continu'd by Subjects, without Expence to the Kings, and not molested by the Terror of the Enemies; I will sail to the *East-Indies*, three times further distant than the other from *England*, and where the Equinoctial Line must be twice cut; there we found a Trade to the Island of *Socotora*, at the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, and the nearest Part of that Continent to us; and keeping the Shore of that *African* Coast, we Landed at the Island of *Ormuz*, and other Places within the Gulph of *Persia*, where we assisted the King of *Persia* to take that Island from the King of *Portugal*.

But I confess, this was not so commendable as many other Noble Acts of ours; for here we desil'd our hands with Stealth, and what is worse, we did it to Aid and Benefit a Mahometan: But mark what the End of that Voyage prov'd to the *English*, which brought God's Anger and Revenge upon them; for the *Persian's* treacherously broke their Word with our Men, and upon a slight occasion seiz'd all the Goods they had taken. And besides, an *English* Ship lighting upon greater Wealth than the rest, was there cast away and perish'd. Not to speak of many other Disasters that befell them.

We stopp'd not here, but in the same Easterly Course repair'd to *Surat* in the Kingdom of *Gambaya*, under the Government of the Great Mogul, to try what Trade and Riches that King and Country would yield us. The long distance betwixt the Seacoast and the Court of the Mogul, did not obstruct our visiting him, but thither we sent at times several Ambassadors, who found civil Entertainment, which has afforded us a Peaceable Trade, with divers Immunities.

But before we Leagu'd or had Correspondence with this King, we had settled and continu'd, and to this day do enjoy a greater Trade, and further from home

than *Surat*, as namely, at *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Jacatras*, the *Moloco* Islands, and others. We have seen and try'd what *China* and the Island of *Japan* afford, tho' we are not much encourag'd to persevere in those Trades; for they do not answer the great Expectation we had conceiv'd of them. I dare boldly aver, if the Custom-Books of that Trade to the *Indies* were view'd, it has yielded the Crown of *England* many an hundred thousand Pounds, all which we must attribute to our Peace: For tho' in the Queen's days, and in the year 1591. Captain *Raymond* gave a warlike Attempt, if he and his Ships had not miscarry'd in his going to the *East-Indies*, yet that Voyage produc'd nothing but Misery, as you will understand hereafter.

But I know the Well-wishers to War, and Favourers of the Queen's time, will except against me, and all I can alledge in commendation of Peace, as placing it before War: But in answer to them, I say, I was as great an Actor in those days of War, as any other that shall question what I say, and have as good Reason to judge of the difference of times, as they, if Partiality and Faction does not transport them.

And because I insist so much upon Peace, and go about to prove the Good it produced above the Queen's War, I expect to be hit in the Teeth with his Majesty's late War with *Spain* in 1625. and with *France* in 1628. But before I come to that time, I must tell them, That King *James*, who reigned twice as long as his Son, reckoning to the year 1635. could not be said to have been molested, or his Countries infested by Enemies. And the Accident that fell out in the days of King *Charles*, might rather be tern'd an Act of Unkindness with the King of *Spain*, than of Malice, and therefore deserv'd not the Name of War, for it was begun and ended before either side could think to frame themselves to Hostility: And who knows not that some Evil and Passionate Councillors, drew our King to a sudden and sharp Revenge upon *France*, which was as quickly ended, as words could give Satisfaction.

But I would ask these captious Persons, whether either of these two Unkindnesses or Occasions were so violent, or of so long continuance, as to hinder his Majesty's Designs to enrich his Kingdoms, or whether the Plantations fail'd by any Misfortunes we found by War.

Another Objection will be made against what I say of our Plantations, which is, that they were known to us long before,
and

and that *English* Ships visited the *East-Indies* in the Queen's time; and perhaps they will press me with the first Discovery of *Sebastian Cabot*, Anno 1496. from 58 to 36 Degrees of Latitude, which I thus Answer.

No relation of *Cabot's* ever mention'd his Possession, or setting his Foot ashore to inhabit any of the Lands betwixt the Degrees aforesaid, and therefore we can challenge no right of Inheritance, wanting proof of Possession, which is the Law acknowledg'd for right of Discovery: And by this Argument, the *Spaniards* may as well incroach on us upon as colourable Title, because they were the first that sail'd into *America*.

The second Objection is, the Proof of our Inhabiting *Norrambega*, a part of the main Continent of *America*, and betwixt the Degrees aforesaid, in 1584: And so we say Captain *Raymond*, before spoken of, was in the *East-Indies* in 1591.

I confess here was a Possession in 84. and a Patent granted Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who plac'd there a Colony; but so ill seconded, that all the Planters were there consumed, and no memory left of them, tho' our late Planters endeavour'd to find what became of them; whereby we may say our Possession was lost, as in the case of Inheritance, that for want of Heirs a Man forfeits his Estate.

And to answer the Objection of the *East-Indies*, there is no mention of Possession by *Drake*, who was there the first of any *Englishman*, when he sail'd round the World, and before the Reign of King *James*. And moreover, in the 43 year of the Queen, and the year before she dy'd, she granted a Patent to certain Merchants for 15 years Trade to the *East-Indies*, which was prolong'd in the 9th year of King *James* to continue for ever; but the Queen liv'd not to see the return of that first Voyage which Captain *Lancaster* went. And moreover, his Employment was as well to Take by Violence, as to Trade by Suf-

ference, and unworthy the Name of an honest Design, for the Hands of Merchants should not be stain'd or polluted with Theft, for in such case all People would have Liberty to do the like upon them.

But indeed, the most memorable thing we can challenge by that Trade, is, that we have lately agreed with the *Portugueses*, who were the first Discoverers, and to this day enjoy the Benefit of it; have settled their Government and Language; built rich and curious Cities, Churches and Monasteries; and all things else that belongs to a Civil Nation, in as large and ample a manner, as in their own Countrey of *Portugal*: And more than this, they have the Command of many civiliz'd Countries adjacent to them. They have Ships sufficient to uphold the Trade betwixt *Portugal* and the *Indies*, and yet they are willing to make us Sharers in their Commerce, and to Incorporate us as freely as themselves, with promise to Employ and Freight our Ships for our better Satisfaction.

But give me leave, freely to deliver my Opinion concerning this voluntary Offer made by the *Portugueses*, who hitherto could be brought upon no account to grant us Trade. We must conclude they are drawn to it, rather through Necessity than Love, or other Respects; for they find the Intrusion and good Success of the *Hollanders* to be such as in time may hazard the Ruine and Subversion in the *Indies*, without the help of *England*, who is best able to right them: Therefore let us consider the Time and the Occasion of this Overture, and imbrace it, as a Friendship grounded upon Interest, for though Leagues betwixt States be to Support one another, yet every one has his particular Advantage. I will say no more to this Point, but advise you to Safety and Security, and to beware you be not deluded with Golden Pills, wherein is hidden most Deadly Poison.

A Farewell to the Gentlemen to whom I Dedicated this Book.

Gentlemen,

I Make you the *Alpha* and *Omega* of my Discourse; for at the beginning of this Book, I commended it to your View, and now at the end, I take my Leave with a Loving Farewel, adding this Admonition by way of Caution, That you beware of Adventuring your selves and

Estates upon Sea Expeditions; you may perceive by my Observations, what Peril they bring without Profit, and what Pains without Preferment, for there are few whose Employment has gain'd them Advantage or Honour; as to the contrary, many are brought to Want and Misery by them.

Out

‘ Our private Actions of Reprisal have
 ‘ been as fatal to the Adventurers, as *Sejanus*’s Horse to the Riders, or the Gold of
 ‘ *Toulouse* to *Scipio*’s Soldiers; for to this
 ‘ day there remains a Proverb in *France*,
 ‘ *That he who is Unfortunate, has some of*
 ‘ *the Gold of Toulouse in his House*: And
 ‘ so fares it with our Undertakers of Re-
 ‘ prisals, for Wealth so gain’d brings a
 ‘ Curse with it, and not only wastes it
 ‘ self, but consumes Goods well gotten,
 ‘ if mixed with it.

‘ Take notice of these few Persons fol-
 ‘ lowing, instead of a Multitude I could
 ‘ recite, that have been brought into the
 ‘ Estate of *Sejanus*’s Riders, or the De-
 ‘ stroyers of *Toulouse*, and it will appear
 ‘ God was displeas’d with their Actions,
 ‘ and punish’d their Designs.

‘ I will begin with the Earl of *Cumber-*
 ‘ *land*, whose voluntary Undertakings were
 ‘ well punish’d in his first two Voyages,
 ‘ bereaving him of two hopeful Sons, whom
 ‘ this Kingdom could not match; and in
 ‘ the Prosecution of such Actions, he so
 ‘ impair’d his Estate, that his Heir, and
 ‘ their Posterity have just cause to bewail
 ‘ his Proceedings.

‘ The three eminent Men of that time
 ‘ by Sea, were *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *For-*
 ‘ *bushier*, none of which left any Legiti-
 ‘ mate Issue to Enjoy their Adventurous
 ‘ Labours: And if two of them were now
 ‘ alive, they knew not where to find the
 ‘ Estates they left behind them.

‘ The miserable Gentlemen that under-

‘ took such Enterprizes for Gain, to reco-
 ‘ ver their spent and consum’d Estates, were
 ‘ *Candish*, *Chidley*, *Manby*, *Cock*, with
 ‘ many others I could name, whose Fune-
 ‘ rals were all made in the Bottomless Sea,
 ‘ and their Lands consum’d and turn’d
 ‘ into the Element of Water.

‘ And if we descend to the Towns
 ‘ which for that time flourish’d with the
 ‘ Goods so gotten, and examine the Con-
 ‘ ditions of them and their Inhabitants,
 ‘ we shall find not only the People but the
 ‘ Places impoverish’d after the same man-
 ‘ ner they were enrich’d; (that is to say)
 ‘ by Rapine, Spoil and Piracy: And I
 ‘ may further say, that there are not three
 ‘ Men in this Kingdom who can boast
 ‘ they have succeeded their Fathers in any
 ‘ quantity of Goods so gotten.

‘ What I warn you of, is not so much
 ‘ out of Persuasion, as Precedents and Ex-
 ‘ ample, which is a Compass to Sail by;
 ‘ but if your wilfulness will not admit of
 ‘ Advice, and hereafter you feel the Smart
 ‘ of it, remember, that Council is always
 ‘ full of perturbation to such as embrace
 ‘ their own Wills.

‘ And remember the saying of a Grave
 ‘ and Wise Councillor, *That as Youth is*
 ‘ *warned to prevent the Worst, so Age bids*
 ‘ *us provide for the Best*; for it is a Sick-
 ‘ ness of most Men to be guided by Opi-
 ‘ nion and not by Judgment: But wise
 ‘ Men do otherwise, for if they run into
 ‘ an Error, they seekly quickly to amend
 ‘ it.

The Second Book.

Containing some Actions of the English, after King James his Accession to the Crown; and several Discourses upon that Subject.

Sir William Monson to his Second Son.

Good Son,

BY Computation of Years, it is now Nine since I address'd my self to you in writing; which number of Nine changes one's Complexion, and many times one's Conditions: Nine times Seven, or Seventimes Nine make Sixty Three, which is the Climacterical, or Dangerous Year.

This Ninth year has bred greater Alterations in you, than either in Complexion or Condition; her Malice and Perils towards others, have begotten a contrary Effect in you, and in so high a measure, by your Marriage, that the Climacterical year has lost its Reputation with the Observers of it; for in despite of it Fortune has given you a Lady of Birth, Parts and Means, far above your Merit, or Thought; and since Fortune has been so Liberal, do not give her cause of Scandal, or to find Ingratitude in your Face, by your Carriage to your Lady; for an Unthankful Man incites God to punish, and People to abhor him.

No Man can treat with an Ungrateful Person, without suspicion of him; and next to the Name of an Evil Christian, the word Ingratitude is the worst: God, for all his Blessings on Man, requires nothing at his hands but Thankfulness.

Next the respect to your Lady, let your Carriage to all others be with that Moderation and Affability, that they may perceive you are no more elevated with good Fortune, than you will be dejected with bad, but stand like a Tree well rooted, which no Wind can stir or move.

The Reputation you may seek to get in this World, depends not so much upon

Prudence as Goodness, for a Man ought to get Credit and Esteem of all, and to be suspicious of his own Advice and Carriage: Time will inform you, that the greatest Gift Nature can bestow on a Young Man, is Comeliness of Body, Discretion in his Carriage, and Eloquence of Tongue; and yet all this is nothing if it be not attended with a good Reputation. The true Property of a Gentleman, which I would have you to observe, is, to be Temperate in Speech Liberal and Frank in Giving, Moderate in Diet, Honest in Life, and Courteous in Carriage: For it is not Titles or Riches that makes Men esteemed, but the Favour they do, and the Gifts they bestow.

The Mischiefs, that breed contrary effects to these, as Hate, Spleen and Contempt, are Covetousness, Pride and Disdain: The cure to salve this, is not to presume too much upon your self, without the Counsel of others; for many times People (and especially Young Men) attribute more to themselves, than others can discern in them. Solomon says, *That wise men take Counsel, and he that does things with advice governs prudently, and he that does otherwise perishes and faileth in his own designs.*

This Counsel is not to be expected from one of 20 or 30 years of Age, but from hoary Hairs. *Licurgus* order'd that Old Men should be more respected, because their Advice was more to be regarded.

The greatest Combat in this World, is to Conquer one's self, and to tame his Heart, as *Plato* says: But the way for Young Men to be Virtuous in this Battel,

is to take Advice, to hear and with Humility submit to Reason; for naturally Youth is inclin'd to have an Opinion of themselves, and to abandon the Counsel of others, which commonly ingenders Pride, Vain-Glory, and Ambition; then followeth Reproach, Contempt and Scorn, which makes their paths as dangerous to walk in, as the slipperiest of Ice or Glass to tread on.

Be careful in the choice of your Friends, and esteem them more for Virtue than Honour; the one is but a Title of Power, the other of Desert. Know their's no end of Friendship which is founded upon Love, and requited with the same. To such a Friend one ought to be scarce in Words, but prodigal in Works; for the true perfection of Friendship, is to supply a Man's wants, and advise him in his Errors. But *Seneca* saith, that such are rare, and a Man ought to seek but one of them, and to have never an Enemy: For as it is dangerous to have Enemies, so it is troublesome to have many Friends: If he be Poor you must Give, if Rich you must Observe, if Favoured you must Adore, if Disfavoured you must Support, if Cross and Perverse you must Flatter, if Cholerick you must forbear, if Proud he is not long to be Endur'd.

Above all other Vices beware of that of Pride, for young Men are subject to it; it is call'd Vanity in Women, and Ambition in Old Age; Youth are prone to be proud of their Persons and external Parts; Women are as vain therein, and what they want by Nature they help by Art. Young Men affect Ostentation, and to be prais'd; Women Vain-glory and to be Ador'd. A Man endures no Competitors, nor Woman Equal.

Many Women by reason of their Lightness, and young Men for want of Knowledge, are inconsiderate; they apprehend and execute all with one breath, which many times brings them to Repentance: And yet do I rather approve the Vanity of Women, which are governed by the unconstant motion of the Moon, than Mens Pride that can give no reason for their being so, if they seriously consider how indifferently God distributes his Gifts to all Creatures, so that no Man can persuade himself, but that Thousands equal him.

If he is proud of the Favour of a Prince, he may as well be proud of his Fortunes; for comparing his Merits with others, he will find many Competitors exceed him. If of his Progenitors, or other parts of his Ancestors, Kings reward Mens proper

Vertues, not what they can challenge to descend from others; if of Learning, his waste Hours permit him not to attain to that Perfection ordinary Scholars do by continual Study: If he affect popular Applause, it is like an *Eccho*, to be heard but no Man knows where; and let him not be deceiv'd, for no proud Man is either valu'd or belov'd, as himself can witness; for the nature of Pride is to abhor it in another; if he be frank and liberal, for Pride without Bounty is like a Spot in a fair Face that defiles it, his Esteem will be according to his Expence, but that ceasing, Men turn their Hearts against their Pride.

Ambition is more sufferable and allowable in an old Man, than Pride in a young one; for there are two distinctions in Ambition, the one is allowable and commendable, when a Man hath an opportunity to compass his allow'd Desires, by his lawful Endeavours.

Most Divines hold Free-Will in Man to do well, and where Ambition tends to Well-doing, Pride has no power or part in him. The Pride of *Tarquin* was so detestable, that it overthrew the Title of Kings in the *Roman* Common-wealth: *Cæsar* settled the highest degree of Monarchy by the name of Emperor; his Ambition was carry'd with that temper, that he attain'd his end by Love, whereas *Tarquin* lost himself by Pride, and was worthily loathed.

No Man that desires to be singular, but has some part of Ambition, and yet free from any part of Pride. If the Common Soldier did not aspire by Ambition, to the degree of a Captain, his Valour against the Enemy would little appear: If a Courtier had not a thought of advancement, he might better employ his Time than in the service of a Prince. A thankful Man ambitiously strives to requite the courtesie of another; then it is not the word Ambition that makes it unlawful, but the manner of compassing it, and the means of employing it.

The second degree of Ambition is accompanied with Pride, Envy and Hate, and obtain'd by Corruption, Flattery, and unlawfully, as appears in some *English* Kings, who have not spar'd the destruction of their own Blood to attain their divelish Ambitious ends.

Ambition is like the unsatiable Sea, that receives all other Brooks, and Rivers, and yet is never fill'd; it may be compar'd to the Monster *Hydra*, which tho' she loseth her Head, yet it increaseth again, for the nature of Ambition is never to have

an end ; and as Man compasseth his Desire in one thing, he is not long satisfy'd with it, but covets another, still working his own Misery and Woe. But he should remember the words of *Plutarch*, *That none climbs so high, but he has God above him, and his Actions are beheld by Man*. Ambition is a thing conceiv'd in the Heart, and consented to in the Mind.

The last and basest property of Ambition, is to compass their end by Corruption : This Age, and this our Nation is best able to testifie it ; for no Man's Virtue can Advance him, nor no Man's Vice hinder his Ambition, if he have Money and Means to buy his Preferment ; as on the contrary amongst the *Romans*, no Man was advanc'd to Honour but such as refus'd it ; and none with us, but those that buy it ; nor no Man was preferred but by his worth, but none with us but for their Wealth : I confess that as it is Reputation to have it, so it is Infamy to purchase it ; for a good Man careth not for Titles, and his good Name cannot be taken from him ; he may be ill us'd but not dishonour'd.

The next thing I commend to you is Patience and Temperance, as a singular Virtue in it self, and the cause of much Happiness to Man ; it breeds Content to the Mind, Ease to the Body, and Quietness to the Soul ; it abandons Ambition, and makes one submit to Reason. *Plutarch* advises *Trajan* to Patience in Troubles, to be Gentle in Business, and to bear with ill Tongues, and suffer Calumnies, which Time cures when Reason cannot ; and it is as great wisdom to do no evil Office when a Man may do good ; for if he may have his ends by fair means, not to obtain them by foul ; for the true property of a Wise Man is to think of times past, to order things present, and to be careful of the future. *Cicero* says, That Prudence and Patience is the Art of Life, as Physick is of Health ; it neither deceives nor is deceiv'd : As for worldly Fortunes they are uncertain and mutable, for no Man can account himself Happy till his death.

One thing I heartily and earnestly recommend to you at your idle Hours (I know my Request is no sooner propounded than granted) which is the continuance and delight in your Book, but with this Caution, That it breeds not a vain and arrogant Conceit, which may cause Contentions and quarrels in arguing : Matters of story, depend on the Author's Authority that Writes, and their Judgments that Read : Many times Writers differ, and Readers are apt and prone to rely on him

who suits best with their particular Opinion. This over-wayning Conceit lives in the House of Will, where Reason has no power, and it is the original breeding of all Heresie. And if Men would read with Patience, with Judgment consider, with Humility to submit, and with Reason to receive satisfaction ; neither would Sects so much abound, nor Scholars so greatly disagree among themselves.

All Men are affectionate or partial in their Opinions and Sports ; some delight in Hunting, some in Hawking and other exercises ; and as there are many Faces that do not agree in one Feature, so there are as few that agree in all Points and Delights. But, esteem no less of him that sorts not with your Humour, than of a Christian that jumps not with you in points of Religion.

If Reason guideth Actions, Learning should have the preheminance above all other Satisfaction ; for he that is a lover of his Book, shall learn of Wise Men, Courage to Imitate, Prudence to Counsel, Grief to Lament, Mirth to Laugh at, Fools to Jest with. Yea, he shall find the Good he desires, and may eschew what Evil he pleases.

Barilius the Emperor advis'd his Son not to be weary of Reading of Books, because he would find that without Sorrow, which others do with great Trouble ; he would see the mutability of Humane Life, the Raising of some and the Falling of others, the Punishment of the Evil, and the Reward of the Good, that he might fly the one and embrace the other.

Good Son, for an end of all, be considerate before you enterprize a thing ; be constant in pursuing it, and patient to effect it ; for nothing is compass'd with that facility but finds opposition, nor nothing spoils a good Cause, sooner than Haste and Choler. It is like an evil Weed put into a savory Broth, or Poison into a Potion.

Three things there are I would advise you to remember, the Commandments of God, Benefits received, and the Uncertainty of your Life ; in the one you will perform your Duty to your Creator, in the other shew Thankfulness to the World, and in the last abandon many Vices and Vanities this Age produces.

For your Duty to me, let it be as God hath commanded, not that I expect more than by nature is due, and for less let *Noah* be your example, who being despised by his Son *Cham*, and being pittied by his two other Sons, God sent his Curse upon the Seed of *Cham*, and Blessed his other

I i Children

Children Remember that the clear and unspotted Life of the living Son, begets Fame and Glory to the dead Father. And carry in mind these Precepts of mine, and

you need not esteem the affronts of malicious Tongues, for they may throw Stones but do no other hurt.

To such Gentlemen and Commanders as were Actors in the Wars with Spain in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

Noble Gentlemen,

IN my former Book I have presented to the view of the World, the Accidents and Occurrences of the late War with Spain, in which you may worthily challenge an Interest by having hazarded your Persons in such desperate Expeditions; and wherein your Rewards did not equal your Deserts: For Time and Ingratitude are the destroyers of all Noble and Memorable Acts, and have caus'd you to be forgot.

The Romans had never been Nobly esteem'd, nor their Victories Gloriously achiev'd, had they not respected the Actors, as the Authors of their Conquests. They valu'd Men not for their Birth, but for their Worth, accounting Virtue the Cause of Preferment, and Honour but the Effect. They accounted them not Gentlemen, that got Riches, but those that attain'd to Reputation in War; saying, he was unworthy the Praise of his Ancestors, that did not imitate them in Virtue and Valour.

In 640 Years the Romans were victorious, they never gave Office to Men that sued for it, but to such as out of mature Discretion they chose, whom they knew to be fit to execute it. Soldiers may plead their Honours to be more Ancient; for it is written, in the Province of Caria in the lesser Asia, they gave Spurs to the valiantest Men at Arms by which they were Priviledg'd and Dignify'd. Feathers were likewise invented to distinguish Soldiers from others, and Punishment inflicted on those that wore them, and could give no account of some Exploit in Chivalry.

Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments were allow'd only to those that gave testimony of their Valour in Warlike Feats.

A young Man whose Valour was suspected, and Son to a famous Captain, besought King Antiochus to give him the Reward his Father had given him by King Demetrius; Antiochus answer'd, I Reward not the Virtue of Fathers, but the Deserts of the Son.

Lycurgus, among his many Laws for the Encouragement of Men, to imitate the Virtue of their Ancestors, Ordin'd, That at the solemn and publick Feasts, there should be three Choirs of Singers according to their Ages: The first were Old Men, who sung their own Praise of times past. The Second Young Men in their Prime, who sung, We are young and able, and be that will not believe us may try us. The last were Boys, who sung, we shall be better than those that went before us.

If these three Degrees were now to Sing, the Old Men with hoarse Voices, might rather exclaim against the Iniquity of the times. The Young Men with untuneable Notes, might renounce following the example and steps of those that went before them. The Boys might complain that all hope of Preferment and Reward is taken from them.

Virtue was ever Esteem'd, and Arms Rewarded before all other Professions; and as a Man is bound to serve a Prince, so has he leave to sue to him. The powerful King Ahaluerus was wont to say, there was no Man that did service to his Prince or Country, but they were bound to reward him; and because his Deeds might be answerable to his Words; they write of him, that one night in his Bed being dispos'd to sleep, he caus'd the Annals of his Country to be read to him, and finding that one Mordecai had done great service to himself and Country, he asked what Reward the said Mordecai had receiv'd, and finding he was neglected, he advanced and preferred him above the rest of his Subjects, saying, That Prince was unworthy who did not reward according to the Service he had done.

Numa Pompilius commanded those to be reverenc'd that overcame in Battle. Solon ordin'd a Reward for such Men as deserv'd well of their Country.

But now you see, and with grief must confess, we make more account of the word Honour, than of deserving it. In ancient times none had Titles of Dignity but those that sought to avoid it, and few with us but such as will buy it; we value Honour by Riches, not by Desert, as it was first instituted.

But what shall we say of unconstant Time, which alters and changes all Things? For the Romans flourishing Estate, which continu'd longer and more prosperous than any other Nation, was at last overthrown by Luxury and Delights they brought out of Asia: For after Paulus Æmilius overcame them, he brought such Effeminacy into Rome, that other Nations took Advantage of it, and became Conquerors over them by whom they had before been Conquer'd: And those that had been Honoured for their Valour, now became Infamous to succeeding Ages for their Cowardice.

Mario Antonio observes another Bane to Commonwealths; as namely, Private and Particular Favourites: For says he, The Importunity of Favourites makes the Prince give to him from whom he should take, and take from him to whom he should give; They dishonour the Worthy, and honour others of less Merit; They despise the Experienc'd, and rely upon the Weak and Ignorant; They prefer not Men to Offices for their Persons, but Persons to Offices; They give Justice to the Unjust, and refuse Justice to the Just; and value Justice by their own Profit.

When they are brought to Preferment thus unworthily, they make their Authority greater than their Place; They supply that with Malice which they want in Discretion; They praise their own ill no less than if it were Goodness in another; But in the end they lose themselves, by adventuring into a Sea they know not; They make Infamous the Prince they misgovern, and commonly their end is Death and Destruction; for their beginning was Pride and Ambition, and their end Envy and Malice.

Though it be a Scandal to a Commonwealth, where Princes make more of Favourites than of Well-deservers, it becomes you not to approve or repine at it, but to hope that Act of his will not stand as a Precedent.

Evil Kings rely more upon Custom than Goodness, and desire rather to be Obey'd than Counsell'd; The Devil, under colour of Advice, deceives them; But such Princes are like Covetous Persons, that live poor to die rich; They please their Humours whilst they live, and leave Infamy behind them when they die.

Seneca says, That Cato deserv'd more Glory for banishing the Vices of Rome, than Scipio did for Conquering of Carthage; by which you may see it is not your Profession, I mean Arms, that reforms Commonwealths, but Wisdom in grave and sage Senators; for Democritus the Philosopher truly says, That Two Things govern the World; Reward and Punishment. My last and best Advice is, That you refer your Selves and Causes to Time; for that must cure when Reasons cannot.

The Peace with Spain after the Queen's Death, and some Accidents that happen'd.

AS commonly ill News flies apace, so the Queen's Death was soon divulg'd in all Parts of Europe, every Prince striving to be the first to Congratulate his Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown.

And tho' Spain be generally observ'd, and by its Friends much condemn'd for its long and tedious Dispatches, yet this Action being so rare, and importing them so much, the News was no sooner brought them, but an Ambassador was immediately nominated to perform such Rites and Ceremonies as Princes afford one another in such Cases.

What succeeded in their Treaty, or what labouring by other States to keep these Two great Kingdoms in Division, concerns me not to enquire; only I will prosecute such Accidents as fell out at Sea in the 12 years I serv'd as Admiral in the Narrow Seas.

Tho' his Majesty might say, (as few Princes ever did) That he could not esteem any State in Europe his Enemy; and that his Christian-like Motto, *Beati pacifici*, declar'd how far his Heart was from War, or to support the Divisions of Christians; yet he was willing to follow the Example of his Predecessors in keeping some Ships in the Narrow Seas, to defend his Right and Jurisdictions there, which the *Hollanders* thought to Invade, as will appear by the following Discourse.

This Treatise was writ by Sir William Monson, who serv'd as Admiral of those Seas 12 years, and Dedicated it to the Two late Lord Chancellors, at his Deliverance out of the Tower.

The Narration shall speak for it self; and the Reader may judge, if he be not too much transported in Affection to the Nation of *Holland*, to what their Insolencies then tended, or may tend hereafter.

But before that Discourse shall take place, I will entertain you with two or three Accidents worth your Knowledge, and which may challenge a Place among the rest.

The Peace between *England* and *Spain* being concluded, and publish'd in the year 1604. the War between *Holland* and *Spain* still continu'd, as hot and fierce as before: The Admiral of the Narrow Seas was now to think to walk indifferently, and without Partiality betwixt the Two Nations, like a careful Shepherd, to keep his Neighbours Flocks from intruding upon one another.

The next thing that gave occasion of Debate was in the year 1605. when the King of *Spain* sent 8 Ships with 1000 Soldiers through the Narrow Seas for *Flanders*. He would not exceed the number of 8 Vessels, because the Articles of Peace did warrant the entertainment of so many in his Majesty's Harbour.

But as I have shew'd the Bane of Actions has been in the Discovery of them, so this of the *Spaniards* being understood by the *Hollanders*, they provided to intercept them at Sea; where they met, and there pass'd a cruel and bloody Fight betwixt them; many of the *Spaniards* were slain, and some taken; but the greatest part recover'd *Dover*, where they were defended with Shot from the Castle and Platform.

Being now arrived in his Majesty's Dominions, they counted themselves under his Protection, and waited an Opportunity to pass over secretly and by stealth into *Flanders*; or by his Majesty's Mediation, who labour'd with the States of *Holland* to that effect.

But the *Hollanders* having the *Spaniard* at a Bay, and knowing they durst not venture to put out, being beleaguerr'd by their Ships; for the space of 7 or 8 Months his Majesty solicited their Passage, and Sir *Nevil Charoon* was sent over to that purpose, but could not prevail; for the *Hollanders* stood more upon point of Honour than any hurt they could receive from the 1000 *Spaniards*.

Upon this Answer, my Lord of *Salisbury* sent for Sir *William Monson*, and imparted to him the State of the whole Business, demanding of him, if it were possible, to put over the *Spaniards*, without using his Majesty's Authority or Force, or hazarding to be intercepted by the *Hollanders*; Sir *William* told him it was a Service of great Importance, and the greater, because the Honour of Two Kings was engag'd in it; but if it pleas'd

his Majesty to have it done, and that his Lordship would undertake his Directions should be follow'd, he doubted not but to effect it, as his Lordship had propos'd.

Hereupon my Lord of *Salisbury* imparted it to the King, and his Majesty to the *Spanish* Ambassador; for then was Don *Pedro de Suñiza* come to succeed the Conde de *Villa Mediana*: The King desiring the two Ambassadors to deliberate and consider of it, shewing a willingness in him to farther it; The Ambassadors took Respite to give their Resolutions, till they had acquainted and receiv'd an Answer from the King their Master; for those being his Subjects whom it concern'd, they could not dispose of them without his Knowledge or Approbation.

And thus it continu'd for the space of 8 or 9 weeks, when the Ambassador Don *Pedro's* Messenger return'd from *Spain*; and then he repair'd to my Lord of *Salisbury*, and acquainted him, That his Master's Friendly Proposition was approv'd of, and thankfully accepted by the King his Master.

Upon this my Lord of *Salisbury* sent for Sir *William Monson* once again, requiring him to perform with Care what he had formerly promis'd; for it was a Service of extraordinary Consequence.

The Secrecy and Policy that was us'd. to contrive this Stratagem, with the several Passages that happened, is too tedious to set down; only I will say, that in spite of the Fleet of *Holland*, that usually rid in the Mouth of *Dover* Peer, in the Road of *Gravelling* and *Dunkirk*, to impeach the *Spaniards* Passage, yet they arrived safe in *Dunkirk* the same night design'd for them by Sir *William Monson* to be expected, without the help of his Majesty's Ships, or other Assistance by his Authority; which the *Hollanders* look'd upon as so great an Affront, and to be thus prevented and derided, that it made them suspect, tho' they had no just Ground to accuse him, that Sir *William Monson* was the Director and Contriver of this Stratagem; and therefore now they began to settle their Hate upon him, and to urge and labour his removal out of the Narrow Seas, as in the following Account will appear. This Act of Sir *William's*, which he did by Direction of the State, ever after procur'd him much Hate and Envy, not only from the *Hollanders*, but from their Friends and Factions in *England*.

The next Service, Sir *William* was employ'd in concerned the Towns of *Rye* and *Hastings*, which found themselves im-

poverish'd, and almost ruined, by the *French* encroaching upon their Fishing on the *English* Coast, contrary to the Articles and Agreement betwixt the Two Kings.

These Towns, upon just Cause, complain'd of it, and Sir *William* was sent down to redress it, which he carefully perform'd, tho' it cost the Lives of some *Frenchmen*; for two years he was fain to use Force, and brought the *French* to that Submission, that the *English* enjoy'd their usual Privileges.

Many other Accidents happen'd in the Narrow Seas, that need no Remembrance; and yet I will conclude with the Escape of the Lady *Arabella*, 24 hours before Sir *William Monson* had Order to pursue her; which he did with that Celerity, that she was taken within 4 miles of *Calis*, Ship'd in a *French* Bark of that Town, whither she was bound.

The manner is so commonly known, that no more needs be said, but that it was done; tho' the Accident was so

strange and unlook'd for, that few could be perswaded but that her Escape was Plotted, with an intent to take her again; and it was the rather believed, because Sir *William* was not rewarded according to the Importance of that Service: But it may be answered and imputed to his Misfortune; for since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, who was both Gracious and Bountiful to him, he never tasted or received either Recompence or Preferment, more than his ordinary Entertainment, according to the Services he was employ'd in; for he began the Wars with 10 s. per Month Pay; then with 2 s. 6 d. per Day; after with 5 s. with 10 s. with 15 s. with 20 s. and 16 Pages allow'd him for his Retinue; after with 30 s. per Day; and lastly with 40 s. per Day. He had serv'd as a Soldier, a private Captain, a Rear-Admiral, a Vice-Admiral, a Captain under the General, and lastly, an absolute General.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Elsmore, Lord Chancellor of England, and Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney and Councillor: Sir William Monson after his Imprisonment in the Tower, Anno Domini 1616. Concerning the Insolencies of the Dutch, and a Justification of Sir William Monson.

I Did greatly and in a manner half promise my self, after I was examin'd by your Honours, if ever God gave me Liberty, to present you with some Collections of the *Hollanders* Insolencies on the Narrow Seas, from the time his Majesty made Peace with *Spain*, till the Truce betwixt *Holland* and *Spain*; in which Interim there arose many Doubts and Questions, which purchas'd me no small Hate from that State of *Holland*.

The first of *July*, 1604. the then Lord *Cecill* signify'd to me his Majesty's Pleasure, That I should take Charge of his Highness's Ships serving on the Narrow Seas; and will'd me to make such Provision for transporting the Constable of *Castile*, who was then expected to conclude a Peace, as should stand with the Honour and Reputation of his Majesty.

After humble Thanks to his Majesty, and no less to his Lordship, for doing me so high a Favour without either suit or seeking of mine, I was bold to tell him, That by my Employment I was to enter into a Labarinth; for tho' the Navigation

was but short and easie, yet it was both difficult and dangerous; for I was to sail betwixt *Scilla* and *Caribdis*, the one I might call *Holland*, the other *Spain*; and seeking to avoid the Displeasure of the one, I might as well fall into Enmity of the other.

As for *Holland*, I consider'd, by the Permission of our State heretofore, they might challenge a Prerogative, where nothing was granted by us but of Courtesie, their Insolency was such: And therefore to curb them suddenly, that had their Rein so long given them, could not be done without great Envy, if not Danger; for that their Forces at Sea did much exceed his Majesty's, who had but one Ship and Pinnace to guard his Coast.

On the other side, I weigh'd with my self, if I should give Distast to the *Spaniards* or Archduke, I should incur the Displeasure of two Princes, who had their Ambassadors Resident near the King, and whose Power, in respect of their Masters, was able to crush me, if I should either willingly or ignorantly commit the least

Errour.

Errour. What his Lordship's Answer was to this, I omit, lest I should be charg'd with Vain-glory, (a Vice I ever detested.)

I departed from my Lord with this Resolution in my self, above all things to stand upon his Majesty's Honour and Right; to carry my self like a Neuter; to do Justice indifferently; and if there happen'd any Question of Ambiguity, to acquaint my Lord Admiral, and the Lord *Cecill*, from whom I would be directed in all doubtful and difficult Cases.

The first of *August*, I receiv'd a Warrant for my repair to *Graveling*, where the Constable remain'd, expecting my coming. My Care was to perform so much as my Lord *Cecill* gave me in Charge. And to add the more grace to this Service, considering the Greatness of the Person that was to come, and the Honourable Occasion of his coming, I was accompany'd with 50 Knights and Gentlemen of good Account and Quality. If my Expence in that Journey were valu'd, with the rest of my Disbursements for the Transportation of Princes and Ambassadors, for which as yet I have receiv'd no Satisfaction, is is not the Rewards or Presents of Ambassadors that would counter-vail the Expence of their Diet.

The day after my arrival at *Graveling*, I was desir'd by the Constable to go to *Dunkirk*, to see his Barks with Provisions secur'd from the *Hollanders*, who did usually ride with a Squadron of Ships before the Town of *Dunkirk* to beleaguer it.

At my coming thither, I went on board the Admiral of *Holland*, who had been my old and familiar Acquaintance, by reason of many Actions and Services we had been in together; I told him, That after 20 years spent in the Wars, I was now become a Watchman, with a Bill in my hand, to see Peace kept, and no Disorders committed in the Narrow Seas. And whereas many Mildemeanors and Outrages had been offer'd by Ships that serv'd under him against his Majesty's Subjects since the Death of the Queen, I intreated him, That from thence forward, Things might be carry'd with more Discretion and Mildness, otherwise it would exasperate his Majesty, and alienate the *English* Hearts from them, whose Love they had sufficiently made Proof of. The Admiral told me, That if the *English* did offer to Trade into the Archduke's Ports of *Flanders*, his Commission was to impeach them: I advis'd him, if it were so, to do it in a Friendlier manner than had been, which he promis'd, but meant nothing less.

For the *Hollanders* continu'd rather more than less cruel, in taking and burning our *English* Ships, and sometimes murdering our Men; when at the same instant, and in view of our *English* Barks taken, they would permit and suffer their own Countrymen to have free Access to the Harbours of *Flanders* without Impeachment. I made many and sundry Complaints of it to the Lord *Cecill*, who, it seems out of Policy, was willing to connive at it. I endeavour'd by all gentle and courteous Means I could to draw the Admiral to a more loving Proceeding, the Particulars whereof I hold it not fit to relate; and yet one I will not omit.

A Bark of *Yarmouth* was met and surpriz'd by a *Hollander* in the Road of *Calis*, under Pretence that she was to go for *Dunkirk*: It was my hap to meet and rescue the said Bark, and found 15 *Hollanders* Mariners in her, whom I might have justly executed as Pirates; but because I would oblige the Admiral, after two or three days Imprisonment, I dismiss'd them, with a Letter to their Admiral expressing my mild Proceedings, desiring him to follow my Example to his Majesty's Subjects; but all in vain; for he desisted not from his former Courses.

Their stubborn Carriage at my first entrance into my Place, in not striking their Top sails, and other Rights I requir'd as due to his Majesty's Prerogative, I forbear to express, tho' your Lordships may well think it could not be redress'd without much Hazard and Hatred to me.

The 4th of *October*, 1604. there arriv'd in the *Downes* a Ship of War of *Dunkirk*, where she found 3 or 4 Merchants Ships of *Holland* bound for *France*: I sent for the Captain of *Dunkirk*, and forbid him offering Violence to those of *Holland*, they being under my Protection in his Majesty's Road; The Captain obey'd me, and the Merchants proceeded in their Voyage.

Within three days after there arriv'd three Ships of War of *Holland*, whom I forbid meddling with the *Dunkirker*, as I had done to the *Dunkirker* before. I advertis'd my Lord Admiral of this Accident, and desir'd his Lordship's Directions for my Proceeding in a case that was like to begin a Precedent. I was bound to add my Opinion, which was, to refer it to the Captain of the *Dunkirker*, whether he would retire into the Harbour of *Dover* or *Sandwich*, or abide in the *Downes* to take his Fortune, if I should be command-

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ded thence upon any Service with his Majesty's Ship; for I fear'd if I quitted the Road, they would little respect his Majesty's Authority; for I found they rather obey'd for Fear and Force, than out of Duty of the Place. My Lord Admiral lik'd well of my Proposal, and committed the Management of it to me. And to conclude, the *Dunkirker* retired to *Sandwich*. I consider'd, that many Questions were like to arise betwixt the *Hollanders* and the others by Example of this one, if his Majesty did not declare himself how far he would protect Ships on either side that should repair to his Harbours for Succour.

Therefore I dealt with my Lord of *Cramborn*, that his Majesty would express by Proclamation such difficulties as were likely to arise, that all States might take notice thereof. Whereupon there was a Proclamation, prohibiting all Nations from offering Violence one to another, within the Compass of a Line drawn from Headland to Headland, as it is to be seen by the same Proclamation and Map extant.

And in the same Proclamation was signified his Majesty's Pleasure, That what Ship, Merchant or other of the *Spaniards* or *Hollanders*, should first arrive in his Majesty's Harbour, the said Ship first arriving, should have Two Tides to depart before she should be pursu'd by the other.

This Proclamation directed me from committing any Error, now my Charge was to see it executed accordingly.

I desir'd the Lords, that besides the Proclamation, which I held a sufficient Authority for my self; yet because I was to deal with a People that would do no Right, nor take no Wrong, I desir'd it might be ratified by a Warrant from their Lordships; which they granted, and I have it yet to shew.

The 10th of May 1605. I came to the *Downes*, where I found Six *Holland* Ships of War newly arriv'd to impeach the *Dunkirkers* going out, whereupon I sent for the *Holland* Captains, and acquainted them with my Commission, requiring them to obey the Tenure of his Majesty's Proclamation; which I caus'd to be Translated into *Dutch* for them to peruse.

After many Expostulations and Disputes, they were contended to abide Two Tides after the *Dunkirkers*, so that I would signify under my Hand to the States, that I compell'd them to it by virtue of his Majesty's Proclamation; and so for that time they departed.

The next morning the *Hollanders* wey'd, and went to an Anchor in the Mouth of the Harbour of *Sandwich*, one excepted, which lay close to the *Dunkirkers*. The Carriage of the *Hollanders* seem'd strange to me, considering their Promise the day before. Whereupon I immediately set Sail, and Anchor'd betwixt the Admiral and the Vice Admiral, that both my Broad-sides might command them, expecting what they would do.

The Tide drawing on for the *Dunkirker* to come out, she found that if she offer'd to move, the *Hollander* that lay by her was ready to board her, which the test seeing went to have done the like.

The Captain of the *Dunkirker* sent me Word of it, for that he had understood the Intention of the *Hollanders*, and therefore refus'd to go out. Whereupon I sent for the *Holland* Captains, and charg'd them with Breach of their Words, and their Contempt to his Majesty's Authority. They would no longer dissemble, but told me plainly, that they had better consider'd of it, and concluded they could not appear before their Masters the States with safety, if they consented to the escape of the *Dunkirker*.

Upon their Answer I was intrag'd, and told them. That hitherto I had Treated with them in a Friendly and Courteous Manner, and in any Reasonable Man's Concept, had given them good Satisfaction with my Letter to the States. But seeing they dealt so indirectly, I put them on board their Ships again, and wili'd them to stand upon their selves, and Vow'd if one Shot was made at the *Dunkirker*, I would sink them or they me. When they thus saw I would believe no longer in Words, they permitted the *Dunkirker* quietly to escape, and remain'd themselves Two Tides according to the Proclamation.

If your Lordships had seen the Dispositions and Carriage of the People of *Sandwich*, you would have thought it strange, that Subjects durst oppose themselves so openly against the State, Thousands of People beholding me from the Shore, look'd when the Sword should make an end of the Difference, and publicly wish'd the Success to the *Hollanders*, cursing both me and his Majesty's Ship.

But it was no marvel, for most of the Inhabitants are either born, bred, or descended from *Holland*, their Religion truly *Dutch*, as Two of the Grave Ministers of *Sandwich* have complain'd to me, protesting they think that Town, and the Coun-
treys

they thereabouts, swarms as much with
Seas as *Amsterdam*.

Your Lordships must give me leave a
little to digress, and express the State of
Sandwich, and the Use *Holland* may make
of it, if ever they become Enemies to
England; therefore it behoves us to pre-
vent all dangerous Advantages, which is
the more in them, because they neglect
no Occasion, wherein they may benefit
themselves with the loss of others.

The first and Principallest Advantage all
Enemies have that invade a Country by
Sea, is the safe Harbour or Road for the
arriving of Shipping, and though *Sand-
wich* be but a barr'd Haven, and that
Ships cannot enter but upon a Flood, and
at no time any great Vessels of burthen,
yet is our *Downes* within two miles from
thence, where Thousands of Ships may
ride as safely as in any Harbour of *Eu-
rope*; and if ever the *Hollanders* be disposed
to give an Attempt, now that *Flushing* is
in their possession, it is but one night's
sailing from thence to *Sandwich*.

The Town is more naturally seated for
Strength than any I know in this King-
dom, and a place of little defence as it is
us'd: An Enemy having the Command
of an Harbour, as I have shew'd, ap-
proaching a Town of no defence, which
may be made impregnable, being sure of
the Hearts of the Men within it, and to
be reliev'd within 12 hours by Sea, I re-
fer the Consideration thereof to your
Lordships, and return where I left off.

The 20th of *April* 1605. I landed the
Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*,
in their Ambassy to the Arch-Duke;
The one of them pass'd with me in
the *Vanguard*, the other in the *Lyons
Whelp*, a Pinnace of his Majesty: The
Pinnace falling a League a-stern, was
saluted by Two *Holland* Ships of War,
in which Salutation they put a disgrace
upon her, by the Trumpeter's blurring
with his Trumpet, which is held a scorn
at Sea.

Sir *Thomas Edmonds* being much mov'd
at this usage, caus'd a Piece of Ordnance
to be shot off for my stay; at whose
coming up he acquainted me with the
Wrong offered; I immediately command-
ed the *Holland* Captains on board me,
which if they refused, I threatned to com-
pel them; but they seeing themselves over-
master'd, made no question to obey me.

I besought my Lord of *Hartford*, with
the rest of the Gentlemen of his Train,
to be Witnesses of my Proceedings with
the Captains; and told my Lord, if I
carry'd my self otherwise than became

me, he should have power to over-rule
me.

Before I entered into Capitulation, I
requir'd their Answer to one Question,
(which was) whether they had Command
from their Masters the States to impeach
his Majesty's Ambassadors passage, or no;
if they had, I requir'd to see their Com-
mission, the Copy whereof I would take
and send to his Majesty, and let them de-
part without violence.

They answer'd they had no such Di-
rections, neither was their Intention so to
do: Then I told them, that seeing the
Affront was offered as proceeding from
themselves, and not from the States, I
would right my self upon them, and after
acquaint their State upon what Reason I
did it: But upon their Vows and Protesta-
tions to clear themselves, imputing it to
the Lewdness of their Trumpeter, and
submitting themselves to my Censure, at
the Intreaty of my Lord of *Hartford*, I
dismiss'd them, they promising to punish
the Offenders severely. One of these
Captains was he who since that time com-
mitted a foul Murder upon his Majesty's
Subjects in *Ireland* that were under Pro-
tection.

The next thing that comes to my mind
is a Repetition of that I deliver'd to your
Lordships in the *Tower*, concerning the
Admiral of *Holland's* refusing to take in
his Flag; I deliver'd it not with those
Circumstances that were convenient for
your Lordship's understanding; and be-
cause I know your weightier Occasions
may very well make you forget what was
said, I will presume to reiterate the same
again.

In my return from *Calis* the first of
July 1605. with the Emperor's Ambassa-
dor, as I approach'd near *Dover* Road, I
perceiv'd an increase of Six Ships to those
I left there three days before, one of them
being the Admiral; Their coming in shew
was to beleaguer the *Spaniards*, who were
then at *Dover*, as you have heard.

As I drew near them the Admiral strook
his Flag thrice, and advanced it again:
His coming from the other Coast at such
a time, caus'd me to make another con-
struction than he pretended; and indeed
it so fell out, for I conceiv'd his arrival at
that time was no other end, than to shew
the Ambassador, who he knew, would
spread it abroad throughout all *Europe*,
as also the *Spaniards*, that they might have
the less Esteem of his Majesty's Preroga-
tive in the Narrow Seas, that by their
wearing their Flag they might be imputed
Kings of the Sea as well as his Majesty:

I hastned the Ambassador ashore, and dispatch'd a Gentleman to the Admiral to intreat his Company the next day to Dinner; which he willingly promis'd.

The Gentleman told him I requir'd him to take in his Flag, as a Duty due to his Majesty's Ships: He answer'd, that he had struck it thrice, which he thought to be a sufficient Acknowledgment, and it was no more than former Admirals of the Narrow Seas had requir'd at his hands.

The Gentleman reply'd, That he expected such an Answer from him, and therefore he was prepar'd what to say to that Point. He told him the times were altered; for when no more but striking the Flag was requir'd, *England* and *Holland* were both of them in Hostility with *Spain*, which caus'd her late Majesty to tolerate divers things in them; as for instance, the Admiral's wearing his Flag in the Expedition to *Cadiz* and the Islands, where the Lord Admiral of *England* and Lord of *Essex* went as Generals and that Courtesie they could not challenge by Right, but by Permission; and the Wars being now ceas'd, his Majesty did require by me his Minister, such Rights and Duties as have formerly belong'd to his Progenitors.

The Admiral refus'd to obey my Command; saying, he expected more favour from me then from other Admirals, in respect of our long and loving Acquaintance: But he was answer'd, that all Obligation of private Friendship must be laid aside, when the Honour of ones King and Country is at stake. The Gentleman advis'd him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand; if not, he had Commission to tell him, That I meant to weigh Anchor, and come near him, and that the Force of our Ships should determine the Question: For rather then I would suffer his Flag to be worn in view of so many Nations as were to behold it, I resolv'd to bury my self in the Sea.

The Admiral it seems upon better Advice took in his Flag, and stood immediately off to Sea, firing a Gun for the rest of the Fleet to follow him. And thus I lost my Guest the next day at Dinner, as he had promis'd.

This Passage betwixt the Admiral and me was observ'd from the Shore, People beholding us to see the Event. Upon my Landing I met with *Sciriago*, the General of the *Spaniards*, who in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was imploy'd under *Mendoza* the Ambassador of *Spain*: He told me, that if the *Hollanders* had worn

their Flag, times had been strangely alter'd in *England* since his old Master King *Philip* the Second was shot at by the Lord Admiral of *England* for wearing his Flag in the Narrow Seas, when he came to marry Queen *Mary*.

I told him that he was mistaken; for neither the *Hollanders* nor any other Nation durst contend with his Majesty in his Prerogative of the Narrow Seas: And the accident that then fell out was by a Boy's Error, who thought he had been commanded to take in the Flag and to put it out again, when he was order'd to take it in for altogether; which when the Admiral understood, he caus'd it to be taken in, and desir'd I would not impute it to him as an Affront offer'd. Thus I excus'd their Insolency, lest it should be divulg'd his Majesty's Prerogative had been question'd by the *Hollanders*: Had I yielded to a bare striking their Flag, as other Admirals had done, his Majesty had not reconcil'd his Right again without Bloodshed.

Within few years after, an Earl, who then came in Company of the Emperor's Ambassador, pass'd the Seas with me again, when I Transported Prince *Vaudemont*; to whom he recounted at large this Passage of mine and the *Hollanders*, and ascrib'd great Honour to his Majesty in maintaining his Right and Privileges on the Seas, which he said the *Hollanders* went about to infringe.

The first of *September* 1605. I receiv'd a Warrant for Transporting the *Spanish* Ambassador Don *John de Taxis*, and all his Train for *Flanders*, excepting the Lord *Arundell*, who was to pass with him into the Service of the Arch Duke.

Though the Lord *Arundell* was prohibited to go over in the Company of the Ambassador, because the *Hollanders* pretended the World would take notice his Majesty maintain'd their Enemies against them, which would much prejudice the Reputation of their State; yet, notwithstanding, the Ambassador was promis'd, that within ten days after his arrival, the Lord *Arundell* should have a free and safe Passage, which did as much satisfy the Ambassador as if he had gone with him.

Lest the Lord *Arundell* should attempt to go, notwithstanding his Prohibition, which I much fear'd, because he absented himself, that he might not receive this Command; I forbid all Ships and Barks, as they would answer it at their Peril, to receive him aboard them; which he hearing, corrupted a Captain of the King's, and in a disguise convey'd himself

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himself

himself over in his Ship : He did it more to gain Reputation with the *Spaniards*, than out of any doubt he had not to pass ; for he knew, though he desir'd not to take notice of it, that his going was secur'd within few days after.

When I saw him upon my Arrival at *Gravelin*, and understood his Practice with one of my Captains, I spake of it with some bitterness, and expostulated the Matter with the Ambassador, supposing he had known of his indirect Proceeding : But the Ambassador with many Protestations disavow'd it, and blam'd my Lord's Indiscretion as much as my self, saying, he was as much wrong'd as the State ; for he confess'd by his humble Suit he had obtain'd his safe Passage within a few days after, which he accepted as a great Favour from his Majesty, and my Lord behaving himself so unadvisedly, he fear'd might breed a Jealousie against him.

My Lord *Arundell* knowing I had spoken somewhat liberally of him, devis'd how to requite me, and took an Opportunity upon the following Occasion.

The same night, a little before Supper, News was brought the Ambassador, that the Barques which carried his Provisions were stay'd by the *Hollanders* as they were entering *Dunkirk*, and as it was to be fear'd they would not dismiss them.

My Lord *Arundell* took advantage of this, and privately perswaded the Ambassador I had betray'd them to the *Hollanders*. He could not carry his Complaint so secretly, but I came to the knowledge of it : I might perceive a strangeness in the Ambassador, as though he retain'd a kind of Jealousie ; and therefore the Supper ended, and my Leave taken of him for that night, I besought the Governor of *Gravelin*, that the Port might be opened, and I provided of Horses, for that I had occasion to go with some speed to *Dunkirk*, both which he courteously granted, and I immediately pass'd thither, where I arriv'd at the opening of the Gates in the morning.

I found, as it was reported, the Barques detain'd by the *Hollanders*, but upon what occasion, and how I caus'd their Release, your Honours shall understand hereafter : But I must return once more to *Sandwich*.

Whilst the Ambassador stay'd at *Sandwich* to see his Horses and Baggage Shipp'd, there arriv'd 14 or 15 Ships of War from *Holland* in the *Downes* ; a number not usually seen thereabout but upon a greater occasion then I could imagine : Though I mistrusted they would have obstructed the

Ambassador's Passage, and sent for the Principal Captains, of whom I requir'd if they had Commission to impeach his Landing ; they answer'd No, and seem'd to make a frivolous Excuse for their coming.

Then I requir'd them to stay in the *Downes* after I was gone, or to depart before me, for avoiding both Rumour and Suspicion. They made choice of the latter, and stood over for *Gravelin* Road, where I found them upon my arrival, and discovered that the cause of their coming to the *Downes*, was to have an Eye on the Lord *Arundell's* Passage.

During the time of the Ambassador's stay at *Sandwich*, those of the Town thought to have put an Affront upon him ; which if I had not prevented, had more disgusted than all the Favours he receiv'd in *England* had contented him.

His Horses being Shipp'd, and the Barque ready to depart the Harbour, an Informer went aboard one of them, and made seizure of a Fardel of Bays to the value of 10 or 12 *l.* which belong'd to one of the Ambassador's Servants ; which he took for such a Disgrace, knowing it, as he said, to be a practice of the Offspring of the *Hollanders* within the Town, that he resolv'd not to depart thence till he was righted by his Majesty's own Order.

I laboured to give the Ambassador Satisfaction, and as earnestly perswaded the Informer to restore the Fardel, but could prevail with neither ; for the value was not so much look'd upon, as the Injury offered.

At last, by threatening the Informer to complain to the Lords, and perswading him how ill his Majesty would take such a wrong done to an Ambassador, he restor'd the Fardel, but writ to the Farmers of the Custom, that I countenanc'd and carried over uncustom'd Goods under the colour of the Ambassador's Provisions.

When they of *Sandwich* saw they could not detain the Fardel, they secretly practis'd with the *Dutch* Fleet then at the *Downes*, that upon the arrival of the Barks at *Dunkirk*, they should intercept the Fardel, and gave Intelligence in what Barque, and what part of the Barque it lay.

The *Hollanders* accordingly detain'd the Vessel as they were directed, and took out the Fardel ; and upon this Occasion was the stay made of the Ambassadors Goods, as I have shew'd before.

At my arrival at *Dunkirk* from *Gravelin*, upon the News of the Arrest of the Ships, as your Lordships have heard, I wrote

wrote to the Admiral of the *Hollanders*, that he had exceeded his Commission in intercepting the Ambassador's Provisions, having Order from their State for a free Passage, and that the Injury was no less to his Majesty, and therefore I requir'd the Discharge of the Ships, and his Answer to the Contempt.

He answer'd in Writing, that it was true his Directions from his Masters, the States, did import so much, which he did willingly obey; but in his Commission he was Authoriz'd to intercept any Merchandize that should be transported under colour of the Ambassador's Furniture, and that in one of the Barques he had found a Fardel of Bays, which he might justify the taking of, and so dismiss'd the Barkque.

I return'd Answer, that if he went to the strict Letter of his Commission, I confess'd he might do it; but I told him the value was so small, and it having been question'd at *Sandwich*, that I would think my self beholding to him, if he would either restore it, or keep it in his custody 14 days. To my latter Request he consented; whereupon I gave assurance to the Ambassador, who was then much enraged, that a Letter should be procured out of *England* that should compel the delivery of the Fardel.

Within 4 or 5 days after I arriv'd in *England*, I acquainted the Lord Treasurer *Dorset* with the Affront offer'd the Ambassador at *Sandwich*, and the Complaint made to the Farmers of the Customs against me. I inform'd my Lord Admiral and my Lord of *Cranborne* with the Lord *Arundell's* Passage, and the Contempt of the Captain, whom I displac'd and detain'd Prisoner, as also of the Fardel seiz'd on by the *Hollander*.

My Lord Treasurer sent for the Informer by a Pursuivant, and committed him Ten weeks Prisoner in the *Gate-House*, refusing to release him till I became Suitor for him. The Captain was handled in the same manner, being long Imprison'd; and the Fardel restor'd to the Governor of *Dunkirk* by a Letter from Sir *Howell Garoone*.

I am the more tedious herein, to shew the Genius of the Men of *Sandwich*, who made more Account of venting their Spleen and Revenge, than of his Majesty's Reputation and Honour; and did their best endeavour to make a breach betwixt the *Hollanders* and me: At that time they had Thirty Ships for Two in the *Narrow Seas*.

I observ'd at all times that I was to

transport a *Spanish* Ambassador, the *Hollanders* labour'd to shew some point of Insolency; as I remember at the return of the Marquis of *St. Germaine*, I met a *Dutch* Fleet in the midst of the Chanel, convoy'd by a Man of War, who would not take in his Flag till I was forc'd to use violence. I could entertain your Lordships with a Volume of these Discourses; but what I have said is sufficient to shew the Arrogant and Unmannerly Carriage of the *Hollanders*, who ambitiously desire to incroach upon his Majesty's Jurisdiction: Had I conniv'd at them, I had purchas'd less hate of them and their well-wishers. And not long before my Commitment there fell out an Accident which perhaps might hasten my Imprisonment; Sir *Howell Garoone* their Agent, coming over in a Man of War, was shot at by a Pinnace of the King's, for not striking his Top-sail to her, which I understood he took in ill part, and cast it upon me.

If I had transgress'd, or given the least advantage to have excepted against me in the 12 years I serv'd on the *Narrow Seas*, it is very likely his Majesty or the State should have known it; but seeing I was never question'd for any Action, publick or private, I did no more than became a Subject and a Servant to his Majesty, to defend the Honour and Reputation of him and his Kingdoms, tho' it had been with the loss of my Life.

And since I have made my Apology for 12 years, I will add 18 more to it, and begin with the Wars of *Spain*, where I was an Actor in the first Ship, and General of the last Fleet *Queen Elizabeth* ever employ'd.

If it shall appear by Records in the Admiral's Court, or by Petition in the Council Chamber, that ever I was question'd for any unlawful Act, or so much as my Name us'd for a Witness, I will willingly receive my due Punishment; or let it be prov'd in all my Employment by Sea, which has been more than any *English* Gentleman, that either directly or indirectly I deceiv'd either of my two Sovereigns, and I will desire the Reward of a Traytor.

I well remember the first time I was Examined by the Chief Justice *Cooke* and Secretary *Wmwood*, at *Hutton-House*, I besought them, that they would be pleas'd to enquire into my Behaviour, and the Course of my Life from my Infancy, and I hop'd it would prove Loyal, Honest and Spotless.

Now I humbly desire as a second Suit, that either they, or any other, would exa-

mine the Service I have done to the State, in the time of the late Queen, when there was greatest occasions for Men to shew their Abilities and Deserts: As also what Imprisonment I have endur'd in *Spain*; What Famine, Hurts and other Casualties I suffer'd; What Wealth has been brought into *England* by my means; With what Hazard and fortunate Success I have obtain'd both Wealth and Victory: As in particular, and which is freshest in Memory, the last Carrack valu'd at almost Two hundred thousand Pounds, and dispos'd of by his Majesty at his Accession to the Crown.

When all these things shall be consider'd, and my Rewards valu'd, the Integrity of my Heart will appear, and how much I prefer'd the Service to my Prince and Country, above my private or particular Interest.

I must confess my Folly and Misfortune; the one made me too forward in Complaining, and wishing a Reformation of his Majesty's Navy, which has purchas'd me much Envy; the other procur'd me as much Hate in taking the Lady *Arabella*: And then perhaps the Cause of my Imprisonment will more plainly appear.

Some have obtain'd their desires, in ruining my Estate, made me Infamous to the World, taken from me my Employment, seiz'd by way of Forfeiture upon my Land, denying to Accompt with me, which they have long practic'd: And above all, cast such an Aspersions upon my Children, as all hope of Preferment is taken from them; But my comfort is in the saying of *David*, That *My defence is in God, who saveth the upright in heart.*

Thus have I briefly run over some particulars that happen'd in my Employment, wherein I have shew'd in what condition I found the Narrow Seas, how with Envy and Hate I reduc'd it, and in what form and condition I left it.

And as I have given an account of 12 years Employment on the Narrow Seas, I can as well derive my self from the year 1585. when the War with *Spain* began, for then made I the Seas my Profession, being led to it by the wildness of my Youth: And because the two Barks in which I then serv'd, had the fortune to take the first *Spanish* Prize that ever saw the *English* Shore; and the rareness of the Fight in taking her consider'd, I thought it not unworthy of repetition.

In the Month of *September* 1585. and about Eight a clock in the Evening, being upon the Coast of *Spain* with two small Ships aforesaid, we met and boarded a *Spanish* Vessel of 300 Tuns burthen, well Mann'd and Arm'd; all our Men with one consent and courage entred her, and we left fighting aboard her, all Night, the Seas being so grown that our Barks were forc'd to ungrapple and fall off.

The *Spaniards* betook themselves to their close Fights, and gave two attempts by trains of Powder to blow-up their Decks on which we were, but we happily prevented it by Fire-Pikes. Thus continu'd the Fight till Seven in the Morning, when the *Spaniards* found they had so many Men kill'd and disabled, that they were forc'd to yield.

When we came to take a view of our People, we found few left alive but could shew a wound or shot through their Cloaths in that Fight: We were a woful Spectacle as well as the *Spaniards*; and I dare say, that in the whole time of the War, there was not so rare a manner of Fight, or so great a Slaughter of Men on both sides.

I confess it exceeds the bounds of Good Manners to trouble your Honours with this impertinent Discourse; but I do it that it may appear, I had no thought but to employ my Pains and Travel to serve my Prince and Country: And so I humbly take my Leave.

A Voyage by Sir William Monson, during the time he serv'd as Admiral in the Narrow Seas, about England, Scotland and Ireland, Anno Dom. 1614.

HIS Majesty being earnestly importun'd by his *Scottish* Subjects to have the assistance of some of his Ships to redress the Spoils committed by the Pyrates on their Coast, out of Care to them, and Honour to himself, he dispatch'd Sir *William Monson* and Sir *Francis Howard* in great

haste upon that Service, commanding such Victuals and other things as they stood in need of to be sent after them.

They departed from *Margate-Head* the 14th of *May*, and arriv'd at *Leith* in *Scotland*, on the 23d of the same; thence he immediately went to *Edinburgh* and presented

sent himself to the Lords of that Realm, acquainting them with the Cause of his coming, and the Charge he had from his Majesty to defend that Coast from Pyrates, and therefore desir'd to be inform'd by their Lordship's concerning their Strength, their Number, and Place of abode: He desir'd to be furnish'd with able Pilots, for his Majesty's Ships were of greater burden and value than usually had been employ'd on those Coasts; and besides, that the Navigation to the Northward of that Place was not frequented by our Nation, and therefore unknown to us.

It pleas'd their Lordships to recommend the Care thereof to the *Trinity-House* of *Leith*, expressly commanding them to appoint the ablest Pilots that could be chosen amongst them. This Command of theirs was accordingly obey'd, and their Pilots repair'd a board the next Morning. Sir William immediately set Sail, leaving Instructions for his Victuals to follow him to the Islands of *Orkney*; which the Lords of *Scotland* took into their provident Care, and perform'd it accordingly.

The First of June Sir William arriv'd at *Sinclare Castle*, the House of the Earl of *Cathness*, the utmost Promontory of *Great Britain*: Here he found neither the Number nor the Danger of Pyrates, so terrible as Report made them; from Twenty they were vanish'd to Two, and both of them Men of base Condition; the one of them not long before my Boatswain's Mate in the Narrow Seas; the other of as mean Quality and Rank, and first made a Seaman by Sir William; neither can this Man be properly call'd a Pirate, for being amongst them, and misliking their damnable Courses, he, with three others, left their Society, and in an *English Bark* they had taken, stole from them, and put himself into the hands of the Earl of *Cathness*, where I found both him and the Bark, which I brought away with me.

The day before I came to *Cathness*, I was disappointed of meeting the Boatswain's Mate, the Pirate, *Clarke* by name, who had been ashore with the Earl, and friendly Entertain'd, because his House and Tenants lay open to his Spoil.

That day there arriv'd a *Scottish Bark* from the *Firth*, which gave an account of Sir William's coming to *Leith*, with an intent to pursue such Pirates as he could hear of. This News made *Clarke* quit that Coast, and fly into the Island, where he refresh'd himself amongst the Fishermen.

But Sir W. being now out of hope of him, and out of doubt of any others thereabout, staid not at *Cathness*, but the same

Night pass'd to the Island of *Orkney*, where he found more civil, kind and friendly Usage, than could be expected from such kind of Creatures in shew. Here he left Sir *Francis Howard* for guard of the Coast, and prosecuted his Intentions against *Clarke*, not sparing any Place to seek him in, where there was a possibility to find him. After some time spent at Sea, he put into the Island of *Sbutland*, and from thence to those of *Hybrides*, where he design'd Sir *Francis Howard* should meet him.

The Brutishness and Uncivility of those People of the *Hybrides*, exceeds the Savages of *America*; and it may be well said of them, that Education is a second Nature; for there cannot be greater difference betwixt Day and Night, than betwixt the Conversation of those of *Orkney*, and those of the *Hybrides*.

Being out of hopes of meeting with *Clarke*, Sir William directed his Course for *Broad-Haven* in *Ireland*, a Harbor frequented by Pyrates, in respect of the Security thereof and the Remoteness, few knowing it, and the relief such People find by a Gentleman there dwelling, who spar'd not his own Daughters to bid them Welcome.

The Danger Sir William ran into was great, and worse to think, that two Ships of his Majesty's of that consequence should be hazarded on so slender an occasion, as the Pursuit of so few petty Pyrates.

Betwixt those Islands and *Ireland* he met with so great a Storm and Ground Seas, that it were fit only for a Poet to describe. Of four Vessels he had in company, one was swallow'd up in the Seas; the other Three were separated, and saw one another no more till they met in *England*.

When the Seas had spent their fury, the Storm began to abate, and the 26th he arriv'd at *Broad-Haven*, a Place unknown to any one in his Ship but the Pirate he had taken from the Earl of *Cathness*, as you have heard, of whom he made use to execute this Stratagem.

Being now come to the Well-head of all Pyrates, and desirous to be fully inform'd of the Condition of those People of *Broad-Haven*, as soon as he came to an Anchor he made choice of such Persons of his Company as formerly had been Pyrates, to give the less suspicion of his purpose.

These Men he sent in his Boat to the Gentlemen of that Place, and took upon him to be a Pirate, and the Name of Captain *Manwaring*: The Man he trusted in this Service, extoll'd the Wealth he had on Board him; his Royal Disposition and Liberality to those that shew'd him Courtesy.

Courtesie. This hope of Wealth and Reward set their Hearts on fire.

He us'd the Commendations and Names of sundry Pyrates, their Acquaintance; and feign'd Messapes to the Women from their Sweethearts, who he made believe had sent them Tokens, which he had on board for them.

The silly Women conceiv'd so great a Joy at it, that it took away all Suspicion of Deceit.

The Gentleman of that place, like a wilely Fox, absented himself, and left his Wife and Hackney Daughters to entertain the new welcome Guests, till he beheld the Coast clear; and when he saw his time he returned, and to make his Credit and Reputation seem the greater with Capt. *Manwaring*, express'd the Favours he had done to sundry Pyrates, tho' it was to his eminent Peril, which he did not esteem, if he might do Capt. *Manwaring* any Service; so much he was devoted to his Person, when he heard the report of his Wealth: And to endear him the more, he promis'd to send two Gentlemen of Trust the next Morning on board him, to give him the better assurance of his Fidelity; and in the mean time, because he should not be unfurnish'd of Victuals, he directed him to send his Men ashore Armed, and in a Warlike manner, that it might appear their Cattle were taken by violence, which he would appoint in a place with their Ears slit, to be distinguish'd from other Beasts.

The Messenger being fully satisfy'd, and having executed his Stratagem, return'd aboard that night. At the dawning of the day the Play began, for that was the Hour appointed for the Wolf to seek his Prey; and Capt. *Chester* with 50 Armed Men in a disorderly manner like Pyrates, went on Shore, and acted so much as was agreed on; and the Cattle being kill'd, he was, in a secret manner, invited to the House of the Gentleman, but at his intreaty was to make it appear publicly, that he came not by Invitation, but of his own accord.

Here he was welcom'd and friendly entertain'd by the Daughters, whose desire was to hear of their Sweethearts, and to receive their Tokens; but all in general coveted to see Capt. *Manwaring*, who they confidently believ'd would enrich them all. The Gentleman, Mr. *Cormat* by name, was punctual in all his Undertaking, and the two Ambassadors he promis'd came aboard, and deliver'd a friendly (tho' in a rude manner like their Country) Message of their Love and Assurance of their Service to Capt. *Manwaring*.

Their Message ended, Sir *William* wish'd them to observe and consider, whether they thought that Ship and Company to be Pyrates, for they could well judge of Pyrates, because of their Familiarity and Acquaintance with them.

It was a folly to dissemble any longer; for tho' they would, yet they could not betray Sir *William's* design, and therefore in as rough and rude a manner as they deliver'd their Message, he told them how they had transgress'd, and the next thing they were to expect was Death, and commanded them to be put in Irons, in dark and several places, being careful to permit neither Boat nor Man to go ashore, untill his own Landing.

The time approach'd Sir *William* promis'd to visit them; and for his greater Honour they had drawn down 4 or 500 People to attend on the Shore side, which he perceiving, and seeming to be jealous of their number, pretended to be shy of going ashore for fear of Treachery: But if Oaths, Vows, or any kind of Protestations would serve him, he had them, and when they saw him thus convinc'd of their Sincerity, and that he put himself upon them, three of their Principal Men run up to the Arm-pits in Water, striving who should have the Credit to carry him ashore.

One of these three was an *Englishman*, a late Tradesman in *London*, and attended the arrival of Pyrates. The Second had been a Schoolmaster, and a Man attended like another *Apollo* amongst those rude People. The Third a Merchant of *Gallaway*, but his chiefest Trade was to Buy and Sell with Pyrates.

These three Gallants, like Gentlemen-Ushers, conducted Sir *William* to Mr. *Cormat's* House; and the meaner sort follow'd with Acclamations of Joy. At his Landing, happy was he to whom he would lend his Ear: Falling into Discourse, one told him they knew his Friends, and tho' his Name had not discover'd it, yet his Face did shew him to be a *Manwaring*. In short, they made him believe he might Command them and their Country, and that no Man was ever so welcome as Capt. *Manwaring*.

Entering into the House of Mr. *Cormat*, his three Hackney Daughters rose to Entertain him, and conducted him to the Hall newly strew'd with Rushes, as the richest decking their Abilities, or the meanness of the place could afford. In the corner was a Harper, who play'd merrily to make his Welcome the greater.

After some Discourse, and several Questions ask'd by the three Daughters concerning their Acquaintance and Friends; but

but above all, being desirous to handle the Tokens promised, and Laughing and Jearing at their two Messengers aboard, who they did not suspect, were detain'd Prisoners, but drinking and frolicking in the Ship, as the use was upon the arrival of Pyrates: After these Passages the Women offer'd to Dance; one chose Sir William, which he excus'd, but gave free liberty for the rest of his Company. The *Englishman* was so pleasant and merry, that he seem'd to have new Life infus'd into him; he told Sir William, the Heavens did foresee he was born to serve him, and to relieve him; he shew'd him a Pass procur'd upon false Pretences from the Sheriff of that County, Authorizing him to Travel from place to place to make Inquisition of his Goods, which he falsly pretend'd he was robb'd of at Sea: He Laugh'd at the Cheat he had put upon the Sheriff in getting his Pass, and urg'd the advantage that might be made of it, in sending to and fro in the Country without suspicion.

He proffer'd Sir William the Service of Ten Mariners of his Acquaintance, that lay lurking thereabouts, expecting the coming in of Men of War, which Seafaring Men he had power to Command.

His Antick behaviour was enough to put the Melancholiest Man in good Humour: sometimes he play'd the part of a Commanding Sheriff; then he acted his own, with many witty passages how he deceiv'd the Sheriff. Sir William embrac'd his offer of Ten Mariners, with a promise of Reward, and caus'd him to write effectually for them, as may appear by this that follows:

Honest Brother Dick, and the rest, we are all made Men; for valiant Capt. Manwaring and all his gallant Crew are arriv'd in this place. Make haste, for he flourisheth in wealth, and is most kind to all Men. Farewel, and once again make haste.

This Letter being Writ, and the Pass enclos'd in it, Sir William took it into his own Hand, offering to hire a Messenger to carry it; but Night drawing on, which requir'd his return on board, and having drawn from the Country all the Secret he desir'd, he caus'd the Harp to cease playing, and commanded Silence, because he was to speak.

He told them, That hitherto they had plaid their part, and he had no part in the Comedy; but tho' his was last, and might be term'd the Epilogue, yet it would prove more Tragical than theirs. He put them out of doubt that he was no Pyrate,

but a Scourge to such, and was sent from His Majesty to Discover, Suppress, and Punish them, and their Abettors, whom his Majesty did not think worthy the name of Subjects: He told them that he had receiv'd sufficient Information of the protection given to Pyrates in that Harbour, and by *Cormatt*; and that he could find no better Expedient to confirm what had been told him, than by taking upon him the Habit of a Pyrate, and one of their Associates; and that they had made themselves guilty in the Law, without farther Accusations: And now there remain'd nothing but to proceed to their Execution, by virtue of his Commission; and to that purpose, he had brought a Gallows ready fram'd, which he caus'd to be set up, meaning to begin the mournful Dance with the two Men they thought had been merry Dancing aboard the Ship.

He told the *Englishman* he should be the next, because his Offence did surpass the rest, being an *Englishman*, who should be a pattern of good Life to those People we have sought to reduce to Civility since we first possess that Country; and seeing Man naturally is rather apt to follow evil example than good, he should be hanged for example.

He told the Schoolmaster he was a fit Tutor for the Children of the Devil, and that he had apt Scholars to follow his damnable Instructions; and, that as the Members are govern'd by the Head, the way to make his Members sound, was to shorten him by the Head; and therefore Will'd him to admonish his Scholars from the top of the Gallows, which should be a Pulpit prepar'd for him. He ask'd the Merchant, whether he imagin'd there could be Thieves if there were no Receivers? And as the contriver and plotter of evil is worse than he that executes it, so is the Abettor and a Receiver to be condemn'd before the Thief. He told him that Pyrates could no more live by their Occupation, were it not for Buyers, than a poor Labourer work without Wages; That the Offence in a Merchant was more hainous than in another Man, because his Trade must be maintain'd and upheld by Peace: His time he told him was not long, and wish'd him to make his Account with God, that he might be found a good Merchant and Factor to him, tho' he had been a Malefactor to the Law.

Here was seen the Mutability of the World; their Mirth was turn'd into Mourning, and their Dancing into Lamentings, each Bewailing and Repenting, as is the custom

custom of Offenders. The Night calling Sir William away, he appointed their Guard to a Boat, and left the Carpenter ashore to finish the Gallows, which was done by Morning, and the Prisoners ready to receive their doom; but being sh'd to by the whole Country, with a Promise never to connive again at Pyrates, after Four and twenty Hours sight in Irons he pardon'd them.

The Englishman was banish'd, not only from that Coast, but from the Sea side, throughout Ireland, and a Coppy of his Pass sent to the Sheriff, with Advice to be more cautious for the future in granting his safe Conduct. Here the Master Dy'd, and all that Country could not afford a Pilot, so little use those People make of God's Blessings in those Parts; for were they Industrious, as in other Countries, both Land and Sea would afford them as great plenty of Trade and Commodities, as any part in Europe.

The next Morning as Sir William was at Anchor in Broad-Haven, he espy'd a Ship bearing into that Harbour, which seeing him sprung her Luff, and came to an Anchor under the Weather-Shoar; by her working he judg'd her to be a Pirate, and tho' it blew much Wind, he put himself into his Boat, having the opportunity of a great Fog, thinking to steal upon her at unawares; but finding the Fog, like other weather at Sea, unconstant, when he came within Falcon shot of her, it clear'd up; which she perceiving, cut Cable and stood off to Sea, where he pers'd her with great danger of Drowning in his Boat.

Six days she kept the Sea in foul weather, and the Seventh arriv'd at the Island of Enescey, Seven Leagues to the Southward of Broadhaven, where she was out of fear of any Attempt to be made upon her, by reason of the Wind.

In the dark of the night, when there was least danger of discovery, the Pirate found means to have a Letter secretly convey'd to Cormatt, their Agent and trustiest Friend; but Cormatt being lately burnt, did dread the fire, and no sooner receiv'd the Letter, but he brought it to Sir William, which was to this effect.

Dear Friend,

I Was bearing into Broadhaven to give you Corn for Ballast, but that I was frighted by the King's Ship, I suppos'd to be there. I pray you send me word what Ship it is; for we stand in great fear. I pray you provide me two Kine, for we are in great want of Victuals: whensoever you shall make a Fire on Shore, I will send my Boat to you.

This Letter pleas'd Sir William, hoping to make good use of it, as he did. The first thing was to conjure Cormatt to keep Secrecy, charging him upon pain of Life to follow his Directions. He writ an Answer, which he caus'd Cormatt to Sign, as from himself: The purport of it was, 'That he rejoyc'd to hear of his Heath, 'and desir'd to see him; he bid him be 'confident this Ship could not endanger 'him, for she was not the King's, as he 'imagin'd, but one of London that came 'from the Indies with her Men sick, and 'many dead. He promis'd him two Oxen and a Calf, to observe his Directions by 'making a fire, and gave him hope to see 'him within two Nights.

A Man could not be too cautious among the People of the Country, who in their Hearts were Pyratally given; and therefore he cloath'd three or four of his Company in Irish Habits, to accompany the Messenger, commanding them to lye in ambush not far off, as well to take a view of the Bearer, as to defend him from any violence of the Pyrates, fearing they might surprize him, if they mistrusted any Deceit.

The Pyrates kept as good a Watch to observe the Fire, as the Country doth a Beacon upon suspicion of an Enemy, and espying it, were not long a rowing to Shore, and as little awhile on Shore, for it was the Letter only at that time they coveted, and having it, they hastened aboard to read it.

The Letter gave them great Content, because they found themselves free from danger of the Ship they took to be the King's; as also because they were promis'd Relief in their Extremity, by the two Oxen to be sent them.

This day they were frolick and merry, to make amends for the six before spent in foul weather at Sea. In the mean time Sir William contriv'd a Stratagem the Pyrates neither dreaded nor dream'd of: For understanding that at the end of the River where they lay, and not above seven Miles from him, there was a nook of Land two Miles in breadth that parted it from another River which open'd it self into the Sea over against Enescey, where the Pyrates lay; Sir William kept his Design secret from the Irish, who he knew would not much further his Design against Pyrates; and on a suddain took so many of those Irish, with the help of his own Company, as drew his Boat and another over Land, and having recover'd the next River, with no little astonishment to the Irish, they were to Row 30 Miles to the place design'd for the Fire to be made.

Having

Having pull'd hard to be at the place by Midnight, as soon as the Boat arriv'd they kindled a Fire; and by the time they conjectur'd the Pyrates Boat might be a-shoar, who they made account would weaken the Ship of so many Men as she should carry, they Row'd off with speed, and came within sight of, and surpriz'd her before they could be suspected, which did so much amaze the Pyrates, that they had not power to resist, but yielded like so many Wolves caught in their own snares.

Being thus circumvented and apprehended, they were brought to *Broadhaven*, where Sir William executed the chief of them, shewing Mercy to the rest, so far as he durst; for he was commanded in his Instructions to execute Justice with some vigour. Examining the Behaviour of all the Pyrates, of many he pick'd out the worst, who had tasted twice before of His Majesty's Gracious Pardon. This severe Justice gave a Terror to the People of that Country, and no less Satisfaction to the Owner of the Ship, whom they kept Prisoner aboard them, and who might see His Majesty spar'd not His own Subjects if they offended.

The Pyrates ever after became Strangers to that Harbour of *Broadhaven*, and in a little time wholly abandon'd *Ireland*, which was attributed to the execution of that Man; for before that time, they were in

those parts rather conniv'd at than punish'd.

From hence Sir William went groping along the Coast; the Country, as was said, not being able to afford him a Pilot. On the 12th. of July he came to the *Vintry*, a place that had twice reliev'd him before.

Coming from Sea in great extremity, on the 28th. to *Bear Haven*, the 1st. of August to *Plymouth*, the 8th. to the *Isle of Wight*, and the 10th. to the *Downs*; after fetching a circuit round His Majesty's three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

And here he bid farewell to the Sea, this being the last Voyage Sir William made in King James's time, and the last year but one he serv'd on the narrow Seas, which wanted not much of Twelve years; in which I will boldly and truly say, there was never Service neglected, omitted, or unperform'd, that he was commanded upon, which I look upon as strange, and not to be parallel'd by any that enjoy'd his Employment before: And if the time be consider'd, Six years of them Twelve bred many doubts and differences, how an *English* Admiral should carry himself, betwixt the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*, the Wars continuing between them; yet such was his Hap and Care, that he committed no Errour for the one or the other justly to except against him.

The Names of such Ships of the Queens, King James's and King Charles's as I served in, besides divers others not mentioned.

I N the <i>Charles</i> , whereof I had no Command	Anno 1588	In the <i>Merehonour</i>	1602
		In the <i>Merehonour</i>	1603
In the <i>Victory</i> , in which Voyage I was Vice Admiral to my Lord of <i>Cumberland</i> ,	1589	In the <i>Vanguard</i>	1604
		In the <i>Rainbow</i>	1605
In the <i>Garland</i> ,	1591	In the <i>Assurance</i>	1606
		In the <i>Rainbow</i>	1607
In the <i>Lion</i>	1593	In the <i>Vanguard</i>	1609
In the <i>Rainbow</i>	1595	In the <i>Assurance</i>	1610
In the <i>Repulse</i>	1596	In the <i>Rainbow</i>	1611
In the <i>Rainbow</i>	1597	In the <i>Adventure</i>	1612
In the <i>Defiance</i>	1599	In the <i>Assurance</i>	1613
In the <i>Garland</i>	1600	In the <i>Lion</i>	1614
In the <i>Nonperill</i>	1601	In the <i>Nonesuch</i>	1615
In the <i>Swiftsure</i> .	1602	In the <i>Fame</i>	1635
In the <i>Mary-Rose</i>	1602		

A Note of such Princes, Ambassadors and others, whom Sir William Monson Transported from the 20th. of July 1604. till the 13th. of January 1616. with the number of their Followers and their Meals, at his own Charges, Aboard His Majesty's Ships, for which he is as yet unsatisfy'd, and which did amount to the Sum of 1500 l.

Year	Month	Day		Follow- ers.	Meals
1604	August	4	The Constable of <i>Castile</i> at his coming over.	200	3
1604	August	31	The Constable at his Return.	300	3
1604	Novemb	7	The Duke of <i>Holstein</i>	40	2
1604	Decemb.	23	The Duke of <i>Lenox</i> at his going into <i>France</i>	110	4
1604	Febr.	28	Two Gentlemen of the Arch Duke's Chamber	10	3
1604	March.	13	The Duke of <i>Lenox</i> at his return out of <i>France</i>	300	4
1605	April	19	The Earl of <i>Hertford</i> going into <i>Flanders</i>	300	4
1605	May	16	The Earl at his Return from <i>Flushing</i>	300	4
1605	June	30	The Emperor's Ambassador	70	4
1605	July	25	The Emperor's Ambassador at his Return	70	4
1605	Sept.	1	The Earl of <i>Villa Mediana</i> aboard five Days in foul weather	200	10
1606	April	21	The Marquis of <i>St. Ferman's</i> coming	50	4
1606	May	3	The same Marquis at his Return	74	4
1606	Sept.	14	Count <i>Vaudemout</i> at his coming over	300	3
1606	Octob.	13	In his Return	250	3
1607	May	5	Prince <i>Fanville</i> at his coming over	40	4
1607	June	1	At his Return	40	4
1607	Nov.	27	The Landgrave of <i>Hesse</i>	30	4
1608	Octob.	1	The Ambassador in Ordinary of <i>Venice</i>	40	4
1608	Feb.	5	The Spanish Ambassador Don <i>Hernando Feron</i> at his Return	30	3
1610	March	25	The Duke of <i>Brunswick</i> coming over	38	5
1610	May	6	Sir <i>Tho. Edmonds</i> and the Duke of <i>Wirttemberg's</i> , Ambassador	50	3
1610	June	3	Don <i>Pedro de Cunaga</i> at his Return	35	5
1610	June	18	The Duke of <i>Brunswick</i> at his Return	35	5
1610	August	20	The Lord <i>Wotton</i> going over	46	1
1611	Sept.	5	The Spanish Ladies coming over	28	2
1611	Feb.	11	The Marshal <i>Laverdin</i> at his Return	200	2
1612	April	23	The Duke of <i>Bologne</i> coming over	200	2
1612	June	27	Don <i>Pedro de Cuniga</i> coming over	50	3
1612	August	24	The Spanish Ladies returning	25	2
1612	Octob.	16	Don <i>Pedro de Cuniga</i> at his Return	53	3
1613	April	25	The Earl of <i>Arundel</i> and his Lady going over with the Lady <i>Elizabeth Grace</i> , for which I receiv'd Allowance.		

A Consultation before the Lords of the Council in 1617. to which I was call'd, and a Proposition made, How the Pyrates of Argiers might be Suppress'd, and the Town attempted: My Advice to it was as follows:

1. **F**irst, because an Expedition against the Pyrates could not be the Imployment of one Fleet for the space of 6 Months only, but that it is rather like to prove a Work of Years; it is necessary that all the

Maritime Towns of Europe do contribute towards the Expence and Charge: For considering the Profit will be universal, if the Pyrates be destroy'd, there is no reason but the Charge should be as general.

Because

2. Because every Nation is not provided with swift Ships and Strength alike for such an Action, which are the Two principal Things, it is fit the Fleets that must second one another consist of *English, Spaniards, and Hollanders*, as most able to perform the Service, in respect of their Strength and swift Sailing, as aforesaid: And all other Towns and Countries bordering upon the Seas, that cannot furnish able Ships, to pay their Quota in Money.

3. This being agreed upon, it must be likewise resolv'd, That as the Charge is general, so the Gains may be equally shar'd and divided, which must arise from the Sale of such *Turks and Moors* as shall be taken for Slaves, and of such Goods as shall be recovered out of the Pyrates hands, where no Proprietor can challenge it.

4. The Ships employ'd to be rated after the Proportion of Men and Tunnage: (As for Example) So many Ships of his Majesty's as will carry 3000 Tuns Burthen, and 1200 Men; *Spain and Holland* sending Ships proportionably, will be a Force sufficient to encounter the whole number of the *Turkish* Pyrates.

5. It is not convenient to employ any Ships under 250 Tuns, nor above 300, the King's Ships excepted; because a lesser Ship losing company, will be a Prey to an Enemy; and if bigger than 300, it will fill up the quantity of Tunnage and number of Men, and be able to do little more Service than the lesser Ship; for the more number of Ships there are of 300 Tuns, they will be the abler to pursue the Pyrates, if they be forc'd to scatter; for every Ship must undertake a Pirate, and if there be more Pyrates than Ships of ours, the overplus in number to ours will escape for want of Ships to follow them.

6. The Generals to execute Martial Law, and to determine their Authority before they meet, to avoid Questions and Differences that otherwise may happen.

7. To have safe Conducts to all Christian Ports, and Authority to be supply'd with Necessaries they shall want; as also Provision for the sick and hurt Men; and such Ships or Prizes as they shall take from the Pyrates, to be left in safe Custody in the said Ports.

8. To carry Money or Commodities to Re-victual, and all manner of Provisions to trim and careen their Ships, with one Master-Carpenter to have the over-looking and ordering the State of the Shipping. It is better to carry Commo-

ditities than Money for their Occasions, because of the loss between our Money and theirs; and besides, it will be a Gain to exchange Commodities.

9. To have a Treasurer to look to the Payment of Money, and a Stock for the Disbursement of all Necessaries for the Voyage.

10. To be extraordinary well provided with Muskets and Ammunition, and especially with Chain shot for the Ordnance; because, where there are many People, as commonly in Pyrates, Chain shot will make a great Slaughter amongst them, and such Confusion withal, where there are so few Sailors to tackle their Ships, that they will be taken upon the Stays, or lie upon the Sea at our Mercy.

11. To make the Ships Musket proof, which will be done with little Charge, and no Burden to the Ships, and to have all the spare Decks and other Things of weight taken down, and only put up, which will be a great ease to the Ships sailing.

12. Forasmuch as the chiefest Care in a Sea Action consists in keeping the Designs secret, this Voyage requires special Secrecy; for there being several *Englishmen*, who have been too busie in Trading with Pyrates, and furnishing them with Powder and other Necessaries, it is to be fear'd those same *Englishmen* will endeavour to give the Pyrates Intelligence, lest they being taken, their wicked Practices should be discovered: For Prevention whereof, it is necessary that our Ships be provided under another Pretence than Pyrates, and the Captains themselves not to know of it till they are at Sea.

13. That the *French King* do prohibit his Subjects, and especially those of *Marseilles and Toulon*, to Trade with Pyrates, who now make it a common and daily Course, and from whom they will have Notice of our Preparations, if they be not prevented.

14. The Place of Rendezvous to be at the Islands of *Bayon*, the hithermost part of *Spain*, as most convenient for all Squadrons to meet without Suspicion. *England and Holland* may pretend several Enterprizes, without knowledge of one another till their meeting. The Squadron of *Spain* coming thither from *St. Lucar, Cadix, or Lisbon*, will make the Pyrates of *Argiers and Tunis* think the Preparations cannot be against them, the *Spanish* Squadron being furnished in the nearest Part of *Spain* to them, and carry'd to the furthest from them.

15. The time of the year to be in *August* or *September*; for in those Months the Pyrates usually put to Sea, because of the Vintage, and other great Trades: Commonly in those Months the Fleets from the *Indies* return into *Spain*; as also in those Months the *Spanish* Gallies retire into Harbour, so that they need not fear them.

16. Our Fleet not to appear within the Streights until they hear of the Pyrates being at Sea; for having Intelligence of it, they dare not put out.

17. One great Advantage we shall have, is, That if they are at Sea, we shall still know where they are, by Ships we shall meet that have seen them: And observing the Winds, can conjecture where we shall have them: Or if we shall hear that they are scattered, we will do the like, and have Signs to know one another.

18. Another Advantage we shall have, is, That no Harbour can entertain or defend them from their going out till they return home; for all Christian Shores are their Enemies, and they will have none but *Tunis* and *Argiers* within the Streights, and *Sally* and *Santa Cruz* without the Streights, which are wide and open Roads, and apt to be surpris'd or burnt.

19. If we happen to miss them at Sea, they cannot escape at their return, if we spread two Squadrons 10 or 12 Leagues from *Argiers*; for they can have no Intelligence of us from the Shore, because we cannot be descri'd from thence.

20. That no Mariner or Sailor be ransom'd or set at liberty after they are taken; for taking away their Sailors, they cannot set a Ship to Sea; and we know their Numbers cannot be great, because it

is not above 12 years since the *English* taught them the use of Navigation.

21. Such Renegadoes as shall be taken, or such Christians as have willingly serv'd the *Turks*, to be executed immediately, for the Terror of others; for if Christian Sailors can be kept from them, their Piracy will cease, which otherwise will prove a great Detriment to the Christian Commonwealth.

22. That such an *English* General be appointed, and the Ships with that Care fitted, that may give Reputation to the Action; for considering the Reputation we have had in Sea Affairs, it behoves us upon such an Occasion as this, because we shall join with other Nations, to carry it with Honour.

23. That such a General be appointed, as shall have more Care to perform the Service than to his own Ease, Pleasure, or Ostentation: That he keep the Sea, and avoid seeking Harbour, unless Necessity compels him, and then not to let it be to the Leeward of *Argiers*; for so Pyrates may go in and out at their Pleasure: And moreover, That he enter no Harbour but such as have good Outlets, lest the Service be neglected, and he not able to get out.

24. And lastly, as the Ships shall grow foul, and be forc'd into Harbour to trim, that he do it with this Consideration, That he keep a Squadron out at Sea whilst the others are sitting in Harbour; and upon the return of the clean Squadron to Sea, whilst the other Squadron is in trimming, to put himself into one of those Ships; for it is not the part of a General upon any Occasion to leave his Fleet, tho' for a time he may leave his Ship.

The Danger and Uncertainty in Surprizing Argiers, or taking it by Siege, or otherwise.

Whoever knows *Argiers*, cannot be ignorant of the Strength of it: The Inhabitants consist principally of desperate Rogues and Renegadoes, that live by Rapine, Theft, and Spoil, having renounced God and all Virtue, and become Reprobates to all the Christian World. This Town is, and has been, of so great Annoyance to the Christians lying over-against it, that they have been oftentimes forc'd to attempt it by Surprise, but still have fail'd of their Designs, either by Intelligence the Town has had, or by their

Carefulness to defend it; for no Man but must think that a Town which depends on its own Strength, being in continual Danger of Stratagems, and sudden Surprises from the bordering Enemies, both *Moors* and *Turks*, who have the conveniency of Gallies to transport and land an Army at Pleasure, will be extraordinary watchful and circumspect to fortify it self, and withstand all Dangers that can befall it.

And if those Christian Countries that lie open to the Places aforesaid, could never

never prevail in their sundry Attempts, being nigh them, and having conveniency to embark and transport an Army without Suspicion or Rumour, and to be succoured by the Islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca* if necessity requir'd; but especially having Intelligence with some of the Town for the delivery of it, as about 14 years since it happen'd by the Practice of a Renegado, called *Spinola*, which fail'd; what hope have we then to prevail, who cannot so secretly furnish an Army and Fleet, but that all the World must ring of it in Gazettes and other Intelligences? Or if it be once known in *Marseilles*, it cannot be conceal'd many hours from *Argiers*, there being a settled Trade and Correspondence between those two Cities.

But allowing our Designs to be kept secret till the very time we arrive upon that Coast, yet the Warning will be sufficient for a Garrison Town of less Force, and fewer Men than *Argiers*, to prevent a Surprise.

In such a case as this the Time and Wind is principally to be regarded; for a large Wind that is good to carry a Fleet into a Landing place in an open Bay, will be dangerous if it overblow upon a Lee Shore; and it will make so great a Sea, that it will be impossible for Men with their Furnitures and Arms to land without apparent Danger; and what Resistance a few Men are able to make, I refer to Consideration.

On the other side, if we ply into the Bay with a scant Wind, and it gives us a good Entrance to land, by reason of the smoothness of the Sea, yet the Defendants shall have these Advantages; they will descry us from the Shore a long time before we can draw near, and consequently time sufficient to withstand our Landing. With their Gallies they may cut off our Boats with our Men, if Ships ride not within command of the Shore; besides many other Casualties the Sea and Weather afford. Besides our Boats can land but the third part of our Men at once; by which Means we shall attempt to land but with the third part of our Army, and if we do it near the Town, they will still have warning enough; or if it be far off, the March will be inconvenient, and they warn'd by Fires.

But if we fail of Surprising *Argiers*, and attempt it by Siege, we have neither Necessaries to land our Ordnance, nor to draw it to a Place fit to raise a Battery, wanting Engines, Cattle, and other Conveniencies for that purpose. It must be

consider'd how to relieve our Siege, and defend our Besiegers against the Sallies of the Town, which have ten Men to one of ours: We must likewise forecast, if we fail of the Attempt, to bring off our Men with Safety, as a Point of great Providence in a Commander.

Whosoever shall enterprize *Argiers*, his greatest Strength by Sea must be in Gallies, which can run near the Shore, and command the Landing place with their Ordnance: Or if an Enemy draw down his Forces there to withstand him, he may soon bring about his Gallies, quit that Place, and land where he shall see no Danger; Ships cannot do so when they are at Anchor, but must have Wind and Tide for their purpose.

But all I can say is nothing to what follows; for you must understand the *Argerines* are a sort of Outlaws, or Miscreants, that live in Enmity with all the World, acknowledging the Great Turk in some measure for their Sovereign, but no farther than they please themselves. Now that part of *Barbary* where *Argiers* is seated is a spacious and fruitful Country, and abounds in numbers of People; and tho' the King of it be a Mahometan, as well as the *Argerines*, yet they live in perpetual Hatred and War; but so that if either of them is attack'd by Christians, they will presently join as Partners in Mischief: And we shall no sooner land, but be welcom'd by 60 or 80000 of those ungodly People.

Having shew'd the Impossibility of taking *Argiers*, either by Surprise or Siege; now shall follow the little use we can make of it, either to annoy the King of *Spain*, or any other Potentate; as also the small Profit we shall make of it; no, not so much as to defray the Tenth part of the Garrison, or any hope to go farther with a Conquest.

If it be conceiv'd to lie conveniently to annoy the King of *Spain*, or any other Enemy, it will prove otherwise, considering the distance from *England* to be reliev'd, and the many Casualties we shall undergo at Sea, having neither the Christian nor Turkish Shore to friend, and yet we must sail in the *Mediterranean*, where we cannot pass unseen or unmet, because of its narrowness.

The Harbour of *Argiers*, which must entertain us, is of so small a Compass, that it will not receive above 20 Ships, which number, and no more, we must allow both to annoy and defend our selves from all Enemies, either Christians or Turks.

The

The Place affords neither Victuals, Powder, Masts, Sails, Ropes, or other Necessaries that belong to Ships; and if there be but a want of the least of them, *England* alone must supply them. Then consider the Charge and Danger that is like to follow to this little purpose; for the Expence is certain, and less than 5000 Men cannot be allow'd for Garrison, and the 20 Sail of Ships aforesaid: The Profit and Advantage that can be made of it must be by Theft and Rapine at Sea, which the *Turks* cannot afford us, they having little or no Trade in Shipping. The Princes of *Italy* are in the same Condition; and therefore our only hope must depend on the Spoils of *Spain*, which we cannot expect in the *Streights*, they having no Trade of Importance upon those Coasts; and what we shall take without the *Streights*, we shall sooner do it from *England* than *Argiers*, and Prizes so taken will be sooner and safer brought for *England* than carried to *Argiers*, where they must pass so many Dangers, as I have said before.

When this following Action against the *Turkish* Pyrates was in Agitation, it was solicited by the late Lord Admiral of *England*, the Earl of *Nuttingham*, who not long after resign'd his Office to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who being young, and infected with the Disease of Youth, to

hearken to base Flattery, gave ear to those that thought to make use of his Favour with the King, and advis'd him to promote this Voyage, promising it should redound to his everlasting Honour at the first Entrance into his Place; but the Event of it shall appear to be caus'd by the ill Management of it; for no doubt but the Intention was to be commended, and the Management was to be blam'd.

Besides this, there were two other ill Undertakings, and as ill manag'd, which fell out in the following years, 1625. and 1628. whereof I design to give an Account one after another: The one was to *Cadiz*, the other to the Isle of *Ré*; wherein our Rashness appear'd greater than our Discretion, in bidding Defiance to the too mighty and potent Princes of *Europe*, *Spain* and *France*, both at one time, without Help or Assistance from abroad, and under the uncertainty of Money, the then Parliament opposing his Majesty's Demands.

To the *Spaniards* we only show'd our Teeth, with a desire to bite; *France* provided for us, and pluck'd out our Teeth before we could bite, as is to be seen by the unfortunate and unadvis'd Expedition to the Isle of *Ré*, which left such a Mark of Dishonour upon our Nation, as former times could never be tax'd with.

The ill Manag'd Enterprize upon Argiers in the Reign of King James, and the Errors committed in it.

Being to treat of the Two unfortunate Undertakings in the Reign of King *Charles*, occasioned by ill Advice and Council, I must observe our Dishonour at Sea began the way to future Misfortunes, in the Enterprize against the Pyrates of *Argiers* in the Reign of King *James*; tho' I must say it was really undertaken by his Majesty with a Noble, Gracious, and Religious Intention; but through ill Management it prov'd no better than those that ensu'd.

His Majesty considering the daily Complaints, not only of his own Subjects, but of all other Christian People in *Europe*; many Thousands of whom groan'd under barbarous Slavery, and were most cruelly treated by the *Turkish* Pyrates, ranging abroad without any Opposition, was mov'd to compassionate their Calamities, and out of a true Christian Tenderneſs resolv'd to endeavour to redress this Publick Grie-

vance, as appear'd by the chargeable Fleet he set out to suppress the Insolencies of those Miscreants, who were the Ruine and Bane of the Christian Commonwealth by Sea.

This Fleet, by Contract. was to receive some Assistance from the King of *Spain*, when it once appear'd on his Coast: But such was the Misgovernment of those Ships, and the Negligence and Vain-glorious Humours of some to Feast and Banquet in Harbour, when their Duty was to clear and scour the Seas, (for indeed they carry'd themselves more like amorous Courtiers than resolute Soldiers) that they lost the Opportunity which offer'd it self of destroying those hellish Pyrates, as may be collected out of a Pamphlet publish'd at their return; to which I refer you; but with this Observation, That besides their going and coming, they spent not 20 days at Sea whilst

whilst they continued in the *Streights*, but retir'd into Harbour, where the Pyrates might find them, but not they the Pyrates.

This ill carried Action was a sufficient Subject of Scorn for all Nations to laugh at, considering the Reputation this Realm had gain'd in their former Expeditions by Sea. And yet the chief Actors in that Voyage, like Men naturally given to excuse their Errors, gave out to Justifie themselves, and it was afterwards believ'd by all Men, That the want of Authority, and their limited Commission, was the cause of their ill Success.

This Report was so universally credit-ed, that I have often wondered with my self, that the State did not except against it for their own Honours and Reputation, if it had not been really so; for commonly, in such Cases, if a State do err in their Directions, they will cast it upon those that had the Execution, rather than that the Imputation should light upon them; and, indeed, this was the reason that carried me into the general Error of believing as others did, until I reflected upon the following Reasons.

The First was, That a Fleet of his Majesty's could not depart *England* without a Commission under the Great Seal. Secondly, I know that all Generals of Fleets have special Directions and Instructions to guide them: I know the Managing of such great Affairs by Land or Sea is committed to one Man alone. Thirdly, I consider'd that there were but Two Ends of this Employment, (*viz.*) either Peace, or War: If Peace, I marvel that so great a Fleet should make an Overture of Peace, when a Pinnace and a Letter from the King was as authentick as the greatest Person, or the greatest Fleet his Majesty could send to Treat. Fourthly, I saw, that notwithstanding this friendly Overture of Peace, Ships us'd Hostility, took and destroy'd some Prizes, made an Attempt to destroy their Ships with Fire in Harbour, which fail'd; And whilst our Fleet remain'd upon that Coast, they carry'd themselves as Enemies.

And seeing, as I have said before, that either Peace or War must be the ground of their Employment, that they attempted both, and prevail'd in neither, I know not how they can lay the blame on their want of Commission; but rather on their unprovident, negligent, and unconstant

Behaviour; But too true it is, that since that time, our poor *English*, and especially the People of the West Country, who Trade that way daily, fall into the hands of those Pyrates: It is too lamentable to hear the Complaints, and too intollerable to suffer the Misery that has befallen them; and all occasion'd, as they suppose, by the miscarriage of this unlucky Voyage of 1620.

This making up Three unfortunate Voyages, as you shall soon hear; as many more were perform'd with no better Success, Two of them under the Command of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the Third under the Lord of *Denbigh*. These Three had no Advantage of one another, for there was nothing done worth remembering; and therefore I can say no more, than to join with others, who desire, that the Subject may have Satisfaction what the Defects, Ignorance, and Errors of this Voyage were, that upon Examination all may appear, and every Man receive his Reward as he justly deserves.

His Majesty and State could not have been more honour'd, nor all in general better pleas'd; for People are persuaded that the Realm never enjoy'd braver and more Warlike Ships than now, Commanders of greater Antiquity and Valour, Seamen of greater Experience and Skill, more Abundance and Choice of Ammunition and Arms, greater Quantity of Victuals, and all things else to furnish such an Action; as I shall have occasion to make out hereafter.

Then would have appear'd the Weakness of a great Person in Authority, when being spoken to by one of greater Blood than himself, who friendly told him, he did not see a Man of Experience employ'd in the Fleet to *Cadiz*, which made him doubt of the good Success thereof: He answer'd not like one that thinks Example of more weight than Concept, but rudely, rashly, and disrespectfully, That they were all Fools who commanded in the Queen's time in comparison of those now employ'd. But it might have been more truly told him, That Men in Authority who govern more by Will and Chance than by Reason and Advice, are dangerous in a State; for nothing is so great a Weakness, as for a Man to think he knows much, when in effect he knows nothing at all.

A Resolution of War with Spain, and what follow'd upon the Second Expedition to Cadiz in 1625. and in the Reign of King Charles the First.

King James dying on the 25th of March 1625. left his Kingdom doubtful whether Peace or War should be embraced; having just occasion of unkindness offer'd, which was likely to turn to Hostility. For the Noble Prince his Son, now our blessed King, was disgusted at the delatory Courses Spain us'd to defer the Marriage then in Treaty with his Sister; and his Highness's Journey into Spain gave him not the Satisfaction he expected; wherefore being sensible of the Injury done him, he could do no less in

return to it, but let Spain see its Errour in the ill Usage given him, and accordingly in the year 1625. sent a Fleet to Sea to revenge himself upon them. But the Winter Season approaching (an ill time taken for such an Enterprize, besides some other Miscarriages which may be imputed to the want of Experience in the Commanders, as is to be seen in the Answer to a Book publish'd by the General at his return) it had no better Success than the Author hereof foretold before their going from hence.

The Author's Opinion of that Expedition, which he writ to a Noble Friend of his before the Fleet Sail'd; As also what he conceiv'd of the first News brought of the taking of the Fort of Cadiz, with hopes to possess the Town and keep it.

Noble SIR,

I Have address'd to you my Opinion of this Secret and Conceal'd Fleet, whose Design and unknown Orders, give cause of Admiration, and consequently of Censure; every Man Judging as his Fancy leads him, but all concluding of Victory to us, and Ruine to Spain, whether it is conceiv'd to be intended by the Rendezvous of Ships and Men in the Western Parts; some threatening Portugal, some the Islands, others the Bay of Cadiz, and City of Seville, others the State of Genoa, and Islands adjacent, some the West-Indies, and the Fleet from thence expected.

I will begin with Portugal, as the Countrey nearest us, and upon which most Mens Opinions are settled; having Experience of the Force of that Kingdom by an Attempt formerly made in the year 1589.

You must conceive that Portugal fronts upon the Heart of Spain, and that Spain hath sundry Entrances into it, as namely by the South and West Sea upon the East-Castile, upon the North Galicia, and towards the South Andalusia. Portugal is far inferior to those Countreys in Strength, and a Means not only to keep the People in Obedience, but to give present Aid and Assistance against Forreign Invasions.

I confess if our Actions in 89. had been well carry'd, we had spoil'd and ruin'd the City of Lisbon, where they had been surpriz'd before we had been suspected. But we could expect no other Advantage besides taking and destroying the City; for though the Merchandize in it was of an inestimable value, yet neither could we transport them to our Ships, nor our Ships repair to receive them, the Passage being stopp'd by the Castle of St. Julian and Belem.

Our Hope was as little to settle Don Antony for King, the Portugueses being a Multitude of poor Spirited People without Arms, or Hearts, that further than in their Tongues and Wishes, would not afford a Finger to Fight.

And besides the barrenness of the Countrey is such, that it affords not Corn enough, nor other Provisions, were it not for the help of the Sea. And I dare boldly aver, the Kingdom had better fail of their Trade to the East-Indies, than of their Fishing for Pilchers upon their Coast: And let this be the first Consideration how an Army can subsist in that Countrey, and the rather by the Proof we had of it in 89.

Moreover, by possessing Lisbon and the Northern Part of Portugal, we were nothing nearer enjoying the South Part, which

which yields greatest plenty of Food, Cities, and Nobility; for from *Lisbon* we were to begin as it were a new Conquest, and to pass Three Leagues to the *Alenjo*

side over-against *Lisbon*, where the *Spanish* Gallies which were then there would have been our destruction in Landing.

The State of Portugal in the Year 1625. compar'd with the Year 1589.

IN our Enterprize of 89. we had no cause to complain of Fortune, for she gave us a happy entrance into the Kingdom by the Surprize of *Peniche* Castle, that afforded us a Landing; and after a Peaceable March to *Lisbon*, where we found the City unarm'd and unprovided, the Castle excepted; but yet our Success prov'd miserable and unhappy.

We can scarce hope for the like Fortune now, their Forts being better Arm'd, and their Forces better ordered by the late warning they have had.

I perceive, the River of *Tagus* excepted, there are but Two Places which advantage us in Landing, which if we fail of, our Enterprizes are frustrated: The one is *Peniche*, the other *Cascais*. The Ports to the Northward of *Peniche* are in the bottom of the Bay of *Portugal*, a Place all Ships will shun and avoid, and too far distant from *Lisbon* to March. Those to the Southward of *Cascais* are on the other side of *Lisbon* and the River *Tagus*, which I have shew'd the impossibility to pass over; and had not the Duke of *Alva* provided to pass his Army in Gallies upon his taking of *Portugal*, he might at that time have possessed the South Parts of *Portugal*, and have left the North Part to the *Portugueses* themselves.

Peniche has a small Harbour only capable of Barques and Fishermen; the other Two are open Roads, and not secure from a Southerly or Westerly Wind. Our Landing must be in one of these Two open Bays, where Ships lie subject to Southerly Winds, which will hazard the destruction of them if they come with violence.

The Nature of the Shore is disadvantageous to the Invader in Landing, and advantageous to the Enemy in Relisting.

Our Means to Land must be in our own Boats, that cannot contain the number of our Soldiers at Thrice Ferrying, and thereby we shall not bring the Third Part of our Men to fight at the time of our greatest need.

A Fleet coming to an Anchor that distance from the Shore, that Ships cannot

command their Landing with their Ordinance, the Gallies will cut off our Boats, and utterly defeat us, as they had done at *St. Sebastians Point*, in our Journey to *Cadiz*, if we had attempted it as it was directed.

We neither having Castle nor Harbour, our Field Pieces cannot be landed, which must be the Strength to force the Castle; the want whereof was our loss of *Lisbon* in 1589. All these Reasons have I given in the Instance of our Landing at *Argiers*.

My Second Observation is the State of *Portugal* since the year 1589. when we attempted it. The *Portuguese* Nation in their Nature are better reconcil'd to the *Spaniard* than they have been, and not without Reason grounded upon Necessity; for they have no hope ever to recover their Loss in the *East-Indies* or *Brazile*, or to enjoy what they possess, but by the help and force of *Spain*.

Secondly, The Nobility, Gentry, and others in *Portugal*, that were most discontented with the Managing of things in those days, are consum'd and dead; and their Descendents, who never knew other times, have fram'd themselves up to it, and obtain favour of the King in their Employments; nor does the King himself make any difference betwixt them and his other Subjects.

Thirdly, The *Portuguese* are more exasperated against the *English* than they have been, by the Spoils done them at Sea, and the ill Usage of them in the *East-Indies*.

Fourthly, Many *Portuguese* in those days were transported by their Love to *Don Antony*; others believ'd in his Title, but the most dislike'd to be under the *Spanish* Government. Since which *Don Antony* is dead, his Issue gives little hope for them to rely on; but especially the Children of the now pretended Prince; and the Father himself since this was written, is repair'd to the Arch-Duke, which takes away all Comfort from the discontented *Portugueses*.

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Fifthly,

Fifthly, It is worth Observation, that in our Voyage to *Portugal* in 1589. our Army consisted of 14000 brave Soldiers, 4000 choice Seamen, our design being to settle that King, who had been formerly Crown'd in that Kingdom; and yet such was the Condition of the People of that Country, that there was neither Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, Baron, Knight,

or Gentleman, repared to him, or shew'd himself of his Party, except only a mean Knight in calling, named *Duarte Pais*, with whom I was after fellow Prisoner in *Lisbon*, his Commitment being for that offence, (*viz*) for flying to *Don Antonio*; he would often complain to me of his Folly, and commend the King's Mercy.

The Islands.

FROM *Portugal* I will shape my Course for the Islands, as well the *Canaries* as *Terceras*, tho' I will say little of the *Canaries*, it being an Action fitter for Ten Ships and a Thousand Soldiers to attempt, than so glorious an Army as is now intended. I may say less for the Island of *Azores*, the impregnable Isle of *Tercera* excepted, which giveth Reputation to the rest.

All these Islands, as well the one as the other, cannot boast of one Harbour to entertain Ships, but open Bays, subject to all Dangers, and outerly Winds, which many Vessels of great value have felt, that have there perish'd.

The Island of *Tercera* by Nature and Situation exceeds all other Islands in the *Streights*, being encompass'd about with mighty high Cliffs, a few Bays excepted, which are fortify'd by Art to prevent an Enemy's Landing.

As well that Island as the rest, are shore deep, and no possibility of Anchoring, but close on board the Land; the Ground Rocky, that if it fret the Cable, the waves of the Sea will force a Ship on Shore; or being near the Land and a Gale of Wind coming off from Sea, that a Ship cannot claw it off, but must of necessity be wreck'd; both which my Lord of *Cumberland* had proof of in the *Victory*, a Ship Royal of the *Queens*, which being at an Anchor at *Flores*, and the Weather calm, his Cable was cut with the Rocks; and had it not been for the help of his Boat and mine that tow'd him off, he had been forc'd to Shore.

After that, being at an Anchor at *Fayall*, which Island he took, one day many of the Principal Men on Shore being at Dinner with him, suddenly the Wind chop'd-up Southerly, which forc'd him from his Anchor, and with great and apparent Peril he doubled the Point of the Land, or else he had perish'd.

No Man that knows those Seas will advance an Enterprize upon the Islands now towards Winter; for in *August* begin their Storms, and commonly last nine Months

with great violence: For which cause they are held the most unconstant Seas in the World; and I say nothing that I will not aver by Proof and Precedent.

Don Pedro de Valdes, who was taken Prisoner in the Action of 88. for *England*, was commanded with certain Ships and 600 Soldiers, to repair to the Islands, before *Tercera* had yielded to the King of *Spain*, there to guard and defend all the Ships coming from either of the *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*; his Commission gave him no absolute Authority to Land, but yet finding an Opportunity to put his Soldiers ashore, with a Determination to fortify a Landing Place which seem'd to lie open for his Advantage, immediately thereupon the Wind shifted, and forced him to Sea, leaving his Men to the mercy of the Islanders: As the Wind rose, the Surges did the like on Shore, that his Boats durst not put in with the Land, nor he approach so nigh it with his Ships, as to give Succour to his Men with his Ordnance, by means whereof they were pitifully massacred, not one of them returning.

In my Lord of *Essex* his Voyage to those Islands, he Landed and took *Villa Franca*, a Town in the Island of *St. Michael*, which afforded him not so much as his trouble was to Land. But when he came to Embark his Men again, the Wind began to blow, which if it had done but three hours sooner, it would have forc'd his Ships to Sea, and left his Troops ashore, both he and they being slenderly provided of Victuals, and uncertain of the Ships return, the Weather being so Unconstant and Outrageous at that time of the Year. My self was witness of this, as well as of that of my Lord of *Cumberland's*, in 1589.

The Marquis of *Sancta Cruz* had fail'd of taking *Tercera*, if he had not had more help by his Gallies in landing his Men, than by his Ships and Boats: But to speak the truth, *June* and *July* prov'd extraordinary fair, to his great advantage.

The twelve Gallies he carried from *Spain* were the first Vessels of that kind ever seen so far in the Ocean; the Prows of those Gallies dismounted a piece of Ordnance on Shore, that secur'd their Landing, and were ready upon that Accident with celerity to land their Men, which was the first step to their Victory that follow'd.

The Town of *Angra*, which is the Head and Principal of all the rest, by help

of the Point of *Brazil*, is made the most impregnable Situation in the World; then what hope have we, if we were ashore, to surprize it, or by Siege to take it, the Seas being as I have said before so unconstant, our Ships keeping so far off that should yield a Supply? Especially the *Spaniards* having the Rode of *Angra*, they may always relieve the Town in despite of us, or any Force we can make by Sea.

The Coast of Spain.

Leaving the Islands, I will repair once more to the main Land of *Spain*, and arrive at the Bay of *Cadiz*, a Place fatal to the *Spaniards* and fortunate to us, by two Attempts made upon it, the one in 87 by Sir *Francis Drake*, the other in 96. by the two Lords Generals, the Earl of *Essex* and the Lord Admiral.

These two Expeditions alone, did twenty times more prejudice, and impoverish'd the *Spaniards* more than all other Attempts of ours in our Wars. *Drake* had the Spoil Sacking and Burning of Thirteen thousand Tun of Shipping, most of them laden with Provision for an intended Fleet against *England*, which being this Year by Sir *Francis Drake's* good Fortune diverted, was the following year 88. attempted.

In the second, the Lords had the destroying of 55 great Ships; the Galeons of War excepted, all the rest were richly laden, and ready in two days to sail to the *Indies*.

I love not to tax Dead Men, tho' in truth I must say there was great Negligence, that those Ships were not as well possess'd and enjoy'd by us, as destroy'd by the Enemy.

But I must tell this pretended Fleet of ours, that tho' no Place gives us better advantage to annoy the King of *Spain*, than the Bay of *Cadiz*, because of the breadth thereof, which cannot be fortify'd to impeach our Entrance, yet shall we now vainly undertake an Attempt upon it, the Ships of the *Indies* being long before they can arrive, departed, for commonly they let not *Midsummer-Day* pass before they set sail.

I must a little digress, and shew how much our two great Lord's were abus'd in their Attempt upon *Cadiz* in 1596.

They were made believe the Taking of it was feazable, the Honour great, the Wealth inestimable, and the Damage of

the Enemy beyond all the rest; never dreaming of that which gave Glory to the Enterprize, which was the Shipping we there found; for had it not been for our destroying the Fleet, tho' otherwise no profit to us, the Lords had return'd with the bare Taking of *Cadiz*, which had given them no Reputation, but rather have brought their Judgment into question, for so mean a Design.

As for the Feazableness of Taking it, if we had Landed at *St. Sebastians*, where our Projectors of the Voyage directed, not a Man had return'd; for besides the strong Fortifications made against us, four Gallies were appointed to have cut off our Boats and Men, as we should have Landed, our Ships lying without command of them or their Shore.

The Wealth found in *Cadiz* was so small, considering it was carry'd away the day before in the Gallies, (the two Galeons we brought from thence excepted) the Queen saw not one Penny towards her Charge: Nay, I dare be bold to aver, the meanest of twenty Ships there burnt was of more value than the whole Town, and by us neglected, as I have said before: For upon my Reputation, I avow, that I advis'd my Lord of *Essex*, the same morning he arriv'd at *Cadiz*, to seek rather to possess himself of the Ships than Town; alledging that it was the Ships afforded both Wealth and Honour, for that Riches in Ships could not be conceal'd, as in Towns it might: And that Ships being brought for *England*, they were always in the Eyes of the People to behold them, and put them in remembrance of the Exploit in gaining them; as perhaps the Town soon won, would not be long enjoy'd, and quickly forgotten. All this I have declar'd where I treated of the Voyage to *Cadiz* 96. in the former Book.

Andalusia and Sevil.

IF an Invasion upon the Continent of *Spain* be intended, and especially upon *Andalusia* and *Sevil*, as the Country of all *Spain* that flows with Milk and Honey, in respect of the Soil and Trade, there ought to be Consideration of the Place of Landing; the distance and wearisomness of the March in an unsufferable parching Sun, which our unexperienc'd Soldiers can never endure: Besides, the provisions of Victuals, of Carriages, and all other Necessaries, must be thought of, which we are wholly unprovided of.

I will not much insist upon the Attempt, because I think it is much less reasonable than any of the rest, first, in seeking to Invade a Country where we have neither Friend nor Faction, but shall find their Hands and Hearts all join to repulse us; a Country populous, and the more for their mighty and continual Trade, fronting

upon their Enemies in *Barbary*, which makes them ready to receive every Alarm, and put themselves under Arms. If we believe History, and not above 100 years before *Spain* was grown Great by their *Indies*, the *Moors* of *Granada* had often more Men by five degrees to invade *Andalusia*, out of their bordering Territories, than we carry, and could not prevail; then what hope can we expect, *Spain* being since that time so mightily increased in Greatness and Wealth.

It seems we make less account of the Strength of *Spain*, than of any other Country of *Europe*; for I am persuaded no Kingdom having warning of the approach of an Enemy, is so unprovided, that they will suffer 12 or 14000 Men to March quietly 40 or 50 Leagues into their Country.

The Streights.

FROM hence I will sail into the *Streights* towards the Port of *Genoua*, which it is suppos'd the *French*, we, and the rest of the League, will possess our selves of, and give a further Entrance into *Italy*.

If this be intended, as indeed it is not probable, the Invader ought to have two principal Considerations, without which a Fleet and Army goes in perpetual Peril: The one is to be defended by a safe Port to entertain their Ships; the other, that it be not far from home, but with care to be continually supply'd and reliev'd; for where Soldiers are transported far by Sea, Ships cannot contain Victuals to maintain them; and to hope for Succour in the Country invaded, were too desperate a Thought.

The Service I conceive the Ships could perform, our Soldiers being Landed, is to Beleaguer *Genoua* by Sea, riding with our Ships in the face of the Town. This, as all things else, I refer to Consideration, my drift being no more than to relate the true State of things, for Men of better Capacity than my own to judge of.

Whereas I advis'd, as a main thing of Providence, not to attempt the Invasion of a Country, without gaining a Port for the safety of Shipping; therefore I must say our Design upon *Genoua* is not without great Hazard and Danger, being hopeful of a Harbour nearer than *Marseilles* in *France*, 100 Leagues distant from thence.

In Anchoring before *Genoua* to Beleaguer it, we shall lie open to the Sea and a Southerly Wind, which makes the Hazard no less than the two Attempts upon *Argiers*, opposite to it, the one by *Hugo de Moncada*, the other by *Charles V.* both which were overthrown by Storms at Sea; and there is no difference betwixt the two Actions, but that the Southerly Winds are death upon the Christian Shore, as the Northerly upon the Coast of *Barbary*. And the greatest conflict our Fleet is to endure, is against the Rage of the Sea.

I do not conceive we shall either hurt or damnify the City of *Genoua* by this Adventure of ours; for in Anchoring near the Shore, the Lanthorn of *Genoua* will beat us from the Road; if further off, we cannot hinder the Galleys going in and out, but they will be able to Relieve the Town in spite of us; besides, other Stratagems may be us'd by Galleys to fire us: I confess, if *Corfica* or *Sardinia* could be surpriz'd, they would yield us Relief and Refreshment, with good Harbours for our Safety.

We have found by our unlucky and unadvis'd Voyage to *Argiers*, how unable our Bodies are to endure that Coast, by the Sickness we found, tho we had the help of the main Land of *Spain* and the bordering Islands, to give us Relief, which now we shall fail of: The excessive Heat ashore; the change of the Air, and the
alteration

alteration of Food, will cause a most lamentable Mortality and Sicknefs.

And if the King of *Spain* in the mean time, upon the return of his Fleet from *Brazil*, shall arm to Sea, and take Advantage of our weakness and want, and in such narrow Seas as the *Streights*, which

are like a Pond, where Fleets meeting cannot be avoided: Or if with that Navy or any other, the *Spaniard* shall send to attempt *Ireland* in the absence of our Ships, I hold it Dangerous, and worthy to be had in Consideration.

The West-Indies.

I Will not leave my Voyage till I have visited the *West-Indies*, that I may relate my Opinion of those Parts, as well as of the rest that went before: Many are ignorantly carry'd away with the Name of *India*, and the Spoil we shall there commit, thinking it will afford Wealth and Riches to the King and Kingdom to maintain a War, and Preferment and Gain to the Undertakers; not valuing nor fearing the King of *Spain's* Force in those Parts to resist us.

But for the better satisfaction of the Ignorant, who are thus vainly carry'd away with the Concept of our Actions, I will shew the true State of the *Indies*, and the *Spaniards* inhabiting, thereby comparing times past, when we had Wars, with the time present when we covet Wars.

I confess, that in the year 1585. when the War began, and Sir *Francis Drake* possess'd himself of *Santo Domingo*, *Cartagena*, and *Saint Iago*, her Majesty had a notable Opportunity, by keeping those Places to annoy the *Spaniards*, and encroach upon their *Indian Territories*.

First, In respect Her Majesty in those days was rich, and her Subjects no less able than willing to contribute to what she propos'd, they were so much devoted to her in their Hearts.

Secondly, In point of Reputation as well as Profit, it behov'd them to maintain those Places after they were taken, as a Motive to encourage them to go on with a Victory thus begun.

Thirdly, Her Majesty in those days might have drawn such Conditions as she pleas'd from the States of *Holland*, who were then at her Mercy, for presently ensu'd the Earl of *Leicester's* going over to protect them; so that she might have bound them to her with their own Enterprizes upon the *Spaniards*, whereas from that time till the Year 1602, when the Queen died, we see, that notwithstanding we were drawn into the War by them, yet they Traded peaceably into the King of *Spain's* Dominions, and never offer'd to annoy the *Spaniards*, by any Acts of Hostility at Sea, but supply'd them with Ships and Intelligence against us.

Fourthly, If we had kept footing in the *Indies*, it would have shaken the Fidelity of the *Portuguese* in the *East-Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*, which Countries were lately become Obedient and Subject to *Spain*; but withal, so discontented in each Place, that it had been an easie thing to have made a Combustion in these several Countries, whilst the *Spaniards* had been taken up in the *Indies* and *Holland*.

Fifthly, The King of *Spain* in those days was altogether unurnish'd with Ships and Mariners; for till we awak'd him, by the daily Spoils we committed upon his Subjects and Coasts, he never sought to increase his Forces by Sea.

Sixthly, He thought himself so secure in his *Indies*, no Enemy having ever appear'd in those Seas before, and thought them so far from any hostile Enterprize, that he little fear'd what could be there offer'd.

But leaving our Opportunities and Advantages as Negligences or Ignorances of times past, let us enter into the State and condition of our Attempts, as they are now to be undertaken and follow'd.

Whosoever makes an enterprize on a Town in *America*, with an Intention not to keep it, will do no more than a malicious Person that seeks the destruction of his Neighbour, in setting his House a fire, without any other prospect in so doing, but Mischief and Revenge.

I confess we shall damnify the Inhabitants of the Town so sack'd and spoil'd, as the owner of a House burnt will be damnify'd; but it is no more loss or prejudice to the King of *Spain*, or to the bordering Countries, than to the Neighbour of the Man that shall have his House burnt, for every one bears his own particular Loss; And whereas the Master of the House and People in it, are often so suddenly surpriz'd, that they have not time or leisure to save any part of their Goods, after the fire is kindled, it is otherwise in a Town that is to be surpriz'd by Sea; for the Inhabitants will destroy Ships, before they approach the Shore, and either provide to withstand them that Land, or to leave and quit the

Town,

Town, and bury or carry away their Wealth; for notwithstanding the several Towns taken by us in time of War, as well in the *Indies* as other places, I dare be bold to say the Wealth found in them did not countervail the 20th part of the Charge of the Voyage, as I have shew'd in the First Book.

The State of the Towns in the *West-Indies* near the Sea, is as follows. If they be of strength they Arm and Fortify themselves so, that they do not fear a sudden Assault of an Enemy; and for a long Siegè they well know, the Invaders cannot be provided, because it is so far from home, where Victuals and all things else will quickly waste and be consum'd.

Or suppose, upon their first Landing, they possess themselves of some Cattel, which is all the Victuals they can expect in those parts; you must understand that no Flesh in the *Indies* will take Salt, or continue Man's Meat above 3 or 4 Hours, so that our present Relief will be little; and in the mean time we shall spend our Store on board, and become miserable for want of Sustenance.

Such Towns as are weakly provided for Defence in those parts, they never trust with Wealth of value, but are ready to quit them, and carry or bury their Goods; so that if the Town be taken, their loss will only be of a few slight Houses which are soon re-edfy'd again.

If we think to inhabit and dwell in such Towns as shall be surpriz'd, we ought to consider the following Mischiefs and Inconveniences.

1. The First is the distance from *England*, and to compute the time they may be supply'd and succour'd from thence.

2. The casualty of the Sea, and the danger of sickness which Northern Bodies are subject to in hot Countries.

3. The number of *Spaniards* in those places, their Strength, and in what time they may be drawn together.

4. The keeping us from Victuals, and driving their Cattel up the Country, where it will be in vain for us to pursue them.

5. The building of Sconces, and keeping us in Towns like Prisoners, that we shall not be able to make any Sallies upon them, or to pass into the Country to annoy them.

6. The small distance from *Spain* to give them Succours, and the certainty of the Winds from thence to the *Indies*, which many times makes the Journey shorter and easier than from *Dover* to *Plymouth*.

The Country, the Streights, and the By-ways, all known to the *Spaniards*, and not to us, will much advantage them.

8. But perhaps all Men will not be satisfied with Truth or Reason; for some are of such a nature as to rely more upon Opinion and Fortune, than upon Proof. But for the better satisfaction of such, I will collect and repeat the Success of our Enterprizes upon Towns, in time of War, as well in the *Indies* as other places, and make them Judges of their future hopes, by looking back upon times past.

And I will begin with *Santo Domingo*, *Cartagena* and *St. Augustine*, surpriz'd by Sir *Francis Drake* before they could be Warn'd or Arm'd, and yet (the Ordnance excepted) the Wealth of them did not countervail the 40th part of the Charge of the Fleet.

Puerto Rico, taken by my Lord of *Cumberland*, prov'd so poor, that the Adventurers had good cause to repent their Designs upon Towns, for it afforded them little in comparison of their Expence.

There was a Town surpriz'd in the Island *Trynidad*, by Sir *John Burrowes*; and another in the *Margarita* by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. *Comenagota* was taken by Capt. *Preston*; and *Vera Cruz* by Capt. *Parker* all which did not afford so much Wealth, as would reimburse the Adventurer.

Portobello and *Nombrè de Dios* were taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, that Voyage when he dyed. Instead of Riches, they afforded him a most miserable and infectious Sickness; but for Wealth they yielded none: The same Town of *Portobello* was after taken by Capt. *Parker*, with as little profit to him as the other; the same Captain also took *Campeche* in *New Spain*, which afforded him no more Wealth than the rest.

There were divers Towns taken at *Cabo Verde* in several Voyages, and in the *West Indies*, *Rio de la Hacha*, *Capeia*, *Santa Marta*, *Puerto Santo*, *St. John Bellona*, *Tapecco*, *Vera*, and several Houses and Farms burnt or ransom'd.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in his unfortunate Attempt upon *St. Tome* and *Guiana*, which was his own Ruine and his Son's Death, and yielded only stinking Tobacco, a Commodity that could not be convey'd away, because of the Bulk; and his Voyage prov'd much less than Smoke.

And if we Sail further, and through the streights of *Magellan*, and pass into *Peru*, thinking there to find Silver and Gold, as the Well head from whence it springs; Let us ask Mr. *Candich*, if he were now living, what Wealth *Marmaramo*, *Arcea*, *Santa Maria*, *Pisca*, *Perruca*, *Che-rcpa*, *Paita*, the Island of *Pona*, *Acaralca*, the Port of *Navidad*, the Port of *St. Jago*, and the Island of *St. Andrea*,
and

and other places yielded him, which he burnt, because they would not be Ransom'd, tho' he requir'd not much more than Victuals for their Redemption; which proves my former Discourse, that the Spaniards little esteem'd their Houses, and may easily convey away their Wealth, upon the approach of an Enemy.

And if we come nearer home, I pray you what did the Sack of *Cadiz* afford the Queen; or the *Canary Islands*, or *St. Tome* the *Hollanders*; or the Island of *Fayal* my Lord of *Cumberland*; and after the Earl of *Essex*, for it was twice taken; or *Villa Franca*, or *Faro* by him taken, or two or three Forts taken upon *Cape St. Vincent*; or *Cape Sacre* by *Drake*; or *Peniche*, and other Towns in Sir *John Norris* his March to *Lisbon*, and the Suburbs thereof. And in the same Voyage *Drake* with his few Forces took *Cascais*. I omit *Lisbon*, and many other places seiz'd upon by private Ships; and we may conclude that our Actions prov'd the ruine of some, with-

out any great advantage to our selves. And this shall suffice for our Attempts upon Towns in the Queens time.

But indeed, if ever *England* will annoy the States of *Spain*, and make them feel the smart of a War with us, it must be by obstructing their Trade by Sea; for all other Spoils are nothing in comparison of it, as I have before shew'd: For Wealth in Ships can neither be conceal'd nor imbezeld, as we have had proof by three several Carracks by us taken, the Wealth of each of which, was equal to the value of all the Towns, putting them together; and how to effect it, you will find in my First Book, to which I refer you.

Thus much I writ to an honourable Friend of mine, as I formerly said, before the setting out of the unhappy Fleet to *Cadiz*, in 1625. which Friend of mine is ready to justify and produce, if need require, the Copy of this I have here inserted word by word.

Upon the news of the arrival of our Ships at Cadiz, with the taking a Fort, and afterwards the Town, intending to keep it, I added this as follows.

THE Fort I conceive to be *Puntal*, the Place where we Landed when we formerly took *Cadiz*, above 3 Miles distant from it by Land.

I should be glad to hear they had taken the Bridge of *Swazo*, which passes between the main Land and the Island where *Cadiz* stands; for by that Bridge Succour must come to relieve the Island and Town, or obstruct any such Relief, if an Enemy get Possession of it; and therefore we having no News of the Surprize of that Bridge, I doubt the Truth of the Taking the Town.

We know *Cadiz* is strongly fortify'd since we enjoy'd it, and the rather out of a Fear they conceive of the *Turkish* Pyrates, who since they have learnt the Art of Navigation, which before they were Ignorant in, have of late made many Attempts upon the Continent of *Spain*, to the great hurt and Spoil of the Inhabitants.

And if the Spaniards have not carefully Fortify'd *Cadiz*, which lies nearland more open to the *Turks* than all other Towns in *Spain*, they deserve all the Mischief that can befall them.

If we fail of surprizing *Cadiz*, and be forc'd to Besiege it, these Dangers following may ensue

1. The Force of *Andalusia* and all the bordering Countries, which yield more good Men and Horses than all the other parts of *Spain*, will come down upon us.

2. Secondly, the Spaniards keeping the Bridge of *Swazo*, will bring multitudes of People to Besiege us; and with their Horse cut off all Succours sent from our Ships, which must only afford us Relief; for the Island yields nothing of it self.

3. If we so begirt the Town by Land, that we permit no entrance into it that way, yet we cannot do the like by Water; for with their Gallies they will daily Relieve it in despite of us, Port *St. Mary* in the Continent lying opposite to it, which makes me hopeless of taking it by Siege, if we fail of a Surprize.

4. One other Reason I have to mistrust it is not taken, which is, that the news of taking the Town and Fort would have come all together; for if all were not done at one instant, I much fear the Success, for the Reasons aforesaid, and by the example of us in 1596.

The Second Rumour was, of Keeping Cadiz when Taken.

THE Question of Keeping *Cadiz* in 1596. was long Debated by the Two Lords Generals, and the most experienc'd Soldiers of that time, whom I think all Men will allow, this Age doth not equal. The manner how to supply it out of *Barbary* and *England* was thought of; and Sir *Edward Hobby* was to undertake an Embassy to the King of *Morocco* to that purpose.

But to use the words of the Author who writ that Voyage, as it is set down in the Chronicle. He says, there was a great Dispute about the keeping of *Cadiz*, and the Opinion of all old Soldiers and Seamen asked; but because it appear'd not how it might at all times be reliev'd with Men, Ammunition and Victuals, and other Causes best known to the Generals, it took not effect.

It was then Discus'd and Disputed by Men of Experience, as I have said, and concluded upon mature Deliberation, that it was not possible to keep the Town: I would gladly know what Reason Men have to induce them to it more now than at that time; but especially, when I see never a Man call'd upon for Advice, whose Opinion was thought worthy to be taken at that time.

If it was then held impossible to Relieve it. I now compare and collect the Reasons of times past we had to hold it, with the time present, if we had it.

1. Our Army was then stronger, in that most of our Men were old Soldiers, and better experienc'd than those that are in this Action.

2. They were healthful in Body, and victorious in taking the Town, and Bridge, with little loss; which is a great encouragement to People that undertake an Enterprize.

3. The Bridge of *Swazo* was taken, and possess'd by us, so that we might keep the Town from Relief by Land, as we had done with our Fleet by Sea.

4. We knew the King of *Spain* was unfurnish'd with Shipping to hinder our Designs; we having burnt and taken 59 Vessels of his and his Subjects in that Harbor.

5. The Kingdom of *Barbary* was then in Peace amongst themselves, and would have rejoic'd at the occasion to have aided us against *Spain*: And since there have mortal Wars continu'd betwixt the succeeding Kings of that Kingdom, to the wast-

ing the most part of their People and Food the Earth affords.

6. In those Days the King of *Barbary* had three Maritime fronting Town upon *Cadiz*, as namely *Alarache*, *Sally*, and *Mamora*; since which time two of them are possess'd by the *Spaniards*, and only *Sally* remains to that King, 40 or 50 Miles further from *Cadiz*, than the other two, and has a Harbor only for small Vessels, with a dangerous Bar at the entrance of it.

I must now say as I said to the Earl of *Essex*, when himself, Sir *Francis Vere* and I, stood upon the Castle of *Cadiz*, and saw the Gallies in their flight to *Rosa*, after their escape through the Bridge of *Swazo*. I told him he had lost his opportunity of keeping *Cadiz*, shewing how much the Gallies would have avail'd him, if he had kept the Town, and the annoyance he would find by their escape; for with these Gallies he might have Transported all necessaries from *Barbary*, whereas they would now be able to cut off such single and small Ships, as should be sent thither for Relief.

In the year 1596. and many Years before, the *French* King and we were in War with *Spain*, and aided one another; and if the King of *France* had seen us have footing in *Spain*, it would have been a motive to have diverted him from his Peace with *Spain*, which in less than two years after he concluded. Our design was to keep *Cadiz*, to exchange for *Calais* in *Picardy*, not long before taken by the *Spaniards*; and no doubt but the King of *Spain* would willingly have consented to it; as thinking it better policy that *England* should enjoy *Calais* than *France*; for they well knew they could no longer hold it, than the Wars continu'd between them and *France*, and that Peace would cause the Restitution of it.

They likewise knew that if *England* possess'd it, there would be a perpetual jealousy and dislike, between *France* and *England*, which would prove their Security.

Besides, a Treaty being set on foot, tho' but to exchange those two Towns, yet it might be an Introduction to a Peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*; which if it had taken good effect, Her Majesty had not needed to have Reliev'd *Ireland* with so great Hazard and Charge, as afterwards she did, by reason of the Aid *Tyrone* had from *Spain*, when he was ready to sink, and

and almost forc'd to yield to Her Majesty's Mercy; which Enterprize from *Spain* brought the Queen into such a Straight before her Deeth, that she was compell'd to pardon him, tho' much against her Will.

And this shall suffice by way of Comparison betwixt our holding *Cadiz* in times past with the present, and the Advantages that might have ensu'd by keeping it.

I doubt not, but as the keeping of *Cadiz* was thought of before the departure of our Fleet, (if it should be taken) so the Reasons for keeping it were no less discuss'd; for it is a Maxim, That no Place in another Country far from home is worth keeping, that will not defray the Charges of maintaining it, unless it be for Security, or to give a farther Entrance into a Country.

In my Discourse where I treat of our Attempt upon *Genova*, I advis'd, as the principal Thing in an Invader, to possess himself of a Harbour for the Safety of his Shipping; wherein I mean not only from the Weather, but for securing themselves from an Enemy.

I will therefore distinguish betwixt an Harbour, that is to be fortify'd on both sides by him that possesses it, and an open Bay, such as *Cadiz*, that is 10 or 12 Miles in breadth, so that whosoever is Master, and strongest in Shipping, has the Command of it, and the Ships within it.

If we intend to keep *Cadiz*, we must be sure, in our Supplies, to Master the *Spaniards* in Ships, by reason of the breadth of the Bay, which cannot be fortify'd.

The Relief we give *Cadiz* must either be from *Barbary* or *England*, and the Distance from *England* is 400 Leagues at the least; a long Navigation, subject to Storms, the uncertainty of Winds, loss of Company, the danger of the Enemy, being separated, and many other Casualties the Sea is subject to: As on the contrary, the *Spanish* Fleet that shall oppose us, is furnished nearer home, and runs no such Hazard.

We are to expect no other Help or Succour after our departure out of *England* till our return, but what we carry with us; and on the contrary, the *Spaniards* will be supply'd from their own Shore, and that with speed.

Suppose as we ride in the Bay of *Cadiz*, the *Spaniards* attempt us with a Fleet,

and that by Accident or Force they drive part of us ashore, then are we out of Hope to recover either Ship or Man: Whereas if the *Spaniards* run ashore, their Danger will not be great, it being their own Country where it happens, which will afford them present Succour.

I have shew'd where I treated of Gallies, how easie a thing it is to endanger us, by towing Fireships amongst us; because those Vessels have a great Advantage over us, and will either burn or force us ashore; as our Fireships did amongst theirs in 88. when we had done them more Hurt, had we been assisted by Gallies.

If the *Spaniards* assault us with a Fleet in the Road of *Cadiz*, it will be with a large Wind, and a Leeward Tide to keep themselves to Windward of us, and consequently in their Power to board us, and we not to board them.

Whereas our Advantage over the *Spaniard* is in our excellent sailing in open Sea, where we may take and leave at our Pleasure, the only Advantage in Sea Service; here our Sailing will not avail us, we lying in the Chanel of a Bay, where there is no space to sail in.

If you will enter into the true State and Strength betwixt the King of *Spain's* Ships and ours, laying aside the Advantage of swift sailing, and according to the old Phrase they are bound to fight, *Fight Dog*, *Fight Bear*, till one side be overcome, which cannot be better decided than at an Anchor in a Harbour, let us judge the difference of Ships; the *Spaniards* are bigger in Burthen, and by consequence have the Advantage to board; more spacious within Board, and therefore contain more Men; more Decks, and therefore carry more Ordnance: Then consider that the greatness of Vessels, the number of Men and Ordnance, makes the Strength of Ships, I refer it to Consideration, and will conclude,

That if we do not relive *Cadiz* from time to time with a stronger Fleet than *Spain* can make, we shall undergo great Hazards, Dangers and Disgraces; which ought to have been well consider'd and argu'd before undertaking the last Enterprize upon it. And this shall suffice for our Attempt upon *Andalusia*, or the City of *Cadiz*; and so I will proceed to the Answer of the Pamphlet.

The Voyage ended, there was publish'd a Book of the Proceedings of that Expedition; which Book was not long after answer'd, as appears by what follows.

Author. THE 8th of October, 1635. they departed from Plymouth, and the 9th fell in with my Lord of Essex, the Vice Admiral, who had put into Falmouth.

Answer. That Month and Day had been fitter (if the Action had been carry'd with Reason and Discretion) to have sought England after a Voyage, Winter approaching, than to have put themselves and Ships to the Fortune of a merciless Sea, that yields nothing but boisterous and cruel Storms, uncomfortable and long Nights, Toil and Travel, to the endless Labour of the poor Mariners; and what was no less than the rest, I fear an unexperienc'd General, by his Phrase in saying, He fell in with my Lord of Essex the 9th day; when the proper Word of falling in was with the Land, and not with Ships: He should rather have said, We met my Lord, or, We and my Lord met together: And the Reason is, the Land is a stedfast thing, and a Ship is ever moving, not certain to be fallen in withal, but accidentally to be met with.

Author. The 11th, he called a Council, and sett'd the Instructions for a Sea Fight, as appear'd in the 7th and 10th Articles, (*viz.*) If the Enemy's Approach be in such sort, as the Admiral of the Dutch and his Squadron, or my Vice-Admiral of our Fleet and his Squadron, may have opportunity to begin the Fight, it shall be lawful for them so to do till I come, using the Form, Method, and Care, as aforesaid.

Answer. This Instruction in my Opinion was unadvis'd, and should have been conditionally, (as thus) If the Enemy had offer'd to fly, then not to lose any opportunity, but to assail him; but if they meant to abide it, presuming upon their Force, it was great Folly to hazard part of the Fleet to all the Enemy's, but rather to have stay'd for the Admiral and the rest of the Ships, to observe the working of the Enemy, and then to have directed every Squadron accordingly how to have order'd themselves; for it were a madness in a single Combat of Six to Six, or more, for Two of them to charge their Opposites before the approach of the rest.

Author. If any Ships of the Enemy do break out and fly, the Admiral of any

Squadron that shall happen to be next, and in the most convenient Place for that purpose, shall send out a competent number of the fittest Ships of his Squadron to Chase, Assault, and take such Ship or Ships so breaking out; but no Ship shall undertake such a Chase without the Command of the Admiral, or at least an Admiral of the Squadron.

Answer. The General's want of Experience shall appear in this Article; for if no Ship shall undertake the Chase without Order of the Admiral, or Admiral of the Squadron; What if a Ship that is chas'd be near some of your Fleet, and a good distance from your self, shall your Ship or Ships lose the opportunity of Chasing, and repair to you for Orders: By that time the Ship chas'd will be out of sight, or so far off, that it will be a Folly to follow her.

For your Instruction another time, these are the Directions you ought to have given in such a case; If there shall happen a Chase, the next Ship to her to follow her; and if there be more than one chas'd, the rest of our Ships next to her to single themselves, as they shall think themselves able to overcome them; and if you be brought to Leeward by that Chase, then to ply into your height again. This Article contains as much as the Admiral or Vice-Admiral of a Squadron can give, after the loss of so much time as by a Ship's coming to him for his Directions: And Time in such case is the principal thing.

In your Article there was no Provision how far such a Ship should be chas'd, when to leave the Chase, or whither to repair after the Chase; but confusedly, and to the loss of the Advantage aforesaid.

Author. The 12th day, the Wind North-North-West, the Seas grown so high, that the long Boats were lost, and many other Damages sustain'd.

Answer. At that time of the year you are sure to find that Weather, and to look for such Disasters; and therefore it is a folly to undertake a Sea Journey towards Winter, as I have said. If in that Storm the Wind had been Southerly, you would have return'd into the Harbours of England, where would have been found such Defects in Ships, that you had seen the end of your Voyage; and amongst wise Men

Men it is a great Question, Whether your going or staying would have prov'd more Honourable to the Kingdom.

Author. The 18th, a Council was called, and Sir William St. Leger writ a Letter, that he suspected the Plague in his Ship, but it prov'd not so: And here the General gave special Order for the Ships to come near together, and hail their Admiral every morning, reproving their former Negligence, and gave them thier Instructions, which should have been done before, but was hindred by Storm.

Answer. Sir William St. Leger did ill to suspect the Plague in his Ship upon such uncertainties, which was enough to put the rest of the Fleet in fear, and a Means to make them quit one another, and separate the Fleet.

If the Ships were negligent in keeping near together, they deserv'd Blame, but no Punishment, as not having receiv'd their Instructions: The Blame was worthy to light upon the General, when in Winter and the Weather so uncertain, he delay'd giving his Orders, which should have been done in Harbour, and seal'd up, until occasion of fowl Weather at Sea, or loss of one another.

I will let pass many trivial things not worth Answering or excepting against, as namely the defects of Ships, the losing Company and meeting again, the Winds, Victuals, Sickneſs and other things of that nature.

Author. The 20th he call'd a Council, to debate how he should put into *St. Lucar*, according to an Intention of the Council held at *Plimouth*; when his Majesty was present; where the Matter being very doubtful, it was referred to be decided upon the Spot when we should be arriv'd; but upon better enquiry of the Inconveniences and Disadvantage for going into the Harbour, and Landing our Army, it was quite laid aside.

Then follows a long Circumstance of the Impossibility of going into *St. Lucar*.

Answer. I dare undertake never Enterprize at Sea, was set out with such doubtful Directions, as to take their Resolutions when they should come to the Place. The Port of *St. Lucar*, and the Danger of the Bar, being as well known to the Masters before their going from home, as after they came thither: And if they did not inform his Majesty with it at the Council held at *Plimouth*, they deserv'd to be hang'd there; for no Man that had heard of the Bar of *St. Lucar*, but knew the Danger express'd in the Pamphlet

Author. The General demanded both

of the Captains and Masters, why they did not speak of these Difficulties before his Majesty? They Answer'd, *It was now the depth of Winter, and Stormy.*

Answer. If the Masters knew no more than the Captains, I think they knew little; for I am inform'd few of the Captains had any Experience and Skill in Sea Affairs: And the Masters Answer was as ridiculous to the General's Demand, Why they acquainted not his Majesty with the Difficulty at *Plimouth*? For, say they, *It was the depth of Winter and Stormy.*

What was this in Answer to the Impossibility of going to *St. Lucar*? Could the Summer remove the Bar, and give them a safe Entrance? Could the Summer Season give them more knowledge of Pylot-ship than they had before their coming thither? Or, Did they not know that Winter was approaching, when they were call'd to the Council at *Plimouth*? for it could not be above 20 days more Winter than it was when they were at *Plimouth*. *I could say no more to them, says the Author, being I was no great Seamen.* And in the 16th Leaf, he says, he made no account but the Ships were ours; for speaking of Seamen, (he says) they knew more than he did, how to set upon them.

Would any Man thus confess his Ignorance in a Command he undertook? Or would any Man ever take upon him the Charge of a General by Sea, that had never past further than betwixt *England* and *Holland*? It were good to know whether he sought the Imployment, or whether it was put upon him against his Will: If he was led unto it by Ambition, let him answer his Errour, and that with Severity: If it was procur'd by others, they ought to have the same Chastisement he deserv'd. Betwixt the one and the other it is pitty the Kingdom should bear the Dishonour, which in truth cannot be justly tax'd; for *England* affords as good Ships as ever it has done, Men of as great Experience and Valour, if they had been imployed; and no reason therefore but that every Horse should bear his own Burthen, and that the Defect be not laid upon Ships and Men, but upon those that should be found culpable.

Author. In the same Council it was determin'd, that the whole Fleet should bear into the Bay of *Cadiz*, and Anchor before Port *St. Mary*: it was appointed how every Ship should Anchor (*viz.*) that the General and Dutch Admiral should Anchor together, and give Directions to the Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral.

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Answer. It was a most ridiculous Resolution to Anchor and Land at Port *St. Mary*; First, in respect of the danger of the Road, if the Wind came Southerly or Westerly; Secondly, their Gallies would have cut off our Boats and Men, if we had attempted to Land; Thirdly, such *Spanish* Ships as were in the Road of *Cadiz*, would have had leisure to have sav'd themselves, and convey away their Wealth; Fourthly, the Town of *Cadiz* had space to prepare for its defence, and the Country would quickly have given Relief to it, as well as the Place where they pretended to Land.

My next Observation is the Place they chose to Anchor in, that he might give Directions; and yet before he excus'd himself as unexperienc'd, and by consequence unfit to direct. He that shall read this little Pamphlet to *Cadiz*, shall find more Directions, more Councils, more Letters writ, and more Absurdities committed, than in any Action a Man shall read of.

Author. The General gave Orders, for every Ship to break down their Cabbins, to be ready to fight.

Answer. This every Ship would have done without Directions: Still Directions to little purpose, and nothing came of it.

Author. I writ to my Lord of *Essex* to make all the haste he could, and that I would command his Squadron to follow him (which I did;) but I must confess they went the most untowardly way I ever saw Men, for they did not hoist up their Sails as they were commanded.

Answer. This was not a time to write, and I marvel your leisure would admit of it, for what you were to Act was now or never; and if you had not directed before you came to the Port, what Ships should go in, and what Ships should second one another, you were very unfit for the Command you had; for this did the Two Lord Generals in their Expeditions to *Cadiz*, they consulted and resolv'd what Ships should attempt the Enemy the next morning; and when it came to be executed, never Greyhounds strove to overcome, or outstretch one another in a Course, as those Ships did to draw near to the *Spaniards*; and if you had had but one Man, that had known the Affairs of that Voyage, you needed not but to have walked in the Path they had trodden out before you.

You urge, you could not learn by all the Seamen in your Ship, who were those that were so backward: And in the 13th Leaf you say, *Because I would lose no*

time, I went from Ship to Ship, crying out, advance for shame; but I found them not very hasty to do it.

Shall a General say Men were backward to fight, when he had Authority to compel them? Or, That he was not obey'd, having Marshal Law to execute upon them? No, No, but they knew who they had in hand, when they refus'd to tell what Ships were backward to fight; for a General that had known the Sea, would have known every Ship of his Fleet, being so nigh them.

But indeed if all your Directions had been converted into this one Direction following, you had sav'd your self from Writing, Sending, or your Labour in going to give the Command; (that is to say) if before your coming to *Cadiz* you had appointed, if you would not have been the Leader your self, as my Lord of *Essex* was in his Voyage to *Cadiz*; I say, if you had commanded an Admiral, and all the Ships of his Squadron to follow him, and they had not obey'd you, then you knew who was backward, and whom to have punished; but your Direction and Execution was all of a sudden, without Form or Deliberation; then what could you expect but Confusion?

Author. When all the Fleet came to an Anchor, and I saw the *Spanish* Ships stie before me, I immediately call'd a general Council to loose no time; and the Opinion of Seamen was to clear the Two Ports for securing the Fleet: Then I demanded what kind of Ports they were; They told me, that Twenty of the *Colliers*, and some of the *Dutch*, would beat them to dust by the morning: Whereupon I commanded the Ships warn'd should go up to the Port, and that they should receive Directions from my Lord of *Essex*, who had Orders from me.

Answer. If my Lord of *Essex* had Orders from you, what need was there to call a Council and loose time? Or, Why should you give Order to my Lord of *Essex* before-hand, and not to the Ships that should second him till the very Instant? Still Writing, Directing, but no Acting.

But for the Advice in clearing the Ports, surely the Advisors were not well advised therein; and in this case you should have enquir'd what my Lord of *Essex* did upon the same Occasion, when he attempted the Shipping; and it would have appear'd to you, that he followed the *Spanish* Gallies, fighting with them six or seven hours, and overcame them before he landed or took the Fort. He made *Puntal* no impe-

Impediment to his Design; he would not loose his Opportunity for fear of a Fort, nor refer his Enterprize to a farther Council, but Acted what was resolv'd on before.

Author. I Commanded, That upon sight of my Billet, they should be ready to assault the Fort of *Puntal* in the morning, and to pursue the Ships: I advis'd with the most Experienc'd Captains and Masters, to conduct the Ships to *Port-Royal*, which was difficult for want of Water; and at Three of the Clock in the Morning, I arose and receiv'd the Communion aboard the *Ark-Royal*: After which I commanded the Master to carry up the Ship to *Puntal*; but he excus'd it for want of Water.

Answer. Here is still Direction, Writing and Communion, when there should be Fighting; and because he speaks of the Communion, it is not improper to set down what Queen *Elizabeth* said upon the like Succels in 1590. Sir *John Hawkins* being sent General of a Fleet to Sea, spent Seven Months without taking one *Spanish* Ship. At his return he writ a long Apology to the Queen; and for his Conclusion told her, That *Paul planteth, Apollo watereth, and God giveth the Increase. Gods death* (said the Queen upon reading his Letter) *this Fool went out a Soldier, and is come home a Divine.*

But now, in Answer to the Excuse in not carrying up the Ship for want of Water, it serv'd not my Lord of *Essex* for a Reason in his Voyage in 96. for he found Water, though his Master and others made the like Allegation: He would not trust Mariners in that case, but appointed a sufficient Captain at the Helm, and the Captain of his Ship to stand aloft, as he saw other Ships go afore him, having his Lead on both sides continually heaving.

But had the General been Experienc'd, he might have Answer'd the excuse of want of Water, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* was answer'd in the same Place, and upon the same Occasion. Sir *Walter Raleigh* being order'd over-night to lead the Van, and Sir *Francis Vere* to second him, Sir *Walter* came to an Anchor at such a distance from the Galleons, that he could not reach them with his Ordnance: He return'd aboard my Lord of *Essex*, excusing it for want of Water. A Gentleman well known standing by, said, *It was strange that the Spaniards, who drew much more Water, and had no more advantage of the Tide then he, could pass where his Ship could not follow.* I protest Sir *Walter* was much abashed at this Speech, and there-

upon went aboard his Ship, causing his Master to weigh again and go higher, where he perform'd the part of a Noble and Valiant Gentleman.

This Answer from the General had stopp'd the Mouths of the Masters Exceptions; and they would have found this Channel as deep for their Ships, as the *Spaniards* did, going up before them, and the same Channel my Lord of *Essex* did when he was there.

I will leave taking *Puntal* by the Land Forces, with which he fills Two or Three Leaves, directing and ordering things; my intention being only to prosecute the Enterprizes by Sea.

Author. The 24th I went by Six a Clock in the Morning to my Lord of *Denbigh*, and spake thus to him: *You are no old Seaman, and therefore I would desire you make all the haste, and get all the Seamen together to Council; and I desire you to think upon the best way how to burn and destroy the Enemies Ships.* He went upon it without delay, which he did very earnestly and punctually.

Answer. Though the General wanted Experience himself, yet he made choice of one of Sufficiency, who perform'd it carefully and punctually; (But what did he perform?) for hitherto nothing was perform'd, and yet there was Commendations of a Lord for his punctual Performance, that did nothing punctually at *Puntal*, or the Ships in *Cadiz*.

If any Men deserve Honour for this Voyage, it is those that dissuaded it at that time of the year; for indeed they had sav'd a great deal of Dishonour this Kingdom now undergoes; They had enrich'd this Kingdom with much Money, thus unadvisedly spent; They had preserv'd many a Brave Man's Life, that might have liv'd to have done their Country Service; and lastly, the *Spaniards* had not been hartned and imboldned, as now they are.

But for all the General Council and Directions, or the careful and punctual Carriage of the other Lord, the Ships escap'd without firing or sinking. The General's Design, it seems, was not to take *Cadiz*, as he confess'd in the 16th Leaf; for the King, before he went, was acquainted, that it was extraordinarily fortified, and so he found when he came to view it.

I hold up my Hands and Eyes to Heaven, when I consider the poor Design and weak Carriage of this last Voyage to *Cadiz*; for now it appears it was intended for *St. Lucar*, though the impossibility of it

it was known before their going from home. He likewise confess'd the Strength of *Cadiz* to be impregnable, and yet notwithstanding they were both enterpriz'd. They could not have a design upon Ships, because they knew not of any being there, or those that were, to be so few as they were not worthy of such an Expedition: Then what Man can excuse it, or the absurd Carriage of it?

Molt Men, I confess, had an ill Opinion of the Voyage before their going, a worse after their return, but worst of all upon publishing the Pamphlet; for it has stopp'd the Mouths of all those that could force Arguments to excuse it: Some out of Charity and good Nature forbore to think the worse of it; some out of Judgment did no more condemn it than an Action that fail'd by Fortune in the Execution; some that would seem wiser than others, said, there was a greater Mystery in it than the ordinary People conceiv'd; some said, they had Intelligence with *Cadiz*, or other Places of Importance, but took no Success. But this Book has discover'd all; for they find the Project was as ridiculous as the Execution of it.

Author. The 25th there was a Motion to march 4 or 5 miles to recover some Boats, to serve instead of their Long-boats they had lost at Sea; and so they march'd forward and back again, brought away their Boats, spoil'd the Fishermen's Nets, Masts, and other Provisions they there found.

Answer. Here was marching forward and backward, which we may properly call a set Dance. These Boats, I confess, saved your Honour for something you did upon them, though you did nothing upon the Ships; and for your Attempt upon the Fishermen's Nets, you made the Enemy have a feeling of it, they being ty'd to observe Fasting days from Fish, which now they must want.

Author. The 26th the Colonels met at *Puntall*; and here it was resolv'd that nothing could be done upon the Ships, because of the Wind and Tide, and for that the *Spaniards* had sunk themselves, and the Channel was so narrow, which was the reason my Lord of *Essex* in his Journey, 96. could send no Ships to do the Enemy harm.

Answer. I confess, that if my Lord of *Essex* had follow'd your Example, to be talking 3 or 4 days, of what he perform'd almost in as many hours, he had done the Enemy no more harm than you; but what he did, and by the good Advice he did it, I have shew'd before. And if you

call it no harm to the Enemy, to have the best Ships *Spain* ever enjoy'd, burnt and taken, to the number of 59 Sail, with a Mass of Wealth in them, and this to be done in despite of your Fort, which takes up Three Leaves of Paper in your Book of Difficulties; I say, if this be no harm, and your taking of Fishermen's Boats and Nets be a Spoil and Harm, I confess yours was the Honourable Action, and that of my Lord of *Essex* of small Consequence in respect of yours.

Author. The Council of War did consider, that going to the Bridge of *Swazo*, was no great Design, but to meet with the Enemy and spoil the Country; and that when my Lord of *Essex* took *Cadiz*, Sir *Goniers Clifford* was tax'd by Sir *Francis Vere* for mistaking his Directions, which were to go no farther than within Shot of the Town, where he might be seconded and Reliev'd; but *Clifford* went to the Bridge; so in regard there was no such necessity, he return'd back again.

Answer. Here was a strange Consultation, a strange Consideration and as strange a Council of War, to conclude the taking of the Bridge to be nothing more than to meet the Enemy and spoil the Country.

I must tell you, That in that Journey of my Lord of *Essex*, which you say did the *Spaniards* no harm, there was a Consultation, and a Resolution before their Landing, to possess the Bridge, as a prime Service to be executed; whereupon, at my Lord's Landing, he divided his Army, Three Regiments he sent to the Bridge, the rest he led himself to the Town: Both these Directions had good Success; the Bridge was possess'd, and the Town surpriz'd; and your self abus'd by him that told you Sir *Goniers Clifford* had no Order to go to the Bridge, or that Sir *Francis Vere* was angry with him for so doing.

I confess it was not Sir *Francis Vere* alone, but my Lord of *Essex* and all in general were angry for quitting the Bridge, as they had reason; for the main Business of the Service depended on it: But it seems they wanted Reason in comparison of you and your Council of War; for by that Bridge all Succours was to pass from the main Land to the Relief of *Cadiz*; by that Bridge we were to attempt other Parts of the Country, as we intended; by that Bridge the Gallies were to pass and escape us, which otherwise they could not have done: And if this be no great Design, let you and your Council consider it.

But that you may the better understand it, I will lay before you a Comparison that may be made to concur with it. Suppose an Enemy should land in Surrey, with a Design to take *Wimbledon*, and that there were a Bridge to pass the *Thames* at his Barony of *Putney*: do not you think that a Council of War would advise to take that Bridge, to hinder the Succours that might be sent from *Middlesex*, or the Countreys thereunto adjacent, to the Aid of *Wimbledon*? If this Advice would not have been follow'd, the Council of War were fit for you, and not for my Lord of *Essex*.

Author. And I have been so long in the Wars (*Leaf 19*) that I dare undertake they who think *Cadiz* was to be taken, cannot tell how to come at it with Cannon, if there were none but Women in it.

Answer. When you speak Truth, I will concur with you, for I believe there was little reason to attempt it; but indeed your want of Experience in Sea Affairs, your frequent Councils, which lost Time and Opportunity, your multitude of Directions to no purpose, and the carefulness of your Captains to disobey your Command, was your Blemish and Shame; but more especially your want of expert Men to advise what had been practis'd in Fleets; for every Man that can Manage a small Barque, is not capable to direct a Fleet: You should not have rely'd upon Sailors, put into the Habit of Gentlemen, and made Knights before they knew what belong'd to Gentility, nor were ever expert but in poor petty Barques: This was the Bane of you and your Reputation.

Author. The One and twentieth I Imbarqu'd again, thinking to have landed at Port *St. Mary*, if the Wind should not serve the Fleet to go out of the Bay of *Cadiz*; but as ill luck would have it, the Wind came good even as we were in Council; and if we had not taken that Wind in the Instant, perhaps we had not come out in a long time.

Answer. That which was good for your coming out, had not been ill for your landing at Port *St. Mary*, though I confess it had been a rash Attempt, as I said before.

Author. Monday the last, the Wind came Westerly, and we could not come out of the Bay.

Answer. And yet you said before the contrary; no Wind, no Council, no Directions, would answer your Expectation after your Loss, through your Delays, Negligence, and Carelessness of the Opportunity upon the Ships.

Author. The Third day, by general Consent, we were to stay, and expect the Fleet from the *Indies* till the 20th of *November*; but it pleas'd God such Sickness came, that we had not Men enough to handle our Sails.

Answer. You must know it was strange to hear of a Fleet from the *Indies* at that time of the year; but suppose it had been so, and you had taken them, what would you have done with them, not having Sailors enough to bring home your own Ships, as your self confess'd?

Author. The Sixth day, (and 24th *Leaf*) we took a Man of War of *Argiers*, who had taken Two Prizes, one of them *John Isack*, a *Scotchman*, that dwelt at *Dover*, laden with Wood and Iron from *Biscay* for *St. Lukar*, by the King of *Spain's* Subjects; which shews the great want that King has of Timber and Ships to carry it.

Answer. This was as Wise an Observation, as if a *Dunkirker* had taken a *Frechman* Fraighted with Coles by an *Englishman*, from *Newcastle* to *London*, and should say, the King has great want of Coles and Shipping to carry them; I should have made another Construction, That it shew'd the *Spanish* Ships were employ'd upon better Voyages, than upon such base Commodities.

Author. On the 10th Sir *Michael Geere*, who had been 5 days wilfully wanting, came again to the Fleet; his Master told him of it, and he beat him with a Cudgel. His Master had bore better Command than ever he did. And in the 25th *Leaf* he says, he sent aboard the *Dreadnought* for Ten Tuns of Beer that was left in her for the use of the *Ann Royal*; but the Company mutiny'd, and would not deliver it; neither would the Captain nor Master confess who were the Mutineers.

Answer. Would ever General set down the Contempt and Abuses, and not shew the Punishment inflicted upon them? It is no marvel you were no better obey'd in weightier things, that could digest these petty Disgraces; surely *Geere* might have come home a Knight, though the strangest that ever was made; but he should not have come home a Captain, nor made capable ever to bear Office in any Employment.

Honour was wont to be conferr'd on Men of Desert, for Services done by them before they receiv'd it; but this Knight and others were made Knights so unworthily, that it bred not only an Admiration, but a Contempt to that Order.

As

As backward as you were in the Affairs of *Cadiz*, you were as much too forward and liberal in giving and taking Honour: To delay it before your going, had been to some purpose; for a Noble Mind would not have receiv'd it, till the World had taken notice he had deserv'd it.

As there was great difference in the Management of Sea Affairs, betwixt the Queens time and these, so there was in the bestowing of Honour; for tho' my Lord Admiral was the Son of a Baron, and the Grandson of a Duke, tho' he had the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, and many other Dignities and Preferments, tho' he had gain'd so great a Victory in 88. by repulsing an Enemy that might have endanger'd the Kingdom, tho' he spoil'd, beat, sunk Ships, and destroy'd Cities of the Enemies, in their own Countries, yet had he obtain'd and perform'd all these Exploits, before he could be admitted to the Degree of an Earl.

Author. In the 27th Leaf. The Defects of the Ships were such, that he call'd a Council for going into the Islands of *Bayona*, and here he sets down the losing of Company, breaking Masts, splitting Sails, and shifting of Winds, &c.

Answer. These things were impertinent for a General to relate: Such Observations are only proper to Mariners; and he might as well have set down the seething of the Kettle, the Companies dining, or the setting of the Watch.

Author. Now was I arriv'd at *Kinsale* in *Ireland*. On *January* 19. came in a Dutchman from *Lisbon*, who reported he saw Letters from *Cadiz*, that the Plate Fleet came home within three days after my coming away, and that 100 Carvels were sent to stop them, but none of them could meet the said Fleet, for they came upon the Coast of *Barbary*; insomuch, that if any of these Accidents following had happen'd we had been Masters of the Plate Fleet.

The first was, if the Council had consented with me, to keep *Puntal* fourteen days. The second, if the Wind had not chang'd as it did. The third, if the Plate Fleet had but kept the same Course they have for this Forty years; for they had no manner of News of us. But Man proposes and God disposes; and moreover, the Dutchman said, that on the last of *July* there were not four Barrels of Powder in *Lisbon*.

Answer. Could the Plate Fleet arrive in *Cadiz*, and not be vulgarly spoke of in *Lisbon*, but by some few Letters; the arrival of that Fleet being of such Consequence, that not only *Lisbon*, but all *Spain* would

ring of it? And unless you had better Assurance of their Arrival, than by this poor Dutchman that was in your Custody, prisoner, you were ill advis'd to print it, because every Merchant upon the Exchange was able to contradict you; wherefore you should have first consider'd it, as thus:

Was it likely, that a hundred Carvels should be sent to meet the Fleet? A number of Carvels never employ'd, nor to be found in all *Spain*: Could they be so improvident, as to hazard so many Vessels, the Taking of one of which would discover the height the Fleet came home in; or could the Fleet be met and stopp'd at Sea, that was both Foul, Weak, heavily Laden, wanted Victuals, and must be compell'd out of necessity to seek a Harbour? Or could a hundred Carvels spread themselves at Sea, and your Fleet not see any part of them? Or could the Fleet come home in four days after your being at *Cadiz*; and computing the time, you could not be above 20 Leagues West from thence, and to have no News of them? Or could the *Spaniards* be so mad at that time of the year, to venture to keep the Coast of *Barbary*, being subject to Northerly Winds, and to fall in upon *Cadiz* Road, just at your quitting it? To wise Men these things seem improbable.

And moreover, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, you should have set down your Reasons, why you advis'd the keeping of *Puntal* 14 days; all the Reasons you had would not have given satisfaction to a reasonable Man; for it is to be imagin'd you must have one of these Reasons in it, as Namely, That you had Correspondence with *Cadiz* for the Surrendring it; or that you expected a Revolt in the Country; or that you hop'd for Supplies in 14 days; or that you knew of the *Indies* Fleets repair thither in that time: One of these I conceive to be the end of your Persuasions.

Then on the other side, I think with my self the Mischief that might have ensu'd upon it in the space of them 14 days; your Victuals would have been much wasted, for it seems then you began to want; your People being sick, as they were, it is probable, they would rather grow worse than recover Health. In that 14 days the *Spaniards* would have had leisure to prepare fresh Ships and Men to encounter your feeble and weak Army. Your suppos'd hundred Carvels might have met in those 14 days with the imagin'd Plate Fleet, and have conducted them to *Lisbon*, whilst you were propping up of *Puntal*. You had proof what the lingring of 14 days might have brought you

you and the Fleet to, by the Misery you found in your Return. It was no less ridiculous, that you should believe the Dutchman's report, that at the last of *July* there should be but four Barrels of Powder in *Lisbon*; for whosoever knows *Lisbon* and the Castle, knows the great quantity of Powder there is still kept in it.

Author. I put to Sea three times against the Seamen's Opinion; They desir'd to see the Winds settled before we should set out; but I did not hearken to them.

Answer. It will appear by this Rashness of yours, how unfit you are to take Charge of such a Fleet. In the 16th Leaf you confess your Ignorance in Sea Affairs, and refer your self to Men of Experience, in an Attempt of much less consequence than this, that concerns the safety of his Majesty's Ships, to venture them to no end but a desire you had to be at home; this was a rash Hazard of your own, against the Approbation of Mariners, who could only judge what was convenient in such a Case.

I confess, nothing in your Discourse doth make it appear to be writ by a Soldier at Land or Sea, but a plain and absurd Style, the improper Terms us'd by Sea and in Ships, and the often repetition of some words which is not proper in Oratory. From Soldiers, neither Eloquent Words nor Forms is requir'd; their Actions must give Matter for Scholars to amplify upon; and tho' this may excuse the writing of the Pamphlet, yet it can no more clear you of Blame in your Carriage of the Action, than the Projector of it; it being hard to judge whether of you two deserv'd the most shame, the one in Advising, or the other in Executing.

But if this Journey had been undertaken by Men of Experience, Understanding and Reason, it had more annoy'd the State of *Spain*, than any Enterprize of ours heretofore, either in the Queen's, or King *Charles* his Reign, as it shall appear by what follows.

How to have Ruin'd Spain by the Fleet of 1625.

Spleen, Passion and Envy to some they love not, and the want of Knowledge in themselves, are the bane and destroyers of all warlike Actions, either by Sea or Land; which could not be better verifi'd than in this last unfortunate Fleet to *Cadiz* I have spoken of: For I must say, that in many Ages, (or rather in no Age) we shall have the like Opportunity again to annoy the State of *Spain*, as was then offer'd us, if the Enterprize had been well Projected and Directed, as it was rashly begun and prosecuted; as may appear by what follows.

If our Land Forces had been discharg'd at the beginning of Summer, when they were first rais'd, and the Fleet employ'd upon a Sea Action only; for take it for a Maxim, That Sea and Land Enterprizes together, are the Bane of one another; as Experience has made it appear.

At this time that the Expedition was undertaken, we well knew the *Spanish* Fleet had dispossest the *Hollanders* of the Town of *Baye* in *Brazil*, a little before taken by them; we likewise knew they

were to return to *Spain* with a Million of Pounds in wealth, which after prov'd true.

And yet this was not all, and the worst that *Spain* was to receive from us; this happen'd when they had no suspicion of us as Enemies, nor any shew of Hostility made, to give them warning or distrust.

If therefore we had employ'd our Fleet then in readiness, to the *Tercera* Islands, where we assuredly knew the *Spaniards* would touch in their Return, as indeed they did all scatter'd and ill provided; we had, without all doubt or question, intercepted them, and possess'd so much Wealth of theirs, as would have maintain'd a Royal War against them, till his Majesty had been reveng'd of the Affronts offer'd him, as was conceiv'd, at his being in *Spain*.

Besides this Wealth, we had cut off his Fleet, which consisted of 50 or 60 of his best Galeons, which in an Age could not be restor'd, whereby he would have been unable to undertake any Action against us. This was discover'd to some, before the Fleet's going out, but either neglected or not believ'd.

The Errors committed in the Expedition to the Isle of Rec.

IN my Examination of the Voyages in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, I make often Reflection, without fear or flattery, upon the Errors then committed, as well by us as by the *Spaniards* our Enemies; which kind of proceeding I follow in these two last Expeditions, the one to *Cadiz* in 1625. which I have treated of; the other to *St. Martins* in 1627. which I am to treat of, as well in number and goodness of Ships, as in proportion and quantity of Men.

Tho' I was no Actor my self in the two last Expeditions, there being no relation that can give a more true Account of them, than those publish'd by the Authority of State, I have, upon view of these Pamphlets, collected such Errors as the Actions themselves have given just Cause to except against.

Let it not be imputed to me that I do it out of a carping or detracting Humour, or a malignant Disposition, or an evil or contesting Nature, or out of a vain or phantastical Curiosity, or Pride, or Arrogance, to make small Errors seem greater than they are; for I have no other end than what I have often express'd, *viz.* by discovering the Faults and Oversight's past, to make them serve as a warning for time to come.

I would not be so bold and presumptuous as to examine the Grounds of this last Design upon the Island of *St. Martins*, or the Carriage of it upon their Arriving and Landing; for I never doubted, but that a Matter of such great Consequence, as the Breach of Peace between Princes, and wherein his Majesty's Honour was to be engag'd, and the Reputation of the Chief Commander consider'd, was not only Discus'd and Argu'd by the grave and wise Senators of the State, but Advice taken of the most experien'd Captains both by Land and Sea, this Kingdom could afford; which being so, the Success must be referr'd to him who is the giver of all Victories; for I am like the *Carthaginian*, who did not esteem the loss of the General that lost a Battel, but of such as fought against Reason; for Success is the Measure of Fools, whereas Conduct proceeds from Judgment.

This Expedition to the Island of *St. Martins* was begun from *Portsmouth* on the 17th of *June* 1627. a Place design'd for the Rendezvous; and to that end the Ships of Provisions that attended the Resort of

the Army to *Plimouth*, were drawn together at *Portsmouth*, tho' with ill success; First, in respect one of those Ships miscarry'd, and others were in danger to have done the like: Secondly, I must make the Rendezvous at *Portsmouth* the Ground of my Argument, to except against the Carriage of the Action, and the chief Cause of the Mischief that ensu'd.

You must understand that *Stokes-Bay*, where our Ships rode, is 40 Leagues from *Plimouth* by the way of *St. Helens Point*; and the Course of the Chanel is East North-East, and West South-West: *Ushant*, which is the head Land of *France*, and by which you must pass either from *Plimouth* or *Portsmouth*, if you will sail to *St. Martins*, is 26 Leagues from *Plimouth* South-Westerly; so that there was 40 Leagues run to fetch those Ships which could have brought themselves; and a Ship lost, which had not so happen'd but by their going to fetch them.

Now should they have held a grave Consultation, if they had done well, how to proceed afterwards, which should have consisted of three Propositions; the one, whether to keep the Sea with that Easterly Wind or no, which in little space would bring them to Leeward of all? The second, whether to Land in *Conquet-Road*, or some part of *France*? The third and last was, whether to return to *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, there to attend a better Opportunity of Wind? But to be short, unadvisedly they took the worst of the Three, and kept the Sea till they were to Leeward of all *French* Shores, in which space they had pursuit of certain *Dunkirkers*, whom indiscreetly they chas'd a whole day, when in two hours they might have discern'd whether they could fetch them up or no.

If they had Anchored in *France*, or any part of that Coast, notice would have been taken of it by the *French*; and it would have given a sudden Alarm, and been a cause to arm all Places they might suspect we would Attempt.

If they had repair'd to *Plimouth*, or *Falmouth*, it would have put a Doubtfulness in the *French*, whether our Design had been against them or no; and they would have made the less Preparations to resist us. *Spain* would also have taken the Alarm, being in as great a Doubt and Danger of us as *France*, but drawing the Ships from *Plimouth* to *Portsmouth*, *Spain* could not conceive that it was intended against them; and

and *France* was in as great Assurance that it was design'd upon them.

Thus you see from *Portsmouth* they were to attend the uncertainty of two Winds, and give warning to *France* to provide for themselves, whereas from either of the two Ports of *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, one Wind would have carry'd them directly to *St. Martins*, which might have been run in two or three days, without fear of scattering, or other Disaster. These Inconveniencies should not have been only foreseen, but prevented, if Experience and Discretion had guided the Action.

Now follows the Mischiefe that ensu'd upon keeping the Sea. The First is, that they were brought so far to Leeward, that if they would, yet they could not recover either *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*. Secondly, they were subject to foul Weather, which they afterwards found. Thirdly, their Men not being accusom'd to the Sea, and pester'd in Ships, brought a great Inconveniency amongst them. But the greatest was the foul weather which parted them, and was the chief Cause of the Misfortune that follow'd: For above 60 of the Ships being scatter'd, came to the Island of *St. Martins* the 10th of *July*, and the rest the day following.

The 60 Ships first arriving put the *French* out of doubt but that was the Place we intended, and gave them opportunity to do as much as the time would permit.

And here you may observe the true Overthrow of the Expedition to the Isle of *Ree*, whereas, if our Fleet had come together from *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, and landed together, they had suddenly surpriz'd the Island, and possess'd all the Victuals in it, which, in that short time we gave them, they carry'd into the Castle, being before but ill provided either of Victuals, or any thing else.

Thus have I run over such Errors as I have briefly collected, out of the ill carry'd Action to the Island of *St. Martins*, wishing that Generals may not only see, but foresee, that they may with Judgment determine what they shall put in Execution, before they attempt it with Force and Courage; for great Actions ought to be resolv'd on by leisure, and perform'd with speed: They should not say and stay, but say and do; they must consider, that the first Enterterprize in War gets the best Reputation, and a thing well begun is half ended.

AS I have set down the Names of the Ships the Queen left at her Death in my first Book, now shall follow the Names of those that were built by King *James* and King *Charles*; and the present Rates for Seamens Wages, according to the Ranks of Ships and Officers increas'd, *Anno Dom.* 1626.

Ships built by King James.

Ships.	Men in Harbor	Men at Sea.
<i>Reformation</i>	9	250
<i>Happy Entrance</i>	7	160
<i>Garland</i>	7	160
<i>St. George</i>	9	250
<i>Mary-Rose</i>	6	120
<i>Triumph</i>	12	300

<i>Swiftsure</i>	9	250
<i>Bonaventure</i>	7	160
<i>St. Andrew.</i>	9	250

Ships built by King Charles.

Ships.	Men in Harbor	Men at Sea.
<i>Ten Whelps</i>	3	60 some 70
<i>Henrietta Pinnace</i>	3	25
<i>Mary Pinnace</i>	3	25
<i>Charles</i>	9	250
<i>Henrietta Maria</i>	9	250
<i>The James</i>	9	260
<i>Victory</i>	9	250
<i>The Leopard</i>	7	170
<i>The Swallow</i>	6	150
<i>The Sovereign.</i>		

The New Rates for Seamens Wages, confirm'd by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, according to his Majesty's several Rates of Ships and Degrees of Officers, Monthly, Anno Dom. 1626.

Ranks	1			2			3			4			5			6		
Numb. of Men	500	400		300	250		200	160		120	100		70	60		50	40	
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Capt. Ordinary	14	00	00	11	04	00	09	06	08				06	12	00	04	06	08
Lieutenant	03	10	00	03	10	00	02	16	00									
Master	04	13	09	04	10	00	03	15	00	03	07	06	03	00	00	02	06	08
Pilot	02	05	00	02	00	00	01	17	06	01	13	09	01	10	00	01	03	04
Master's Mates	3	02	05	2	02	00	01	17	06	01	13	09	01	10	00	01	03	04
Boatswain		02	05		02	00		01	17		01	13		01	10		01	03
Boatswain's Mate		01	06		01	05		01	00		01	00		01	00		01	00
Quarter-Masters	4	01	10	4	01	05	4	01	05	4	01	05	2	01	05	2	01	00
Quarter-Master's Mates	4	01	05	4	01	00	2	01	00	2	01	00	2	01	00	2	00	17
Yeo. ^{Haly^{ds}} Sheets } Tacks } Jears }	4	01	05	4	01	01	2	01	01	2	01	01	2	01	01			
Corporal		01	10		01	08		01	05		01	03		01	00		00	18
Mr. Carpenter		01	17		01	17		01	10		01	06		01	03		01	01
Carpenter's Mate		01	05		01	04		01	03		01	01		00	19		00	18
Other Carpenters and Calkers	9	01	00	6	01	00	4	01	00	3	01	00						
Purser		02	00		01	16		01	10		01	06		01	03		01	03
Steward and Cook		01	05		01	05		01	05		01	03		01	03		00	17
Surgeon		01	10		01	10		01	10		01	10		01	10		01	10
Surgeon's Mate		01	00		01	00		01	00									
Mr. Trumpeter		01	10		01	06		01	05		01	05		01	05		01	01
Other Trump.	4	01	03		01	03												
Drum and Fife		01	00		01	00		01	00		01	00		01	00		01	00
Coxswain		01	05		01	05		01	03		01	00		01	00		01	00
Coxswain's Mate		01	00		01	00		00	19									
Skiffswain		01	00															
Skiffswain's Mate		00	17															
Two Swabbers		01	08	1	01	08		00	18		00	17		00	17		00	17
Swabbers Mate					00	17		00	16									
Armorer		01	01		01	01		01	01		01	01		01	01		01	01
Mr. Gunner		02	00		01	16		01	10		01	06		01	03		01	03
Gunnets Mates		01	02		01	01		01	00		01	00		01	00		00	18
Quarter-Gunners	4	01	00	4	00	18		00	18		00	18		00	17		00	17
Quarter-Gunners Mates	4	00	18	4	00	17												
Yeom. of the Powder-Room	3	01	00		00	18		00	18		00	18		00	18		00	18
Mr. Cooper		00	16		00	16		00	16		00	16		00	16		00	16
Grumetts	6	00	11	5	00	11	4	00	11	3	00	11	3	00	11	3	00	11
Common Men																		
360. 4 out of each 100 are the Captains Retinue		00	15	204	00	15	146	00	15	65	00	15	41	00	15	23	00	15
Boys	5	00	07	4	00	07	3	00	07	3	00	07		00	07		00	07
Gunmaker		01	01		01	01												

If I were worthy to advise his Majesty, he should follow the Precedent of the Earl of Lincoln, late Lord High Admiral of England, who two years before he died, and in the year 1582. caus'd a General Muster to be taken of all Ships, their Burthen and Mariners belonging to the Ports of England, as here follows.

And withal, I wish there were a Computation made from the Year 82. till the end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign in 1602. All which being compar'd with the increase of Ships and Mariners, since that time, and their greatness in Burthen, it will seem wonderful to all his Majesty's Subjects, who shall understand it, that since the first year of King James's Reign,

till this, which is the 13th of King Charles, the Navy of England is so much increas'd and augmented; and thereby they may conjecture what Wealth hath been Imported and Transported since that time, to the infinite enriching of all People in general, which will make them repine the less at paying Ship-Money; for they must truly confess, how much the Kingdom is, since the year 1582. Strengthen'd and Fortify'd by Sea, and the Common Wealth enrich'd by Trade; for tho' the Merchant only runs the hazard of Ships and Goods that go to Sea, yet the whole Kingdom receives Benefit and Profit by it, from the Handicrafts-Man to the Labourer.

A Muster of Ships and Mariners throughout England, Taken two Years before the Death of the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Admiral.

Somersetshire.

Ships 37. whereof 10 above 80 Tuns.
Mariners, Masters and Filhermen at
Home. 462
Abroad 40
In all 502

Chester.

Ships 14
Mariners, Masters and Seamen 113

Lancaster.

Ships 53. whereof 10 above 80 Tuns.
Masters and Mariners 163
Fishermen 36
In all 199

Essex.

Ships above 80 Tuns 12
Hoys, Crays and other small Vessels 107
Masters and Seamen 517

Cornwall.

Ships above 80 Tuns 5
Other small Ships 67
Masters 108
Mariners 606
Other Seamen 204
In all 918

Lincolnshire.

One Ship of 80 Tuns burden.
Small Ships 20
Masters 20
Mariners 150
Fishermen 134
In all 344

London.

Ships above 100 Tuns 62
Ships of 80 Tun and above 23
Small Ships 44
Masters 142
Mariners 868
Watermen, or Ferry-men 957
Fishermen 195
In all 2162

Hampshire.

Ships and Boats 89. whereof 10 above 80 Tun.
Masters 46
Mariners 244
Fishermen 180
In all 470

Yorkshire.

Ships 54. whereof 18 above 80 Tun.
Masters and Sailors 375
Fishermen 507
In all 880

*The Cinque-Ports.*Ships and Boats 223. none above 80
Tun.

Masters and Sailors ————— 853

Fishermen ————— 139

In all 992

*Kent.*Ships and Boats 106. none above 80
Tun.

Masters and Sailors ————— 221

Suffex.

Small Ships under 80 Tun..66

Masters ————— 28

Sailors ————— 222

Fishermen ————— 122

In all 370

Dorset.

Ships above 80 Tun ——— 8

Small Ships ————— 72

Masters and Mariners ————— 605

Fishermen ————— 34

In all 639

Devonshire.

Ships above 80 Tun ——— 8

Small Ships ————— 113

Masters, Mariners and Fishermen — 2176

Norfolk.

Ships above 80 Tun ——— 22

Small Ships ————— 148

Seamen of all forts ————— 1890

Suffolk.

Ships above 100 Tun ——— 26

Small Ships ————— 76

Seamen of all forts ————— 1286

Gloucestershire.

Ships under 80 Tun ——— 29

Masters, Seamen and Fishermen — 219

Cumberland.

Small Ships under 80 Tun..12

Mariners and Fishermen ——— 195

The Total of all Vessels ——— 1232

Above 80 Tun ————— 217

Mariners of all forts ——— 14295

The particular number of Ships and Mariners in the Fleet of 1100 Sail, in the days of King Edward III. with the Names of the Cinque-Ports, viz. Hastings, Rumney, Heth, Dover, and Sandwich.

The South Fleet.

<i>The Kings</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	25	<i>Hastings</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	5
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	419		<i>Mariners</i> _____	96
<i>London</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	25	<i>Rumney</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	4
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	662		<i>Mariners</i> _____	63
<i>Alford</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	9
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	24		<i>Mariners</i> _____	156
<i>Hoo</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2	<i>Heth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	6
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	24		<i>Mariners</i> _____	122
<i>Maidston</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	5	<i>Shoreham</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	20
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	59		<i>Mariners</i> _____	329
<i>Newbitb</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	5	<i>Safford</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	5
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	45		<i>Mariners</i> _____	80
<i>Margate</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	15	<i>N.wmouth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	160		<i>Mariners</i> _____	18
<i>Morten</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2	<i>Hambook</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	7
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	21		<i>Mariners</i> _____	117
<i>Fewersham</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2	<i>Hoke</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	11
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	25		<i>Mariners</i> _____	208
<i>Sandwich</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	22	<i>Southampton</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	21
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	504		<i>Mariners</i> _____	576
<i>Dover</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	16	<i>Lymington</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	5
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	336		<i>Mariners</i> _____	159
<i>Wight</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	13	<i>Poole</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	4
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	226		<i>Mariners</i> _____	94
<i>Winchelsey</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	21	<i>Warham</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	3
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	596		<i>Mariners</i> _____	59
<i>Weymouth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	13	<i>Swansey</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	263		<i>Mariners</i> _____	29
<i>Lyme</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	4	<i>Ilfordcomb</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	6
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	62		<i>Mariners</i> _____	79
<i>Seaton</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2	<i>Patrickstown</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	25		<i>Mariners</i> _____	27
<i>Sidborth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	3	<i>Polerwan</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	62		<i>Mariners</i> _____	60
<i>Exmouth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	10	<i>Wadworth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	193		<i>Mariners</i> _____	14
<i>Tegmouth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	7	<i>Cardiff</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	120		<i>Mariners</i> _____	51
<i>Dartmouth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	32	<i>Bridgwater</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	283		<i>Mariners</i> _____	14
<i>Portsmouth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	5	<i>Carmarthen</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	96		<i>Mariners</i> _____	16
<i>Plymouth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	26	<i>Carlchef-</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	603	<i>worth.</i>	<i>Mariners</i> _____	12
<i>Yalme</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2	<i>Malbrook</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	47		<i>Mariners</i> _____	12
<i>Foy</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	47			
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	770			
<i>Bristol</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	22			
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	608			
<i>Tinnmouth</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	2	<i>Bamburgh</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	1
	<i>Mariners</i> _____	52		<i>Mariners</i> _____	9
			<i>Newcastle</i>	<i>Ships</i> _____	17

Mariners

The North East.

<i>Walericb</i>	Mariners ————	140	<i>Harwich</i>	Mariners ————	303
	Ships ————	1		Ships ————	14
<i>Hartipoole</i>	Mariners ————	12		Mariners ————	283
	Ships ————	5	<i>Ipswich</i>	Ships ————	12
	Mariners ————	145		Mariners ————	239
<i>Hull</i>	Ships ————	16	<i>Mersey</i>	Ships ————	1
	Mariners ————	466		Mariners ————	6
<i>York</i>	Ships ————	1	<i>Bricklesey</i>	Ships ————	5
	Mariners ————	9		Mariners ————	61
<i>Ravenfer</i>	Ships ————	1	<i>Colchester</i>	Ships ————	5
	Mariners ————	17		Mariners ————	90
<i>Woodhouse</i>	Ships ————	1	<i>Whitbanes</i>	Ships ————	1
	Mariners ————	22		Mariners ————	17
<i>Strookeeth</i>	Ships ————	1	<i>Malden</i>	Ships ————	2
	Mariners ————	16		Mariners ————	32
<i>Burton</i>	Ships ————	3	<i>Derwin</i>	Ships ————	1
	Mariners ————	30		Mariners ————	15
<i>Swinfleet</i>	Ships ————	1			
	Mariners ————	10			
<i>Saltsfleet</i>	Ships ————	2			
	Mariners ————	49			
<i>Grimby</i>	Ships ————	12	<i>Hastings</i>	21 Ships with 21 Men each,	
	Mariners ————	170		and a Grummet.	
<i>Wainfleet</i>	Ships ————	2	<i>Romney</i>	21 Ships, each 21 Men, and	
	Mariners ————	40		a Grummet.	
<i>Wrangle</i>	Ships ————	1	<i>Heth</i>	5 Ships	
	Mariners ————	8	<i>Dover</i>	21 Ships.	
<i>Lenn, or Lynn</i>	Ships ————	16	<i>Sandwich</i>	5 Ships, to be rais'd out of	
	Mariners ————	382		Goods, and not of Land.	
<i>Blackney</i>	Ships ————	2			
	Mariners ————	38			
<i>Scarborough</i>	Ships ————	1			
	Mariners ————	19			
<i>Yarmouth</i>	Ships ————	43			
	Mariners ————	950			
<i>Dunwich</i>	Ships ————	6			
	Mariners ————	102			
<i>Orford</i>	Ships ————	3			
	Mariners ————	62			
<i>Gosford</i>	Ships ————	13			

Cinque-Ports.

They were, upon 40 Days warning, to furnish these Ships for 15 Days, upon their own Charge, after setting Sail; and to do it every Year, if they were demanded; the rest of the time the King to pay them.

The Privilege of the Cinque-Ports was first Granted by *St. Edward* the Confessor and *William* the Conqueror, and continu'd by the succeeding Kings.

Of the Sovereignty of the Seas of England, and of the Right belonging to Admirals in the same; as is to be seen in the Records in the Tower.

TO you, Lords Auditors, Deputed by the Kings of *England* and of *France*, to Redress the wrongs done to the People of their Kingdoms, and of their Territories subject to their Dominions by Sea and by Land, in the time of Peace, and in Truce; the Procurators of the Prelates, Nobles and Admirals of *England*, and of the Commonalties of Cities and Towns, and of Merchants, Mariners, Merchant Strangers, and of all others of the said Kingdom of *England*, and the Territories subject to the Dominion of the said King of *England*, and other places, as of the Coast of *Genoa*, *Catalonia*,

Spain, *Almanie*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, and of divers other places of the Empire, do shew,

That whereas the Kings of *England*, by reason of the said Kingdom, from times whereof there is no memory to the contrary, That it had been in Peaceable Possession of the Sovereign Dominions of the Sea of *England*, and of the Isles in the same, in making and establishing Laws and Restraints of Arms, and of Ships otherwise furnished, as Ships of Merchandize to be, and in taking Surety, and affording Safe-guard in all Cases, where need shall be, and in ordering all other things

things necessary for maintaining of Peace, Right, and Equity, between all manner of People, as well of other Dominions as of their own, passing through the said Seas, and the Sovereign Guard thereof; and in doing Justice to High and Low, according to the said Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Restraints, and in all other things may appertain to the Exercise of Sovereign Dominion, in the Places aforesaid. And *A. de B.* Admiral of the said Sea, Deputed by the King of *England*, and all other Admirals Ordain'd by the said King of *England*, had been in peaceable Possession of the said Sovereign Guard, with the Cognizance of Justice, and all other Appurtenances, except in case of Appeal, and of Complaint made of them to their Sovereigns the Kings of *England*, in default of Justice, and for evil Judgment, and especially for making of Stay, doing of Justice, and taking Surety of the Peace of all Ships aforesaid, otherwise furnish'd and set forth otherwise than appertains to a Merchants Ship; and in all other points where a Man may have reasonable Cause to suspect them of Robbery, or any other Misdemeanor. And whereas the Ships of the said Kingdom of *England*, in the absence of the said Admirals, have been in Peaceable Possession of taking Cognizance, and judging of all Actions done in the said Sea, between all manner of People, according to the said Laws, Statutes, Restraints and Customs: And whereas in the First Article of Alliance lately made between the said Kings, in their Treaties upon the last Peace of *Paris*, are compriz'd the Words following, in a Schedule annexed to these Presents.

' First, It is treated and agreed, betwixt us and the Messengers and Procurators aforesaid, in the Names of the said Kings, That the said Kings should from this time forward be, one to the other, good, true and loyal Friends, in aiding and assisting against all Men, save the Church of *Rome*, in such manner, That if any one or more, whatsoever they be, would disinheret, hinder or molest the said Kings, in the Franchises, Liberties, Privileges, Rights, Duties or Customs of them, and of their Kingdoms, they shall be good and loyal Friends, in aiding against all Men that may live or die, to defend, keep or maintain, the Franchises, Liberties, Privileges, Rights, Duties and Customs aforesaid, (except the King of *England*, Monsieur *John Duke of Brabant*, and his Heirs descending of him and of the Daughter

' of the King of *England*; and except to our aforesaid Lord the King of *France*, the Excellent Prince *John Earl of Hainault*) and that the one should not be of Council, or Aiding, where the other may lose Life, Member, Estate, or Temporal Honour.

Monsieur *Reynault Grimbault*, who styles himself Admiral of the Sea aforesaid, deputed by his Lord the King of *France* in his War against the *Flemmings*, contrary to the said Alliance, and the Intention of him that made it, wrongfully assumed the Office of Admiralty in the said Sea of *England*, by the Commission of the said King of *France*, and us'd the same one year and more, taking the People and the Merchants of the Kingdom of *England*, and of other Places, passing through the said Sea, with their Goods; and deliver'd the People so taken to the Prisons of his said Lord the King of *France*, and caus'd their Goods and Merchandize, by his Judgment and Award, to be brought to the Receivers deputed by the said King of *France* in the Ports of his said Kingdom, as to him forfeited and accruing; and the taking and determining of the said People with their said Goods and Merchandize, as also his said Judgment and Award, hath justify'd before you Lords Auditors in Writing, by Vertue and Authority of his said Commission of the Admiralty aforesaid, by him usurped, and during a Restraint so generally made by the King of *England*, by reason of his Power, and according to the Form of the Third Article of the Alliance aforesaid, which contains the Words underwritten; requiring that he might be acquitted and absolv'd of the same, to the great Damage and Prejudice of the said King of *England*, the Prelates, Nobles, and others above-nam'd.

Wherefore the said Procurators, in the Names of the said Lords, do pray you Lords Auditors aforesaid, That you cause due and speedy Delivery of their said people, of their Goods and Merchandize so taken and detain'd to be made to the Admiral of the said King of *England*, and to whom the Cognizance of the same of Right appertains as is before express'd; for that without the Disturbance of you, or any other, he may take Cognizance thereof, and do that which appertains to his Office aforesaid.

And that the said Monsieur *Reynault Grimbault* be condemn'd and constrain'd to make due Satisfaction to all the Parties damnify'd, so far forth as he shall be able;

P p

and

and in his default, his said Lord the King of *France*, by whom he was deputed to the said Office; and that after due Satisfaction made to the Parties damnify'd, the said Monsieur *Grimbault* be so duly punish'd for the Violation of the said Alli-

ance that his Punishment may be an Example to others in time to come.

Thus much for *England's* Authentick Proofs of her Sovereignty on the Seas in these latter times.

A more ancient Proof of the Sovereignty of the Seas.

BUT *England* may plead a more Ancient Sovereignty o'er the Seas, and not only the *Narrow Seas* that divide *France* and her, but also all other Seas that encompass her, as Well East and West, as North and South.

Julius Agricola was the first that Sail'd about *England* and *Scotland*, and subdu'd the Islands of *Orkney*, when *England* was call'd *Britain*.

King *Edgar* made his Summers Progress as appears upon Record, by Sailing about the whole Island of *Albion*, and was guarded with a Navy of 4000 Sail, which he divided into four Squadrons, and appointed 1000 Ships to every Squadron.

King *Arthur* subdu'd *Ireland*, *Izeland*, *Norway*, *Gotland*, and many other Kingdoms, which he could not have done, if he had not been Master of all the then known World by Sea, and in Shipping.

And if we speak of our *English* Conquests, since *William* of *Normandy*, we shall find that *Richard* the 1. in his Expedition to *Jerusalem* in 1090. had with him 254 Tall Ships, and 60 Gallies.

Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry* III. in his Voyage to *Asia* in 1270. had a gallant Navy of Ships, which God Bless'd above other Princes that join'd with him in that Expedition; for he lost never a Ship by Tempest, when the others had 120 Sail cast away.

Edward 3. had a Fleet at one time of 1100 Vessels, and because it shall the better appear, I have set down the particular numbers of them and their Men, with the

Names of their Ports from whence they were furnished, immediately before these two Discourses of the Sovereignty of the *Narrow Seas*.

And as for the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, I have set down her Offensive and Defensive Fleets in the said First Book: And comparing the strength at Sea, in the days of King *James*, and King *Charles*, we may very well say and conclude, that they are treble to those in the Queens time, both for the Number, Greatness and Goodness of Ships.

The Rustical People that go about to impugn the Prerogative due to *England* by Sea, are the *Hollanders*, not only by Calumniations, and malicious Practises, but by scandalous Pamphlets, which they divulge to prove the liberty of the Sea.

But the Nature of those base People ought to be consider'd, who turn all things topsie turvy, and make it their business to alter and change the Course of the World, and the Laws Anciently settled in it: They withstand the Rightful Power of Kings, establish'd by God himself, and cast it upon Beer-Brewers and Basket-Makers, whom they obey as Kings: They make the chiefest Offenders Judges, and the Justest Judges Delinquents; and therefore it is no marvel, if they use His Majesty Malipertly at Sea, that Treat their Natural Prince Rebelliously on Land: But mark the end of such Actions, wherein they offend God more than Man; and commonly such Injuries never escape without cruel Revenge in the end.

Presidents known to the Author, of Princes, as well Turks as Christians, standing up for Prerogatives in their Seas and Ports.

THE Prerogative of Princes, within their own Dominions, is without limit, and ever Receiv'd and Practis'd by consent of all Kings and Monarchs; for which Reason, Princes are bound to maintain one anothers Rights in that point

And to put the case in the Accident lately happen'd in the *Downs*, through the Insolency of the *Hollanders* surprizing certain Ships of *Dunkirke*; I confess, tho' the Injury and Loss be great to the King of *Spain's* Subjects, whose Ships were taken,

ken, yet the Indignity is much more to his Majesty, than to the others; because they were forc'd away from under his Protection and Safeguard.

All Ports and Harbours of Princes, are call'd their Chambers, and as dutifully to be Observ'd and Reverenc'd by Strangers resorting to them, as the others are; and therefore the *Hollanders* might as well have seiz'd on the Person of a *Dunkirker*, within His Majesty's Chamber and Presence, as have offer'd this inexcusable Contempt, within any of His Majesty's Ports.

And because Examples and Presidents are the Rules, in such Cases, to make good Princes Rights, and uphold their Honours, I will collect some Accidents that happen'd in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, of famous Memory, and *Henry 3.* then King of *France*: I will prosecute the like Cases in the time of King *James*: And Lastly, of the King of *Barbary*, a *Mahometan*, who yet stands as much upon the Prerogative of his Ports, as tho' he had Power to maintain them by Shipping.

In the Year 1588. when the *Spanish* Fleet was put from its Anchor by our Fireships in the Road of *Calais*. The Admiral of the Four Galleasses, Don *Hugo de Moncado* was forc'd ashore, and there wrack'd: Whereupon my Lord Admiral Commanded her to be attempted with some Ship-Boats, Mann'd out of his Fleet, and making an attempt upon her, the Governor of *Calais*, Monsieur *Gurdon*, thought it such an Indignity to his Master, that he shot at the *English* and defended the Galeass, which otherwise had been in our Power to have Burnt.

That same Year, and in the same Action of 88. one of the Gallions of *Spain*, put into *Newhaven* in *Normandy*, which Queen *Elizabeth* understanding, sent some of her Ships to surprize her in the Harbour; and as her Ships were bearing into the said Port, they were forbidden to meddle with her, with Shot from the Castle; which we obey'd, tho' it was well known, That in those days the *French* King did much more Favour the Queen and her Proceedings, than the King of *Spain*: But it is true, that Princes are always more jealous of their Honours, than private Persons.

King *James*, after his Accession to the Crown, finding that many occasions of Controversie were like to arise, betwixt the *Dunkirkers* and *Hollanders*, who were then at War, and the King a Friend to both; he directed by his Proclamation, how far he would protect either of them that should first arrive under his Prote-

ction: commanding such Ships as should arrive first in any of his Ports, that they should have liberty of two Tides to depart before they should be pursu'd by the Enemy: And because he would have the extents of his Chamber declar'd, for all Nations to take notice of its Limits express'd therein, he caus'd it to be drawn by a Line from Headland to Headland, by the Advice of the *Trinity-House*, who could best determine it. This Act of his was duly observ'd, during the time of the Wars betwixt *Spain* and *Holland*; tho' at the beginning the *Hollanders* found themselves much griev'd at this Decree of the King's, when they could not have their Wills upon several Ships of *Dunkirke* that arriv'd in the *Downs*; for Sir *William Monson* was very careful and watchful to observe and obey His Majesty's Commands, without Regard or Respect to either of them.

And whereas a Ship of *Dunkirk* arriving at *Portsmouth*, through some defect the Captain sold her, reserving her Tackling, Ordnance, and Rigging, which he Shipp'd in an *English* Barque for *Dunkirke*, but by contrary Winds the Barque put into the *Downs* at a time when none of His Majesty's Ships were there Riding; an *Holland* Ship having Intelligence of it, against the Honour of the King he seiz'd upon her, and carry'd her into *Holland*: But this Affront being made known to His Majesty by Monsieur *Habuck*, then Ambassador for the Arch-Duke, His Majesty caus'd Restitution of Ship and Goods to be made; and the States seem'd offended with the Captain that did it.

Lastly, for as much as concerns the King of *Morocco*, all such *Englishmen* as Trade into *Barbary* can testify, That if any Ship, abiding in any of his Ports, be assail'd by any strange Nation, (as I will make comparison betwixt an *Englishman* and a *Spaniard*;) If an *Englishman* shall offer to surprize a *Spaniard* in any of his said Ports, the best Revenge he can take, and as I have known him offer to do, in a Case of my own, Anno 1587. he will instantly seize upon the Persons and Goods of all those *English* that are Resident and Trading in his Country, and Confiscate both Lives and Merchandize; so much Regard he has to the Reputation and State of Monarchy.

And besides these Precedents of Prerogatives of Princes aforesaid, the Civil Law which is Universal, and decides all Controversies at Sea, has adjudged this Case *Amicus Soli* (*viz.*) If a Ship taken

by an Enemy, be brought into the Port of a Friend to both, the Prize not having been at home with him that took her, before her arrival in a Friend's Country; she is as free as if she had not been taken. And if this be a Resolution in the

Law, How much more is a Prince injur'd by the Case aforesaid, and therefore Punishable, I refer to Consideration; for Harbours and Ports of Princes are Sacred things, and not to be disturb'd or question'd.

A Discourse directed to the Subjects, exhorting them to pay Ship-Money, and contribute with their Fortunes and Persons to punish the Insolencies of the Dutch.

CUSTOM becomes Law, which can plead no antienter Right, especially where that Custom is maintain'd by Force and Power; for it is an old Saying, That Custom has taught Nations, Reason Men, and Nature Beasts. Tyrants will not admit of Custom, nor submit to the Justice of their Cause, but to their own proper Power and Will: But God be thanked this Kingdom never admitted of Tyrants Titles, but of their true Inheritors, descending from their Ancestors; and if this Descent were at any time impugn'd by Usurpers, the Violence lasted not long, but Right took place, like the true Religion, which pestiferous Heresies could never darken or suppress.

And as Antiquity, Descent and Justice have Crown'd the Kings of this Land with lawful Authority, from our first *William* to this very day; so have the Seas given as Authentick Privileges and Prerogatives to the Kings thereof, by consent of Foreign Nations, as the former Record doth Declare; and ever since we have held an undoubted Succession, which makes our Title the more Strong and Potent. For First we plead Consent and Allowance of other Countries. Secondly, the long use and execution of it. Thirdly, a continual Possession without contradiction or opposition. And Lastly, our Force, that in all Ages has been able to maintain it, in the spite of any that should gainsay it.

And as we have receiv'd this Prerogative from our Forefathers, from whom all other Goodness descended, as both Tradition and Records do witness; who should doubt of the Truth thereof? Or who may not as well question the Clemency of *Julius Cæsar*, the Magnificency of *Alexander*, or the Goodness of *Trajan*? If Actions and Accidents of times past be not allow'd, all things that are gone before or like a Dream, which when we awake we remember not, nor know any thing of it. *Cicero* saith, That if a

Man knew no more than when he is Born, he should be always a Child; for History and Monuments make Heroical Deeds to live again, which otherwise would be buried in everlasting Forgetfulness.

But can there be a more approv'd Testimonial, than that we live and enjoy the Ancient Right left to the Crown of this Kingdom, as many ancient Families have done their Lands and Possessions to their Heirs and Successors, who since, through the lewdness of the times, have Prodiggally consum'd them, and made themselves the Scorn of the World: Therefore let the greater Mischief be shunn'd by Example of the less, that we may avoid the Disgrace, Imputation and Shame, the *Hollanders* endeavour to put upon us, by questioning and denying the Sovereignty of the Sea, as is apparent by their late insolent carriage to His Majesty's Ships serving in the Narrow Seas; an Injury without Satisfaction, unless we be publickly righted by open Proclamation, not only in the excuse of the Fact, but in acknowledging His Majesty's undoubted Right; which if they deny to do, they must be made to know, That the way to wipe out old Offences, is not to offer new ones.

But if ambiguous Words, or feign'd Promises will give us satisfaction, no doubt they will think it a little Lip-labour for their Tongues to pronounce it; but in that point they are like Spies, that will dissemble one thing and say another; it will be all one to us to be Deaf, as to Harken to what they say, unless we compell them *per force*; for the nature of them is, to be proud when Successful, and to become Disloyal, and Base withal; as on the contrary, when cast down they will yield and sink under Calamity, which is the right property of Cowards.

Here is an occasion offer'd for all true *Englishmen*, to have a feeling of a publick and National Wrong; for a Reproach to a discreet Man, is more than the Lance of an Enemy. What Affront can be greater

greater, or what can make a Man valiant, rather than a Dishonour done to ones Prince and Country, especially by a People that was wont to know no more, than how to catch, pickel, and feed upon Fish, till now they are made drunk with our *English* Beer, and so rude and unruly, that they strike at us their next and best Neighbours and Friends.

But since our *English* Beer has that operation on their Brains, let us keep it from them, and let them find the effect of our Laws against Drunkards, which is the Whipping-post, as not worthy of a better Revenge; For a Prince that punishes publick Offences, and forgives private Injuries to himself, has true Honour.

Towards this Defence of our Reputation, it is requisite some be aiding with Money, and others with their Persons. They that have not the one must supply the defect with the other; let the Rich assist in liberal Payment, and leave the rest to the Valour of Soldiers, who will think of nothing but Revenges suitable to the Wrong. And nothing claims Revenge more than a Contempt of our Prince.

This done, the next thing to be recommended is Celerity, as the principal advantage in War; and therefore let us Disdain, and not Dally with the *Hollanders*, for it gives a Coward Courage: Our Houses are not made of Glass, that we need fear their throwing Stones; we shall find them like a Lion, not so fierce as he is painted, nor themselves so terrible as they are imagin'd. Let us strike and not threaten, for that is Womanish; and it is an old Saying, That a threaten'd Man eats Bread.

Yet let not what we do, be done in Fury, for Fury admits no Reason; let our Actions be govern'd with Discretion and Temper, for Rashness causes Repentance; and he that seeks not to avoid Danger, and with Valour to encounter it, Tempts God more than he Trusts in him. The greatest Glory of a Commander, is, to obtain a Victory with the least loss; for Stratagems of War are the Products of Wisdom; and Secrecy is requisite to conceal all designs from the Enemy, who is better overcome by Policy, than dint of Valour.

The Property of a Soldier is to be courageous in Fight, and free from Fear; for the true valiant Man loves Life and fears not Death; he is spurr'd on by Revenge when Injuries require it, and knowing that Death cannot be avoided, is the less afraid of it. We see daily what little value Life is of, since every Soldier will venture it for 6*d*. The Badge a Soldier

should bear; ought to be writ in his Forehead, *For my God, my Prince and Country, I adventure my Life*. Then seeing Death is of so little value, and the Honour of ones Prince of such high Esteem, let us not shew our selves so indifferent, as to regard whether we Dye or Live: Let us seek to imitate the *Lacedmonians*, among whom, a Matron being told, they only had the rule of their Husbands, answer'd, It was no wonder, because they only brought forth valiant Children. I need say no more to this point, since you are *Englishmen*, and therefore brave; you see your Prince and Country injured and affronted, which your Ancestors were never wont to put up, without bitter Revenge: The People that do this wrong, are so inferior to you, that they are unworthy the Title of Gentlemen, or the name of a Nation; their Original being drawn out of the Sea, as by the Etymology of *Zealand* it appears, that is to say, Sea and Land; their Lives, their Religion, their Education and Breeding, differs as much from the Society of Civil People of other Nations, as they differ from one another in diversity of Sects and Schisms. They live more by false Fame and Fortune, than by any Truth spoken of them; their Fame is gain'd by the intestine War they maintain against their Prince and Country, and by the People of the several Nations that serve them, who spread abroad their own Glory and Praise, because they are the Actors of their Wars. Few judge rightly of the Cause of their Renown; for if we take it truly as it is in it self, it is the Situation of their Country, their Rivers, the Sea fill'd with the multitude of their Ships, and the jealousy other Nations have of the Greatness of *Spain*, that are the true grounds on which they erect their Monuments of Fame.

As for their Fortune, I do not marvel at it; for Fortune often favours the Unjust; and God, who is the disposer of Fortune, as all things else, can change their Good into bad, and many times he suffereth a wicked Man to climb that he may give him the greater fall when he is at his highest. Therefore let nothing dismay your Heroical Spirits; but go on with your Undertakings.

Now will I apply my self to Men of Means and Estates, who must bear the burthen, as the Soldiers do the brunt of the War. There are two Motives that lead you to Revenge; the one is Honour to our Nation, the other a general and particular Security to your selves and Country: The Affront done you is often repeated, with the Qualities of the People that

that did it, which are such as can claim no Honour to themselves by the Rules of Christianity; which makes the Affront greater than from a King or Prince, who can distinguish concerning giving or taking Affronts. A Disgrace to few, is born by a few: but when it is done to a Country, all Men of that Country ought to have a feeling of it, by the Law and Rule of *Solon*; and whereas a private Man's Reputation is as dear to him, as his Eyes, so ought (in a higher degree of Comparison) the Honour of our Prince and Country to be, as the Noble Acts and Deeds of the *Romans* have taught by sundry Examples.

Let not the Meanness, the Baseness and the Situation of the *Hollanders* make us despise their Force and Abilities, to endanger us; for we want not Precedents, that all the flourishing and civil Commonwealths of the World, have been Subdu'd and Conquer'd by as mean and rude People as they are: *Brennus* was entic'd to the Conquest of *Italy*, by the sweet and delicious Wines that Country afforded, which neither he nor his Soldiers had ever tasted. The Air, the Soil and Plenty, drew the *Goths*, the *Huns* and the *Vandals*, from out of the Habitations of Snow and Ice, to People the delightful Southern Parts, where the Sun spreads forth his Beams and Heat. All goodness that is comprehended in these Southern Countries, abounds in *England*, and is much desir'd by the *Hollanders*, who well know the State of it and us.

You are not Ignorant what will ensue by their labouring to exceed us in Shipping; for if they prevail, you shall find our Laws and Government obnoxious to them: Your fair Buildings without, and Ornaments within, will give better Accommodation to *Haunce*, than a mean Cabbin in a Fisherboat, which is their ordinary abode. There is nothing so Unjust or Cruel, which they will not find a Text of Scripture to execute upon you, they are so perfect in the Interpretation of it. Our Danger is the greater by our Neighbour, having, as it were, but a Pond betwixt us; but especially through the Ignorance of our vulgar People, infatuated with their Republican Government, with their ridiculous and phantastical Religion, and with

their imagin'd Integrity and Sincerity, but principally out of Faction and Discontent against the time we live in, not having sense to consider the Benefit they receive, nor ever ceasing to slander the Actions of others. But let them beware, for it is better for the Mouse and Frog to agree, than for the Kite to be Umpire: It will be better for you to contribute now whilst you have something, than to be bereav'd of all you have; He that hath Nothing adventures Nothing, and is as ready to make havock of you, as an Enemy.

The Question will be, Whether Fear or Covetousness shall prevail? Fear makes you prevent the worst, but Covetousness keeps you from preventing it, when *Mois* requir'd. Fear is not so grievous to a miserable Man that only hears of it, but does not see it, because he presumeth his Wealth will defend him: But let him beware, for where Law serves not, Weapons have Power over him and his Wealth; and then he will have cause to say, That Poverty was bad, but Riches much worse, when it brings him into that Thralldom which he will be forc'd to confess was not caus'd by Poverty, but by too much Plenty, and want of Discretion and Grace to employ it.

You are like a Covetous Man, who, out of Avarice, will not be at the Charge of mending his Chimney to avoid the Hazard of burning his House, or the stopping of an Inundation of Water, with the Cost of casting up of a Bank: But here you will meet with worse than Fire or Water, that is, with a merciless unavoidable War, where all Comfort shall be taken away, but only that you shall see your Enemies in as ill case as your selves. Do like the Matrons of *Rome* in case of Necessity, who wanting a Cup of Gold to present to *Apollo*, contributed towards it with their Jewels and Bracelets, for which they receiv'd the Reward of Virtue, Honour and Fame. And to conclude, these Changes will make you confess and find, That Man is the Pattern of Frailty; the Spoil of Time; the Game of Fortune; the Image of Inconstancy, and the Tryal of Envy: Therefore trust not the World, for it pays not what it seems to promise.

The Author's Reasons, Why the King did not sooner resent the Wrongs offer'd him by the Dutch, and for his setting out the Fleet in 1635.

THE King, out of his great Providence and Wisdom, weighing the State of Things, as they then stood abroad, thought not good by Force and Strength to right himself upon the *Hollanders*, for their Insolencies committed in the Narrow Seas, tho' all the World knew he had a Power by the force of his Navy, to revenge himself on them; but his Majesty graciously rather imputed the *Hollanders* Carriage to the rude, rustical and unmannerly Behaviour of some of their Captains, who were never taught Morality, Civility, Humanity, or Honesty: Wherefore his Majesty held it fitter in this case, that their Masters the States should know their Errors, by a sharp Reprehension, declar'd by his Majesty's Resident there abiding, than by any way at present to chastize them. He also saw, that his Neighbour Princes were distracted, and strove underhand to join in League one with another, for the best Advantage of their State, wherein he was to behold and expect the Success and Event of things then in hand, and to be no more assur'd of one's Friendship than of another's, till this Year 1635. his Majesty had tryal of the *Hollanders* Inconstancy and Unthankful Proceedings; for, contrary to the rules of common Honesty, they neglected his Majesty's repeated Offers of Peace, to make an end of those long and intestine Wars, both themselves and their Predecessors had long suffer'd under: But I say they little regarding or esteeming his Favours in that kind, rather cast themselves upon *France*, that offer'd to support and maintain their ancient and unlawful Divisions.

After much working, and Ambassadors often passing between them and *France*, at last they concluded on an Offensive and Defensive League, by which *France* was to declare War against *Spain*. The Consequences of such a League being dangerous, and an unlimited Ambition never with safety to be trusted, his Majesty had just cause to be suspicious of these Innovations: He had reason to weigh these

things, and to consider why *Holland* and *France* should so strictly Combine and League together, both of them being Neighbours to him; and why it should be now hastned more than in former times, when *France* and *England*, gave an indifferent and a sufficient Relief to *Holland* by consent.

The King also seeing the ambitious Enterprizes of *France*, assisted and animated by *Holland*, to disturb the Christian and Peaceable Common-Wealth of *Europe*, and unjustly to seize upon his Neighbouring Territories, without Cause given, yea, not sparing by Treachery and Force to enjoy the Countries of his weakest and nearest Friend, the ancient State of *Lorraine*, which lay in his way, to hinder his unlawful Designs; these were sufficient Motives and Reasons, for the King's Majesty to behold his own case with an Eye of Prevention. But especially finding a Combination betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to divide and devour the Provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to possess the Maritime Towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others opposite to *England*, this made his Majesty to think how to quench the Fire that might flame into his own House: And having Intelligence that they were both of them to join in one Fleet, a thing not usually done by the *French*; and they making no publick Declaration of the Design of their Ships, as commonly Princes use to do in such Cases, his Majesty could make no less construction, than that they intended to deprive him of his ancient and allow'd Prerogative of the Narrow Seas, which behoved him as much to defend as his Kingdom; for he that covets the one, will do as much by the other if it were in his power to effect it: Wherefore his Majesty arm'd these Ships following to Sea, to enquire Reason at their hands; not intending to Injure any Nation, but to keep himself and Subjects from being Injur'd, and to curb the Insolency and Pride of any People that should go about to infringe his Royal Prerogative.

A Navy set out by his Majesty in the Year 1635.

Ships.

The Mere. honour, a Ship Royal,
The James,
The Swiftsure
The George,
The St. Andrew,
The Henrietta Maria,
The Vanguard,
The Rainbow,
The Lyon,
The Reformation,
The Leopard,
The Mary Rose,
The Adventure,
The Swallow,
The Antelope,
The Lyon's Second Whelp,
The Lyon's Third Whelp,
The Lyon's Eighth Whelp,
The Lyon's Tenth Whelp,

Merchant Ships.

The Sampson,
The Royal Exchange,
The Freeman,
The Pleiades,
The William and Thomas,
The Minikin Catch,

Commanders.

Robert Earl of Lindsey, Admiral.
 Sir William Monson, Vice-Admiral.
 Sir John Penington, Rear Admiral.
 Capt. James Mountague.
 Capt. Walter Stenari.
 Capt. Thomas Porter.
 Sir Francis Siddenham.
 Capt. Thomas Povey.
 Capt. John Mennis.
 The Lord Pawlett.
 Capt. Lewis Kirke.
 Capt. George Cartwright.
 Capt. Parramore.
 Capt. Henry Stradling.
 Capt. Richard Fogge.
 Capt. Anthony Penruddock.
 Capt. Peter Lindsey.
 Capt. Thomas Price.
 Capt. William Smith.

Commanders.

Capt. Thomas Kirke.
 Capt. John Hyde.
 Capt. Richard Feilding.
 Capt. David Purrey.
 Capt. John Fletcher.
 John Barton Master.

This glorious and victorious Fleet departed from *Tilbury*. Hope the 26th of May, with Direction and Resolution to give no occasion of Hostility, or to make any Nation Enemy to his Majesty; only to defend his and his Kingdom's Honour, that had been lately and lavishly tax'd by the vain boasting of a Fleet of *French* and *Hollanders*, which join'd off *Portland* the last of May: Their bragging Pretence was to question his Majesty's Prerogative on the Narrow Seas; and they stuck not to proclaim wherefore they came; but it is to be observ'd, that the greatest Threatners are the least Fighters, and so far'd it with them; for they no sooner heard of our readiness to find them, but they pluck'd in their Horns, and quitted our Coast, never more repairing upon it, which gave great Satisfaction to the Shires we pals'd, that before were struck with a Terror. And because we would be the better inform'd where the Fleet was, and what it did, we sent a Bark upon the Coast of *Britany*, whither we knew they were retir'd, and by it understood their Designs, the weak condition of their Ships, Heart,

and Abilities any more to look upon the *English* Coast.

From the time of the Return of this Bark till the First of *October*, we made good our Seas and Shores, gave Laws to our Neighbour Nations, and restor'd the ancient Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas to our Gracious King, as was ever due to his Majesty's Progenitors.

Whilst this Fleet was preparing, and Money raising to furnish it, there were many idle, factious and scandalous Reports invented, and spread abroad by disaffected People. Their Speeches tended to the Dishonour of the King, and no less to the Reproach of his Ministers of State, saying, That the fitting out of such a Fleet, was but a Colour to draw Money from the Multitude, to be otherwise employ'd than was pretended: But when they saw the end in Arming such a Royal Navy, and the Necessity of it, to give Terror to the World, after so many imputations cast upon our Nation, by our former unfortunate Actions at Sea, it bred a great Alteration in the Disposition of People, as well at home as abroad.

It appear'd at home by the readines and willingness of those that before seem'd to oppose it, and were most averse unto it, who now being satisfy'd as to the mistrust they had, shew'd themselves more ready and willing to contribute to it than others, being satisfy'd it so nearly concern'd the Honour of their King and Country.

We may say it had the like Success abroad, where, at the beginning of our Preparations, the Gazetteers stuck not to divulge in all Languages many false invented Reports, which no doubt they receiv'd out of *England*, as namely, the Discontent of the Subjects, and their general Denial to contribute towards it with Moneys; besides many other invented Calumniation, which now they find themselves abus'd and deceiv'd in; for whosoever will speak with Travellers lately come from beyond Sea, or confer with Merchants and others, that have weekly Intelligence and Correspondence by Letters from all parts of *Europe*, will find what the World conceives of this Fleet, and the Fear all Nations apprehend of it, not knowing which of them it may bring into danger. They now acknowledge what wise Men in *England* knew before, that the King and his Kingdom could not be more Honour'd, than by this Noble Expedition: The Terror of it has made them that did not Love us, at least to Fear us. It has stopp'd the Mouths of Detractors, who now impute our former ill govern'd Actions to the true and infallible Causes, when witless Partiality, want of Experience, and the vain Ambition of Men in Authority, more than Reason, had the Disposing of them.

The *Hollanders* by this time, I doubt not, find, That this Royal Fleet of ours is able to make the Seas quake under us where we pass, and themselves to tremble when they call to mind the intollerable Affronts they have put upon us, fearing they may require revenge; for there is no Nation naturally so base, so soon elevated with good Fortune, and dejected when they see themselves over-matter'd: They are rash and mad in their Fury and Drink, but want Valour or Courage to justify their Actions, when they are Sober and call'd to an account for them.

But if the threatening Shew will not abate their insufferable Insolencies, then let us consider the State of their Country, their Harbour, their Depths, or what advantage else we can take of them, by Stratagems, or otherwise, if they offend us. I will begin with the North part of *Holland*,

and take *Zeland* and the Ports of *Flanders* in my way, till I arrive at *Calais* in *Picardy*, in the Dominions of *France*.

I will not speak of the Port of *Embsen*, because it cannot be accounted *Holland*, for properly it belongs to the Earl of that Name, call'd the Count of *Embsen*; but this Town imitating the Precedent of *Rebellious Holland*, whose Doctrine is to cast off the Yoke of Monarchy, and to live under the Rule and Government they have begun and taught; the Subjects of the said Earl have depriv'd him, not only of his Estate, but of his Life also.

But God, who is the Revenger of all evil Actions, and commonly inflicts the same Punishment on the Actors, they offend in, has made an Example of that City and Country, since they practiz'd their foul Treachery against their Prince, inso much as they are now become most slavish to the *Hollanders*, who Tyrannize over them with an irresistible Garison; and thus they are oppress'd without any hope of Redemption.

There is no Comparison for goodness, between this Harbour of *Embsen* in the East of *Friseland*, and all others from *Brest* in *Britanny*, till you come to it. Next to it to the Southward is the *Texel* in *Holland*; it lies North East and South West 47 Leagues from the Foreland in *Kent*, and from *Tarmouth* in *Norfolk* 32 Leagues; not to speak of the Chanel of the *Fly*, nor another Chanel betwixt the *Spanish* Chanel and the *Land-Deep*, which are for small Shipping. I will describe the two main Channels, that is to say, the *Spanish* Gut and the *Land-Deep* aforesaid; they are both of one sort and goodness, tho' not for all Winds; they Flow at a Spring-Tide Twenty four foot, and fall Sixteen at an Ebb; they lead at a Road under the Island of *Texel*, which defends them from the Sea. This Island is poorly Inhabited, and of small Strength, as it is us'd; but he that has it, has the Command of all the Towns in that part of *Holland*, *Gelderland* and *Friseland*, who can neither pass in or out, without the Permission of the Island: And this is my first Observation of the Advantage we can take of *Holland*.

The next Port of Importance to *Texel* is the *Nass* in West *Holland*, Twenty four Leagues South West and by South from thence, and to the Foreland West and by South Twenty four Leagues. The *Nass* has three Channels, two better, and the third like the *Texel*; all three meeting at the *Btil*, which commands all Ships of *Skedam*, *Roterdam*, *Delpb Haven*, *Dort*, and all other Creeks thereabouts. My

second Observation for our Advantage, is, to get Possession of the *Bril*, as formerly we had. Two Leagues from the *Maese*, South-west, lies the *Goree*, the same Course and Distance from the *Foreland* in *England*, that the other is. This Harbour exceeds all the rest before nam'd, having 18 Foot at Low-Water, with a large and broad Channel, but not frequented by great Ships but out of Necessity, when they have not Water sufficient to go into the *Maese*, till they have unladen part of their Goods at *Goree*.

The Cause why this Harbour is no more in request, is, by reason that *Rotterdam*, and the other Towns before nam'd, are far distant from thence; and such Merchandize as is brought in great Ships to the *Goree*, must be Transported in smaller Vessels through a Creek call'd the *Spy*, which is a great Delay, Trouble and Expence to the Merchant.

Six Leagues West from thence lies the Island of *Waterland* in *Zealand*, where *Flushing* is seated. There are three Channels likewise, better than the rest, except the *Goree*: The Inconveniency of these Channels is, that they are long and narrow, and yet I have known at several times most part of the King's Ships turn in at the *Weelings*. This is so well known to the

English, that there needs no other Reputation of it.

The next good Harbour to *Flushing*, laying aside *Sluce*, which is not worth naming, is *Ostend*, twelve Leagues West-South-West from thence; and eight Leagues farther is *Dunkirk*.

The King of *Spain* makes great use of these Two Towns for annoying the *Hollanders* by Sea; but a League and a half from *Dunkirk*, there is lately another Harbour erected call'd *Mardike*, that will entertain a whole Fleet of the greatest Ships that sails on the Seas, and lies more to the hurt and damage of *England*, than all the rest of the Harbours aforesaid; And therefore if ever Wars should happen betwixt us and *Spain*, it would behove us to get Possession of it, for we have had a late Trial of the Mischief it hath done us by our late short War with *Spain*.

I confess it will be a hard thing for us to effect it, because of the extraordinary Fortifications to Seaward; and to think to keep in their Ships by sinking Vessels in the mouth of the Channel, is a folly, for the Quicksands are such upon that Coast, that as often as a Ship shall be sunk, she will be suddenly swallow'd up in the Sand; so that this Stratagem will not serve.

An Introduction to the Earl of Northumberland's Voyage, in the Year 1636.

HIS Majesty finding that the last years Fleet of 1635. produc'd both Fame and Safety to himself and Realm, as is apparent by the Voyage of that year; he resolv'd to persevere in his former Resolutions, that it should not be look'd upon by other Nations, as a sudden unpremeditated Determination, or a vain, needless Ostentation, to shew what he could do, if put to it by an Enemy. Therefore he prepar'd this year 1636. a Fleet nothing inferior to the others, to make good what he had declar'd before, (*viz.*) To Maintain the Sovereignty of the Seas, due to the Crown of *England* in all Ages, and left him by his Progenitors: As also to defend the Peaceable Commerce and Traffique that had evermore belonged and continued to his Jurisdiction, but had lately been disturb'd by the *Dutch*, committing Hostilities upon the *Dunkirkers* under his Majesty's Protection.

But as this Fleet could not be furnish'd and prepar'd without great Expence, it was thought convenient to carry it equally

betwixt the King and his Subjects, in regard the Expedition was for their Good, Safety, and Reputation, as well as for the Honour of the King; for as the Office of a King is to be careful of all his Provinces, Countreys, and Subjects, to be Partial to none, but a Father to all with indifferency; so the Part of Subjects is to pay a Dutiful Obedience when they shall be call'd upon, for the Reasons aforesaid; Whereupon his Majesty directed his Letters to every Shire, to levy such a proportion of Money as would suffice for the furnishing of the intended Navy.

But as general Demands and Contributions of Money are commonly distasteful to the Multitude, who are divided in Opinions, every one pretending a seeming Reason and Excuse; so did it make as great a difference in Men's Minds and Humours, some complaining of their Want and Poverty, some excepting against it as a needless and unnecessary Charge, disapproving the Design: And others excepting against the Unexperienc'd

Com-

Commanders, who they said were fit to make a good Design miscarry.

But if the Detractors will but weigh, and with indifferency consider their suppos'd Objections, it will appear rather a Refractory Disposition, that desires to possess others with the like Perverseness, than any just Cause they have to complain against it.

If these Demands seem too heavy a Burthen for all the Subjects in general to undergo, let them look back, and with indifferency compare the times of Queen *Eliz.* with these, and they will find what daily Demands of Money were then made at their hands, and how willingly they were granted, for the Maintenance of a War against so mighty a Prince as the King of *Spain* upon his own Coast, for the Relief of *Holland*, and to assist the King of *France*; besides the Domestique dangerous Rebellious War in *Ireland*; which Expences they will perceive, were beyond comparison greater than the present, as appears by what follows.

In 88. the City of *London* being required to furnish 5000 Soldiers, and 15 Ships of War; of their own accord they granted 10000 Soldiers and 30 Ships, and by their example other Towns within the Realms furnish'd in Ships and Pinnaces 30. besides what the Nobility and Country sent in Horse and Foot.

In the Expedition to *Portugal* in 1589. Her Majesty furnish'd only six Ships of Her own; whereof two were of the smallest rank, and adventur'd in that Expedition 60000 *l.* the whole number of Vessels being 146. with 14000 Soldiers, and 4000 Sailors.

That same Year *London* sent 1000 Soldiers to the aid of the King of *France*, and several Shires sent the like aid upon the same occasion into *France* under my Lord *Willoughby*.

The City of *London* in the Year 1594. furnish'd Six Ships, Two Pinnaces, and 450 Soldiers, for Three Months, and the following Year 1595. *London* furnish'd 1000 Soldiers with all sorts of Provision, and sent them to *Dover* to the relief of *Calais*, when it was taken by the Cardinal. Many other Forces were sent out of the Country upon that Service.

The following Year 1596. was the Expedition to *Cadiz*, and the year after the Island Voyage; to which two Exploits, not only *London*, but all *England* contributed very largely.

In *January* 1598. a great Tax was laid upon *London*, for *Holland*; and our Soldiers there were sent into *Ireland*. The like

was done in *February* following. The same year *London* furnish'd 16 Ships and 6000 Men, besides a great number of Horse and Foot, that were sent out of the Country, at the time that my Lord of *Essex* was in *Ireland*: And in the year of 1600. *London* sent 500 Men into *Ireland*, and furnish'd them, besides great numbers sent out of the Country.

That same year the City of *London* built and furnish'd five Gallies to Sea, and was at a great Charge for the Earl of *Essex*'s Entry into *London*.

One thousand Soldiers were sent into *Holland*, and every one allow'd then 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per Man, besides those that were sent out of the Country. Moreover, there were 400 Soldiers sent in *October* out of *London*; and in *May* following there was a great Press in *London* for *Ostend*: And in the last year of Queen *Elizabeth*, *London* sent and furnish'd 2000 Soldiers into *Ireland*, and two Ships and a Pinnace, which stood them in 6000 *l.*

If these Benevolencies were granted so willingly, and without repting or gain-saying of the Subjects, as well appears; Let us consider of Times, and judge withal of the Estate of Men in those Days, compar'd with the present. First, in the Mens forwardness to serve their Prince and Country, which their Hearts and Minds, are now alienated from. Secondly, it is to be consider'd, how much more able Men are now to contribute, than at that time they were, by their Encrease of Wealth and Riches, which they have gain'd, by King *James* his bringing Peace with him into this Realm, as shall appear by these particulars following, that shall be by the way of Queries.

Quære, Of the State of *London*, in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, compar'd with these present; As nameiy the Buildings, with the number of Inhabitants in them, and by consequence the Riches encreas'd.

Quære, Of our Trade and Commerce betwixt the time I speak of, and now in being; as nameiy the Traffique with *Spain*, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging, which we were then debarred of, by reason of our Wars with *Spain*; the profit whereof may be in Value to the Subject Ten times as much as the King's Custom comes to, as may be apparently made out by the Custom Books.

Quære, Of our Trade to the *East-Indies*, and the Gain thereof, begun and follow'd since King *James* came to his Crown; as also a late Trade we have found into *Guinea* for Gold.

Quere, the State of *Greenland*, and the Whale-fishing there, that hath been discover'd and prosecuted, with little Charge and great Profit to the Merchant, since King *James* possesseth this Kingdom.

Quere, Of the several Plantations and Colonies since that time, with the employment of People which otherwise would have been a burthen, and a consuming of Victuals to this Commonwealth.

Quere, Of the abundance of Shipping that hath been employed in that Navigation; as also of the increase of Ships since the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, which is no hard thing to know; for when she dyed, there were not above four Merchants Ships in *England* of 400 Tuns each.

And reckoning but the increase of Ships since then, it would cause Admiration, and be a reason for Men to contribute to Ship-money, when they shall consider the Wealth increas'd by the Trade of those Ships that are never idle, but continually Sailing from place to place.

Quere, Of the peaceable State of *Ireland*, and the long continuance of War before King *James* came to the Crown; as also of the excessive Charge *England* was continually at to maintain that Kingdom that now is not only able to uphold it self, but to afford great Profit to His Majesty.

But whereas our refractory Men alledge for their excuse, in denying His Majesty's Demands of Money, and comparing the times together, say, they were forc'd to it in the Queens time, out of necessity, being drawn to it by a dangerous War with *Spain*; not weighing with themselves that His Majesty's Actions have been to anticipate and prevent a War, as is to be seen in my next Narrative: And no Man can be so ignorant, but he must confess it is less hazard to prevent a War before it is begun, than with Valour and Courage to resist it, after it is begun.

Wherefore are our Castles seated on the Sea-coast, but to prevent the Invasion of an Enemy, or other Insolencies offer'd by Strangers? Or why are People train'd in several Shires, but to be in readiness to prevent Forreign and Domestique Attempts? Whereas, if Castles were to be built, and Soldiers Trained after the time the Enemy shall appear upon the Coast, in what estate were *England* to make a Defence? And this Employment His Majesty now has by Sea may be paralleld with the other two Comparisons: And I will therefore conclude, that the Wit

of Man doth not consist so much in seeing, as in foreseeing and preventing Peril and Danger that may fall upon him.

But whereas Poverty is made the Excuse for Peoples not giving what His Majesty requires; the true Cause shall appear, that hath bred your Want, as you shall confess; and that it is in your Powers to redress it: As namely your Pride, and other needless and unnecessary Expences, that depend on it. The Second is your Gormandizing and excessive Feasting, lately crept in amongst you, not formerly used. The Third is the hateful and loathsome Custom of Drinking, which begets all Disorders, and is the Encreaser of all Vices. The Fourth is a vain and ambitious Desire of Titles, which after they are purchas'd with Money, draws on a greater Expence upon their Estates, to maintain that Port so dearly bought. The Fifth is the sumptuous Buildings and Ornaments of Houses, all Men striving for Ostentation to out-do their Neighbours, with whom they are in Faction and Emulation. The Sixth is the miserable Covetousness of some, and the lavish Prodigality of others. The Seventh is the want of Care to have things sold according to their just Value, in equity of Law; but that every Man rates his own Commodity according to the necessity of the Buyer. The Eighth is the Extortion taken by griping Usurers, from People that are necessitated. But above all, the number of base Lawyers that cause Suits, not with a Charitable Intent, to end, but Knavishly to multiply them; and with that Expence to the Client, as no Question can rise, of what value soever, but a Bill, Answer and Order will be of more Charge, both to the Plaintiff and Defendant, than what is demanded of most of you, towards the furnishing his Majesty's Royal Navy. These are the true Causes of Want in Commonwealths, which proceeds from your own Superfluities, Vanities, and your revengeful Humours.

Most of these Abuses were foreseen by *Licurgus*, the Great Law-maker, who made Decrees against them: He also forbid pompous Burials, and banish'd the use of Silver and Gold, as things most prejudicial to Commonwealths; which Law of his continu'd 500 Years, and no Man found himself agriev'd for want of Money; for it made Love, increas'd Goodness, and banish'd Vices.

But that which you term Want, proceeds not from Poverty, but from Plenty for he that hath much, desires more, Covetous-

Covetousness being never satisfy'd. The true use of Riches is in him that hath most and desires least; and the best Riches is to abstain from Covetousness.

In old times, he was esteem'd Rich that was of a fair, upright and good Behaviour. He that shall except against the Honourable Design of this Fleet, may be accounted an Arrogant and Ignorant Person, and a Contemner of the King's Propositions; excusing it under colour of Want, and with little Reason. Those that repine at Princes Actions out of Stubbornness, or Refractoriness, are within a Degree of Impugning the Sovereignty; and in such a Case they want nothing but Power to carry on their conceiv'd Treason. They do not consider that Princes are born not to obey any but their own Laws, and the Subjects are born to submit to the Wills of Princes, where Reason shall be required at their hands, for the good of the Common-wealth; and that nothing deserves such severe Chastisement from Kings, as such Contempt as opposes them or their Authority. *Marcus Pello* says, That Common-wealth is everlasting, where the King seeks Obedience, and People labour to get his Love by their Carriage.

Latter times have taught us a most woful and lamentable President, in the like Case, to parallel with this: *Lewis* the Second, King of *Hungary*, being threaten'd with the Power of *Soliman*, the Great and Magnificent *Turk*, requir'd Aid of his Subjects to withstand so puissant an Enemy, that was like an Inundation of Water to overflow him, them and their Country; but most of his Subjects, whom you too nearly imitate in Obstinacy, refus'd to contribute to his Demands, standing upon the Privileges of the Law so long, till it was too late to give Succour; and in conclusion, the King and his Army were destroy'd, and his People and Country became Slaves to the *Turkish* Government, under which they now live.

Herein appear'd the Ingratitude of the vulgar sort to their King; and how easily they might have met with this danger, before it light so heavily upon them: They regarded not the benefit they had received, or might receive at their Princes Hands, if they had been willing to have yielded to his Desires; for that Subject that will not yield to Obedience, may as well renounce the name of King and his Authority, and by consequence resist Laws, Justice, and Peace, and then follows a continual War, without hope of Reconciliation, and the Common-wealth is destroy'd.

I observe, That nothing breeds this wilfulness in Subjects so much as Jealousie, that thinks Princes have other ends than they pretend; not considering that Kings Affairs must be kept secret, for their Designs being discover'd, are disappointed and ruin'd.

The *Romans* Success was imputed to nothing so much as Secrecy in their Expeditions: They were wont to say, That when they discover'd their Secrets, they gave away their Liberty, accounting Secrecie as the Guardian of their Affairs; and it is an old Saying, That a Secret is hard for One to keep, enough for Two, and too much for Three. Of all things, a Subject should not desire to know the Secrets of Princes; for *Philip of Macedon* bid a Philosopher to demand any thing at his hands, and it should be granted: The Philosopher humbly besought him, as his greatest Suit, That he would not discover to him his Secrets; and yet you would be wiser than Philosophers, to murmur at Kings Actions, when you should with Obedience seek to gain their Love; for no King can be so unnatural to himself, or such an Enemy to his People, as not to Govern to the Profit of both, because he receives equal Gain or Loss with his Subjects.

Nothing deceives Men more than a false Concept of themselves, which makes them run into unavoidable Dangers; but let such Men learn, that Wisdom is Life, and Ignorance is Death; the one understands what it does, as the other is dead for want of Understanding; much Danger ensues for want of Reason, and much Good is left undone by too much Folly.

If this refractory Council you embrace, proceed from others, and not from your selves, despise it; for it has another design, than they think fit to let you know, which may ensnare you; like a Bee that is often hung in his own Honey: therefore be not enticed with fair Words, doubtful Hopes, or seeming Probabilities, but remember that a Man has power over Himself and Tongue, before he Speak or Promise, but after his words are out of his Mouth, they have Power of him, and you will find that perverse and desperate Council, is full of Perturbation, where Men are embracers of evil Advice; and therefore think an Hour before you answer to their Propositions, and a Day before you yield to uncertain things that may bring Danger.

You must likewise think and consider of the Condition of them that counsel you, the

the occasion of their Counsel, and the Probability of what they Counsel; for if it be out of private Ends, out of Anger, out of Discontent, out of Revenge, or to the Prejudice of Kings Designs, conclude such to be evil Counsellors, and shun them as you will a Serpent, that never stings so deadly as when she hisses not.

If you suspect their Counsel proceeds from Ambition, beware of it; for Ambition teaches one to become disloyal, and he desires to draw others to consent to him in his ill Purposes: If you be young, to whom this Seditious Counsel shall be given, follow the Advice of *Solomon*, who says, *That Folly is ty'd in the Hearts of young Men, and cannot be unt'y'd but by good Instruction*; for indeed young Men want Experience; they are incredulous of good Advice, wanting years to judge, and as poor in their Judgment, being apt to delight in the Musick of their own Praise.

Let the Warning of our late Parliament admonish you, for there cannot be a more perfect Precedent than by Things lately done, and in your own Remembrance; then you shall see the fruit of Self-conceited Subjects, that oppose the King in his Demands, and the Reward they have reap'd by it; you have beheld the Imprisonment of some, and the Disgrace of others, which still lies as a heavy Burthen upon their Shoulders, and cannot be discharged without Submission, and acknowledging their Errors, which some have done; and yet for all their Obstinacy they have produc'd no good to the Commonwealth; for the wiser sort censure them as giddy, rash, and inconsiderate, to offend so highly with their Tongues, or to meddle with Affairs above their reach, or what they could pretend to as Members of Parliament; for Parliaments are called by Authority of the King, who has Power to dissolve them as he pleases, which puts an end to all they can say: Wherefore a Man should be silent, unless Silence hurt him, or his Speech be profitable to others.

Your part in a Parliament is to give way, and obey such Laws as shall be made by Consent of the House; which Laws have no Authority till the King confirm them; neither can you challenge any Privilege after the Confirmation, till it be warranted by Commission from the King, either in Office or Employment; for it is the King that Rewards or Punishes at his Discretion, and by Proof you have found, and will ever find, that after your Rangling and Jangling, nothing will get more

Favour than Obedient Diligence; for Kings are not drawn by Violence, but by Humility and Meekness. The Scripture tells us, That the way to get Love of our Princes is by suffering, and not forcing; for so they may tast of his Goodness and Mercy. It is a great Vertue and Wisdom in Man, not rashly to enterprize a thing above his reach, or to be led by Perswasion of fair Words, soft Speeches, or forward Threats, that deceive none but Fools: And if you rely upon the Instigation of others, that are of your Fraternity and Familiarity in Parliament, who have nothing but Words for their best Witness, it is insolent Madnes; for what can they do but shew Passion, like silly Women, whose Tongues are their best Weapons.

All you can do for the present, is, to challenge the Privilege of the Parliament, of which you are Members; but when that is over, you are brought to Account for the Indiscretion of your Tongue, which is the best or worst Member in a Man's Body, but not to be so much us'd as the Ear or Mind, which in Reason should rule the Tongue.

Another Observation I collect, that wise Men impute to your inconsiderate Folly, That your Words have produc'd no Profit to the Commonwealth, but great Prejudice to all; for thereby you have incens'd the King, and given him occasion to stretch out his Prerogative to the uttermost; as also to awaken Laws that have been many years sleeping, to his Advantage, and Inconvenience to the Subject; for Laws are establish'd to bridle the Haughtiness of Men's Minds, and the Stubbornness of their Conditions; and therefore it is dangerous to vex and anger Princes upon such Occasions.

The best thing Subjects can do, is to live peaceably; for by Concord small Things encrease to the good of all; whereas by Discord all is lessen'd, and in the end nothing comes but Repentance.

The Third Exception against those Two Fleets, generally spread abroad, is, the Unsuiciency of the Captains and Commanders wanting Experience, as they suppose, which I suppose rather to be divulg'd without Truth or Proof, than on any good Ground they have for it, and to be a mere Scandal, proceeding from Discontent and ill Nature; and after that rate any Man may be slander'd, if Calumny pass for Truth.

But if there were any such Cause of Exception to their Sufficiency, there were none so like to know or find, it as the
King

King himself, or his Lords, that have trial of their Abilities; and therefore it is a great Malipertness to insist upon this.

The Ground they have to confirm their Belief may be our long Peace, which has given no occasion of War, and no Means to gain Experience; and the Death of so many Commanders, who liv'd and were employ'd in the Queen's Expeditions, a time when they sail'd with Victory.

The common sort of People, who are led by Shew and Ignorance, esteem no Man Valiant but such as can shew Scars and Hurts, as Tokens of their Courage, like lewd Bullies or quarrelsome Roisters, who never regard the Justice of the Quarrel, Honour, wise Conduct, or value Victory obtain'd without Blood, or the Discreet Management of a Warlike Action: And if a Man go about to convince them of their Errors, he had as good speak to the Deaf, for he shall neither be heard or believed.

The last year's Fleet was set out on account of the *French* and *Hollanders*, vying with his Majesty as to Prerogative and Power, which in a short time would have blaz'd out into open War, had it not been prevented by a speedy Fleet, which some of our refractory Men repine at; not considering that it was better and less Chargeable to meet Danger before it fell upon them, than to expect the coming of it; for the first Enterprize in War gains the best Reputation, especially when our Enemy sees he is neither fear'd nor dally'd with, which will make him think how to escape Danger, rather than to go forward with Force and Courage; and we must account that Victory most Honourable that is obtain'd with least Loss and effusion of Blood.

The *Saxon* King *Edgar* left a brave Reputation to all Posterity, and to this day we look upon it as an Act of Renown and Fame, that he sail'd about *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with Thousands of Ships, not once, but often; and yet no History makes mention of any Conflicts or Encounters he met with, but only did it for the Safety and Reputation of his Kingdoms, and to daunt his Enemies, if they had appeared: Which case may be parallel'd with his Majesty in these our days, who is Lord of the same Seas, enjoys the same Right King *Edgar* did, and has a greater Strength and Force than he to maintain it.

If it were not for the Honour and Sovereignty of the Seas due to the King, who knows not but that it is more Safety and Ease to pass out of the Kingdom in

a small Vessel, than in a Royal Ship of the King's; for every Harbour is able to entertain a Bark of little Draught; but it is not for his Majesty's Reputation to accommodate a Prince or Ambassador in such a Vessel, who comes courteously to visit him, which every Man may hire, and lies open to all Dangers of Enemies and Pyrates.

We have many Precedents of Emperors, Kings and Queens, passing our Seas, that have been honour'd and accompany'd with the Fleets of *England*, for their Security, and to show the King's Magnificency on the Seas, and yet no Hostile Act appear'd: I would ask the Detractors in this case, Whether in Reason or Reputation the King should not have shew'd his Greatness for the Guard of the Seas, and the Subjects should not contribute to that extraordinary Expence, since they are interested in the Dignity of it? For all succeeding Ages, when they shall read of it, will look upon it as an Honourable and Noble Action; and tho' the King and Subjects be all dead, their Honour will never be forgotten.

In 88, when the *Spaniards* threaten'd a Conquest of *England*, if they had happen'd to have been diverted, as it was once thought they would, can you believe it had been safe or prudent for us, upon a bare Supposition, to have stop'd and stay'd our Fleet from going to Sea, or to have call'd it back when at Sea? Or do you imagine the Subjects at that time would have thought it Discretion to have sav'd their Moneys laid out in fitting our Navy, and have made Excuses of want, or dislike of the Designs, or the lack of experienc'd Commanders, who I will undertake were fewer, and knew less than they now do.

In the year 1599. the Queen, with Admiration to all her Neighbours that beheld it, Rig'd, Victual'd, and set to Sea, the most part of her Ships, in fewer days than any of her Progenitors had ever done, expecting an Invasion from *Spain*; the rather believed, because the *Spanish* Preparation was at the *Groyn*, the next Harbour to her; which Fleet of the *Spaniards* was the same year diverted by the Pursuit of a Fleet of *Holland*, that had lately surpris'd the Island of *Canaria*: And tho' the Queen was made secure by this Accident, and that her Fleet returned from the *Downes* without seeing the Enemy, yet did not a Man in the Realm repine at the Expence demanded towards the furnishing of it. By this you may see the difference of Times, and the difference of Men's Conditions, and how

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vidence and Foresight in War are as much to be approv'd and esteem'd, as the active part when Men shew their Valour in Fight.

If you were as willing to know, as you are apt to judge the difference of Times, you would find, That the great and fortunate Victories in the days of Queen *Elizabeth* were not achiev'd so much by Force and Fighting, as by Fortune and Providence, and the Fear the *Spaniards* conceiv'd of us; for unless it were in the year 1687. when Sir *Francis Drake* made an Attempt upon *Cadiz* Road, and quell'd the Enemy that was preparing for an Invasion of *England*; in 88. when we were put upon our own Defence; in 96. when my Lord of *Essex* and my Lord Admiral took *Cadiz*, and defeated 59 Ships of great Value and Burden; and in 1601. when Sir *Richard Lewson* and Sir *William Monson* took a Carrack, destroy'd and seiz'd upon certain Gallies, defended by the Castle, the rest of the Fleet employ'd by the Queen had never cause nor opportunity to shew their Valour or Force in a Naval Battel; tho' I confess there were many other famous and fortunate Voyages with Wealth and Reputation to our Nation: As namely, and in my first Book I have treated, *Drake* to the *West-Indies* in 85. *Portugal* Expedition in 89. the Earl of *Cumberland* the same year to the *Tercera*, where he met with many Encounters by Land, and prevail'd, and what Ships fell into his hands was without Resistance: Many other Voyages were worthily performed by him; the Lord *Thomas Howard* in 91. the taking of a Carrack by private Ships in 92. being a Ship of great value; *Drake* and *Hawkins* to the *Indies* in 95. where they both died; Sir *Martin Forbusher* to *Brest* in 94. the Earl of *Essex* to the *Ilands* in 97.

And to make a short Repetition of the *Hollanders* Actions, so unworthily boasted and brag'd of, it cannot be found that they ever made a Fight with Six Ships to Six, since their Wars with *Spain*, which is nigh 70 years; tho' it is not to be doubted but that they have many able and sufficient Captains amongst them, bred from their Youth in Sea Affairs, that would have shew'd themselves sufficient Commanders, if there had been occasion; and in the same manner would those of ours, you call unable Captains, have done the like; for they are of the Condition of the *Hollanders* I speak of; they know as much in Ships, and how to Govern or Fight, as the longest experienc'd Captain that has had the Fortune to ex-

change most Bullets, with the loss of their Blood.

I wonder that this can be an Exception to our Captains; but that such envious Persons will seek all Pretences to slander them; for how can you think that without Practice of War Men can become experienc'd Captains? And their Purples will tell them they have not so much further'd their Employment since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, which shews not only an evil Disposition, but a dangerous Consequence that may light upon this Kingdom, by refusing their reasonable and convenient Payments; for they mean thereby that we shall not only live in Ignorance, but to take away all Occasions to breed Soldiers and Commanders; for War is not to be follow'd for Pleasure, if Men see not the Means to maintain it, of Hopes of Preferment.

Let them consider, that in natural Bodies the longer one lives in Health, Sickness is the more dangerous when it comes; and so it is in War falling upon a fruitful Country, that has long enjoy'd Tranquillity: And therefore, tho' no likelihood of War appear, yet do you like a skilful Physician, who prevents a Disease before it seizes his Patient, rather than struggle with it when it has taken Possession of him, and his Remedies come too late; for Dangers by wise Men may be sooner avoided than overcome by Force and Courage, so they be prevented in time.

Let these People I have spoke of pretend what they list, or frame Notions to please their Fancies, yet I am perswaded all ancient *English* Men of Honour, Blood and Name, will contribute to the Preservation of the Narrow Seas, from the Violence of Oppressors, who seek unjustly and outrageously to commit Disorders, which cannot be resisted but by Numbers of Ships to equal their Forces; and if People out of Perverseness deny to contribute to a Design so Just, Noble, and of such Reputation, when the Matrons of *Rome* voluntarily offered their Jewels and Bracelets, which obtain'd great Privileges, what Shame will it be in you to deny it, upon such slender and ill-grounded Reasons?

Let us compare our Seas with our flourishing Cities in *England*, that are orderly and carefully governed: Think you it were well done of People to repine at the Charge of their Watches, as a needless Expence in our peaceable Commonwealth, where our Laws give Authority to punish Offenders? We may well believe, that Murders, Thefts and Disorders, will fol-

follow, if such Watches should be taken away and abolish'd. And the like, or greater, would ensue, if the same Providence and Care were not had in the Go-

vernment of our Seas. Now will I proceed to the Management of the Expedition in 1636. where the Earl of Northumberland commanded in Chief.

The Voyage it self.

Ships.

The Triumph,
The St. Andrew,
The James,
The Victory,
The Repulse,
The Nonsuch, &c.

Commanders.

The Earl of Northumberland, Admiral.
Sir John Pennington, Vice-Admiral.
Sir Henry Marom, Rear-Admiral.
Capt. Walter Steward.
Capt. Lewis Kirk.
Capt. Pory.

Under Correction, I must crave Leave and Liberty to examine the Errors and Oversights committed in this Voyage, if any shall appear, as I did in the beginning of my First Book, and have continu'd till my Last; wherein I took upon me, a Freedom to except against the ill carry'd Actions of that time, and shew the way how they might be amended, and better order'd; for small Faults at the beginning, may be easily prevented by Admonition, if it be well follow'd.

What I did was not out of Fear or Flattery; and as I have said before, I walk'd so uprightly, that if the Commanders deserv'd well, I gave them their due; if ill, no Man can say I spar'd them; nay, I was so bold, that if there were any Error or Fault committed by the State in their Directions, with modesty I reprov'd it, and shew'd my Reasons for so doing, to give the better light to succeeding Enterprizes: For Experience is the Mother of Knowledge, and to be valu'd above Authority or Opinion.

This Royal Fleet being all furnish'd and ready for the Sea, but not without some defect in the Ships, as appear'd by the Disasters that beel many of them, his Majesty made choice of the Earl of Northumberland, a gallant and hopeful young Gentleman, to command as General; tho' there could be no Exception to the Lord of *Lindsey*, the former Commander, his Carriage giving no Distaste to the King, that ever I could hear of, as appear'd by his Majesty's own Words, declaring, That the Reason of Electing him was, because he desir'd to breed up his Nobility, to give them Encouragement to take a liking to the Sea, by former Precedents, as Men principally to be chosen for great Employments; and that he meant to make it a Yearly Custom to keep a Fleet to Guard and Defend the Seas.

The Ship appointed for Vice-Admiral, was the *Ann Royal*, equal in greatness and goodness with any of his Majesty's Ships, and one that had made tryal of her sundry Fortunes; the First in the Year 1588. where she was honour'd as Admiral, and carry'd the Arms of *England*, as due to the Lord Admiral; and this was the first time of her appearing at Sea.

The next Action of hers, was in the Enterprize upon *Cadiz*, in 96. where my Lord Admiral commanded in her, with no less victorious and honourable Success than the first. She was chosen as much for her Goodness, as for my Lord's Affection to the Ship, for in truth she was worthy of all Honour.

But as Fortune is of that perverse and uncertain Temper, that she never sheweth her self constant but mutable, and what she gives is not to continue long, but only lent. She has that Power of her self, that no body can hold her against her Will; so this Paragon of Ships was attended with the worst Fate that ever beel Ship belonging to the Crown of *England*, and far unworthy her former Exploits; for in her way from *Chatham* to *Tilbury-Hope*, (a thing not to be believ'd, if the lamentable Truth did not put it out of doubt) whether through the Negligence of the Officers of the Navy, or their Indiscretion? Or of the Master? Or the Unskillfulness of the Pilate? (for in such Cases every one will lay it upon another, to excuse himself) she run aground and was lost: An Accident so rare, that it made many Ignorant and Superstitious People, divine and fear, that some ill Fortune would attend the Voyage.

It was the more wonder'd at, because in the Eighteen years War, under Queen *Elizabeth* no such Disaster beel any of her Ships, who had gone through more Dangers and Hazards in the open and

spacious Ocean, where their Business was, than ever happen'd since; but I thank God, (excepting the Loss of her, which with the Charge of another Ship will be recover'd, and that of a *Whelp* that miscarry'd by the Insufficiency of the Pilot) the rest of the Ships return'd safe, tho' not without some Peril, which is naturally incident to Sea Affairs, and the rather in this, because some Men imputed it to Carelessness, others, to the Insufficiency of Officers, and some to Destiny.

My Lord arriving in the *Downes*, expected his Vice-Admiral, the *Ann Royal*, who you have heard unluckily miscarry'd;

However, he set sail with the rest of his Fleet, for the West Country, and the *St. Andrew* was appointed by the King to supply the want of the *Ann Royal*.

As there was occasion, my Lord employ'd sundry of his Ships, in several Services; and the *Victory*, one of the Princippalest, was sent into *Spain*, and return'd an Ambassador from that King into *England*, he being forbidden the Passage through *France*, because of the Wars betwixt the two Kingdoms; and not then adventuring to send him by Sea, unless it were under the Guard of one of his Majesty's Ships.

The Errors committed in this Voyage.

NOW to proceed to the Exceptions of this Voyage, with which I will end this Second Book, and collect such Errors, Mistakes and Oversights, as seem worthy of reprehension, hoping it will give no more Offence, or be imputed to Presumption in me, any more than those I have excepted against in my First Book, and part of this Second; with whom I have been free, not out of design to discourage, but as a Friend to warn them; for, according to the old saying, He that is Warn'd is half Arm'd, and Prevention is as much to be commended as Valour in Execution. It is held far greater Wisdom to foresee, than to see; the one being natural to all Eyes to behold, the other proceeding from Judgment, Care and Discretion.

Callicratides, General of the *Lacedemonians*, might have sav'd himself and his Army, had he hearkned to Advice, in forbearing to Charge the *Athenians*, but by his Improvidence he was overcome. *Quintus Fabius* the Roman, through his Foresight and Carefulness, did the contrary, and retir'd for his Advantage: Here appear'd the Wisdom of *Fabius*, and the headstrong Willfulness of *Callicratides*, the one lost Life and Honour, the other purchas'd the Name of *Maximus*, given him by his Country.

Nothing can be a better Instructor to a General than Admonition by President, for which cause I bring these Examples, to give light to succeeding Times and succeeding Commanders. The first Exception against this Expedition, I observ'd, was, as I have said, the loss of the *Ann Royal*, which was neither blemish nor blame to my Lord General; for she follow'd the Directions of others, before she came under the Command of him: The Officers

of his Majesty's Navy are the Men only worthy to bear the Rebuke of it, who, for want of Experience in Sea Affairs, are led principally by Precedents of former times, too lamentable to behold, that their Government must depend upon the Example of times; and yet, if they had but walk'd the Paths of them that went before them, they should not have introduc'd this Innovation, to direct our Fleets to *Tilbury-Hope*, there to press Men out of Colliers, and other Merchant Ships; when two small Pinnaces might have done the same Service, and as they were press'd, have put them presently on Shore, where they were to Travel but three or four Miles by Land to *Chatham*, there to be Entertain'd and Enter'd into Pay.

And whereas in going from *Chatham* to *Tilbury-Hope*, we pass'd by the *Nesse*, which we must also do in going directly to Sea, with the same Wind that carries us out, we may be sooner at Sea from the *Nesse*, than at the *Hope*, whether we must go. Thus you see, People that Govern'd by Precedent, fail'd in not following Precedents; and this unhappy Mishap that fell upon the *Ann Royal*, came by a Precedent of their own, which otherwise had not happen'd. This new Precedent, I will undertake was never with Advice or Consent of any Captain, for they were put to an extraordinary Expence by it, being a Means to draw their Friends and Acquaintance aboard, whom they entertain with costly Banquets, which proves a greater Charge to them than the whole Voyage; and till of late his Majesty did strictly prohibit it, more Powder was wasted by their vain Ostentation in shooting, than they spent otherwise.

My

My Lord of *Northumberland* being now at Sea, and having rang'd and scour'd the Shores of *France*, where it is most likely that Fleet would have appear'd, if there had been any to have oppos'd him, he return'd to the Sound of *Plimouth*, to be further inform'd of the State of Things thereabouts; and finding no Ships, nor shew of Opposition to his Design, he left the Shore, having received Intelligence of certain *Turkish* Pyrates that lay hovering thereabouts, and had committed some Spoils upon his Majesty's Subjects.

My Lord lost no time to hasten the pursuit of those Pyrates, as he could be inform'd of them at Sea; for in truth, both his Care and Celerity were to be commended, tho' his Haste had little avail'd to have subdu'd the Pyrates if he had met them; for, by reason of their swift sailing, they have the Advantage of all other Ships they meet in the spacious and open Sea. This may seem strange to them that know it not, that Ships can be built to such advantage in sailing, all of them being built with one kind of Iron and Timber: But what follows will demonstrate it to any that doubt of it.

You must understand, that all the *Turkish* Pyrate Ships are Vessels of Christians, taken from them by Violence, which when the *Turks* are possess'd of, they use all Art and Industry to make better Sailers than all other Ships, and to this purpose they first cut down their Half-decks, and all other weighty Things over-head, which makes them wind Tite and Burthensome; They take out most part of their Knees and Binding-works, to make them Nimble and Swift, like a Man that is tight Truss'd, and has his Doublet button'd, that by loos'ning it he is able to run the faster. They never regard the Strength of their Ships more than for one Voyage, for they want not continual Prizes, which they take of Christians, and thus use. Every Fortnight or Three Weeks they grave their Ships, and make them clean, to go the better; they carry no weight over Head, or in Hold, but Victuals, by means whereof, and all these things consider'd, no Ship is able to equal them in going.

The only hope I confess my Lord had, if they had met them, which in truth was very uncertain, was in over-bearing them with Sail, and the others would have been forc'd to take in their Sails: The Second, if there happen'd a Calm, and the Pyrates scatter'd, that they could not help one another, with the number of his Long-boats he might Board and Master them with the multitude of his small

Shots. The Third was to Surprize them in Harbour, where they could not get out and escape: The Fourth, that with less and nimble Ships they might have the hap to board some of them, and so keep them employ'd to hinder their way till greater Ships could come to relieve them: But all these are uncertain.

My Lord being now at Sea with his Fleet, and looking out diligently for Pyrates, he met with an *Irish* Ship, lately come from *France*; and being ask'd for News of that Coast, he did assure him, That the *French* Fleet, which made so great a Noise, was fitted, and gone to the Eastward of the Chanel, and that 'twas generally suppos'd they meant to beleague *Dunkirk* by Sea. This Intelligence made my Lord immediately bear up, and take that Wind to follow them; But arriving at the *Dowries* within few days after, he found himself impos'd upon and abus'd by this false Information; for neither was there any such Fleet arriv'd, nor any likelihood of their coming: At this time the Wind continu'd so long Westerly and Southerly, that my Lord was not able to recover the Western Parts again, by which means the Pyrates committed great Insolencies and Spoils upon the Coasts.

The Errour and Oversight of the Carriage of this Business, was in giving over much Credit to the Report of the *Irish* Man, it being the Ground my Lord was to proceed upon afterwards: And had he waited but a few Hours before he flood to Eastward, he might have been inform'd of the Truth thereof, by Ships that continually pass'd the Chanel, or whether the *Irish* Man might not have been corrupted by the *French* to give false Intelligence, to divert my Lord's purposes, could not speedily be determin'd by only asking Questions: For the like happen'd heretofore in our War with *Spain*; the *Spaniards* subtilly causing a Carvel of Advice to be taken with Counterfeit Letters, directed to the General of the *West-India* Fleet, requiring him to come home in 35 Degrees, which we finding by the Letters, halten'd into that height to expect them; but the true and former Directions to the General was, to Hayl in 36 Degrees and 20 Leagues to the Northward of it, whereby he avoided us so many Leagues.

It should have been likewise consider'd, and Men of greater Experience, than my Lord should have made it known to him, that there was no great occasion to pursue the *French* with that unadvis'd haste; for their Anchoring before *Dunkirk*, to beleague it at Sea, is no more to the ta-

king of the Town, than if they had kept their Ships in the Ports of *France*; for the Coast gives no liberty to Land, being a plain flat, and sandy Shore. Besides, they run a great hazard, both to Ships and Men, being there at an Anchor: For if a Northerly, or North-west Wind take them with a Storm, they cannot avoid both Shipwrack, and death of Men. Besides, Why should the King of *France* put an Army in peril to invade *Flanders* by Sea, when his Territories lie within Nine Miles of *Dunkirke* by Land? And to prove the danger the Ships were to undergo, had they brought themselves to an Anchor on that Coast, I will shew, as it were in a Glass, an Accident that happen'd on the like case, wherein their Folly would have appear'd.

When our Wars of 1525 began with *Spain*, some Men, out of singularity to get Fame, which prov'd but their Shame, with certain Ships of War, undertook to surprize the Enemies Vessels lying at *Mardike*, a new Harbour near *Dunkirke*; and tho' this overture was much oppos'd, by experienc'd Seamen, who alledg'd unanswerable Reasons against the Enterprize, yet Willfulness had that predominate Power over Wit and Reason, that the Contriver of this Stratagem attempted his idle Project, and Commanded the Ships to Anchor where they were directed; but before they had lain there long, they were surpriz'd with a Storm at North-west, so that they could not claw off the Shore; and in short, Three of the Ships with all the Men wilfully perish'd, the Enemy on Land beholding it; which made a doleful Cry and Complaint in the Port of *Dover* and *Sandwich*, for there appear'd flocks of Widows bewailing their Miseries, through the mad and silly Undertaking of ignorant Directors.

If the *French* had thought that the Beleaguering of *Dunkirke* with Ships, would have cut off Relief and Succour from Sea, their weakness and want of knowledge in Sea Affairs, had appear'd, not in Words but by Example, President and Proof of the 100 *Spaniards* at *Dover* before spoken of, who notwithstanding there were 40 or 50 Ships of War of *Holland*, plac'd to intercept them, some in the Road of *Dover*, others in the Road of *Gravelling* and *Dunkirk*, yet by my Advice and Counsel aforesaid, arriv'd safe in the Port of *Dunkirk*, the Hour and Tide assign'd by me, for the Town to bid them welcome.

And because this shall be a light to after times (if there be the like occasion) this knowledge they shall receive from me :

That with a Leeward Wind and a Leeward Tide, Ships may pass into the Ports of *Flanders*, in despite of any Force that shall forbid them.

My Lord lying at the *Downs* waiting a North east Wind to carry him to the place where the South-west Wind first took him; in the mean time his Majesty resolv'd upon an Employment for his Lordship of greater importance than this was, (*viz.*) To send him to the Northward amongst the Fishermen that Fish'd there, to make good his Majesty's Proclamation not long before divulg'd, to prohibit and forbid any such Fishing upon his Coast of *England* and *Scotland*, by all Foreign Nations, that would not acknowledge his Majesty's Prerogative on those Seas.

My Lord was as ready to perform that Service, as his Commission gave him Authority to do it, and with speed repaired to the places of Fishing aforesaid; where he met many Busses of *Holland*, which he took, and caus'd them to deliver by the way of Tribute, (acknowledging His Majesty's Regality) a certain Sum of Money from each of them; but some other Fishing Vessels escap'd by flight, fearing they should have been worse us'd than the rest of their Fellows were; but neither do I hear that the States of *Holland* do approve this Act, as allow'd, or allowable by them; such is the Pride and Ingratitude of popular States.

But if I may speak without offence to this point, or that my Opinion had been demanded what to have done herein; I should have advis'd, that my Lord should have repair'd to *Brasound* in *Shutland*, an Island belonging to His Majesty by His Kingdom of *Scotland*, there to have arriv'd the Two or Three and Twentieth of *June*, a time limited by the *Hollanders* to make their abode in that Port; and in the day following, the Four and twentieth, they have liberty by their own Laws, to put out of Harbour to cast their Nets, and to prosecute their Fishing.

Thus had His Majesty brought the *Hollanders* to His Mercy, possess'd their Strength, their Wealth, and indeed their whole Provinces, which he might have releas'd and restor'd afterwards, if he had pleas'd, upon acknowledging a Sovereignty, and obliging them to pay a yearly Acknowledgmnt. This would have shew'd a Commanding Power over them, and yet directed by Goodness and Mercy. And thus much of the Voyage in 1636. I will now Address my self to Advise such great Persons as shall take upon them the Command of Generals by Sea.

Advice to great Persons and unexperienc'd Generals at Sea.

Commonly great Persons of Authority, Place and Blood, are elected and chosen Chief Commanders, in great Expeditions and Actions at Sea; to give the greater Honour and Reputation to such Enterprizes as they shall be employ'd in: And therefore, as a Servant to such great Persons, I will advise by way of caution some things, before they accept of so weighty and important a Charge, who cannot challenge it out of Experience, or other Deserts, more than their Prince's Favour, and their own Greatness: And many times perillous Dangers and uncertain Casualties depend upon such uncertain Employments.

Many Examples, both Antient and Modern, shew, That the best deserving Generals have bitterly tasted the displeasure of their Employments: For no Man's Carriage can be so clear without blot or blemish, or his Success prove so uncontrollable, but there may be found some cause of exception by evil and malignant Spirits they shall leave behind them, and who perhaps will be made Judges to censure their Actions; so dangerous a thing it is to come under the hands of Ire and Wrath: For that we call Ire, the *Grecians* term'd a desire of Revenge, which is sometimes encreased upon Provocation, and sometimes proceeds only from ill Nature. It has that evil and canker'd Disposition, that it believes not a Friend; it speaks with Malice, and will not admit of Reason; commonly the greater the Desert, the greater Malice attends it from such perverse Desamers; and the worst is, there is no Defence against such Envy, for we are all the Sons of Envy, we are Born, Live and Die with Envy; she spreads her self and poison against those that Fortune raiseth highest, and sets her Thoughts to dispraise Desert. There is an old Proverb amongst Good Men, that Good Will defend them from Wicked Persons, and the tumult of the common People.

The second Cause that makes Men covet Employment, is to shine above others in Authority, as a means to obtain their haughty ends; which may be truly term'd Ambition, for Ambition is of that nature, that it sees not what is before her Eyes, nor considers the state and uncertainty of Man's Life; for if he be of low Degree, he stands upon Brass, if high, he treads upon Glass; he climbs by steps and degrees, but falls suddainly when he least looks for it.

There are three things that make a Man's way dangerous to walk in, Ice, Glory, and Ambition: There is no Affection so great as Ambition, tho' naturally it is insatiable, like a hungry Dog, that will leave his first prey, and fall upon another; so is Ambition, not respecting what one hath got, but still seeking more: Nothing doth more nourish this humour of Ambition, than base Flattery; and a Man had better fall amongst Thieves, than Flatterers.

Your best Natures are observ'd to be aptest to embrace flattering Counsels; like worms that easily creep into soft and sweet Wood: But the difficulty is, how to know such Flatterers from others; for Wolves resemble Dogs, and Flatterers look like Friends. The Cunning of a Flatterer is how to entice good Natures with Hopes; for there is nothing more sweet to Man than Hope, nor any thing more displeasing than to be debarr'd his Hope. Therefore Time will be the discoverer of such deceitful Sicophants; for when a Man shall suspect such a one, let him not connive with his Untruths or Delays, but tie him to a limited and perfix'd time, to perform what he gives hope of, for nothing but Delays gives him advantage to Deceive: Thus shall the Flatterer be taken in his own Snare, when he shall fail or performing what he promis'd; and the Party flatter'd shall own, that nothing is so vain as to be deluded with idle hopes of Glory. It is like a Soldier that is led by an ill Captain into Errour, and yet with a seeming Pleasure.

The Third thing an unexperienc'd Commander is to Fear, is the Doubtfulness and Deceitfulness of Fortune, in whose Ship he must Imbarque himself, to try the Unconstancy of the Sea; for the power of Fortune is so universal, that she rules Kingdoms, and overcomes Armies, she destroys Princes, and raises Tyrants; and indeed she is so obstinate and perverse, that no Art can prevail against her, or detain her by Force. The Evil she gives we see not, she pinches and we feel it not; what she says we hear not, and when we think we have her she is farthest from us: Her Property is to bereave us of Sense, that no Sight or Example shall help us, as we see by many Men that lose their Money at Play, and yet cannot forbear it; and tho' some Marry and Repent, yet they will not be warn'd by it; and tho' People

People be daily Drown'd, yet it will not terrifie others from adventuring to Sea, still hoping for better happ; like desperate Gamesters that put their Fortune upon a chance at Dice; whereas, if they would duely consider, the best hap at Play, is, not to Play at all; for tho' Fortune give the luck to win one day, she revokes it the next with double loss. Beware of her therefore, for she never truly favours, but flatters; she never promises what she intends to perform; she never raises one so high, but she plucks him down as low again; she shews herself not so fickle or wavering in any thing as in Accidents of War, where Success is uncertain. *Hercules* who escap'd so many Dangers by Land and Sea, at last dy'd by the hands of his Friends. *Alexander* ended not his days in the War, but was suppos'd to be basely poison'd. *Julius Caesar*, who won 52 Battels, was kill'd Sitting in the peaceable Senate-house.

The way to revenge ones self of Fortune, and to avoid the evil in her, is rather to submit to Reason, than to relye on her. The *Carthaginians* would never judge of Fortune, Effect or Success, but according to Wisdom, Judgment, and Discretion; they would not be rais'd by good Fortune, or dejected by bad; but like a Tree well Rooted, that no Wind or Weather could move. For my part I think the Wisdom of Man is to be Temperate, Mild and Patient, and to take in good part what Fortune sends.

You may see by what is gone before, the property of Malice and Fortune; so that a great Commander is not to encounter with an Enemy alone to shew this Valour against; but the other two will have an Interest in him, which Wisdom cannot prevent: But the safest way in a General, is to observe the Admonitions following, for the best securing of himself

and Action. The First, is maturely to examine his own Ability, and whether he covets the Employment himself, or not, or that it was impos'd on him by the King. If desir'd by himself, it is the more dangerous, and what Errours he commits are the less excusable; and he put to rely on the Favour of the Prince: Let it be the one or the other, his securest way will be humbly to crave his Majesty that such a Vice-Admiral may be appointed, as is approv'd for his Sufficiency and Integrity; but not to give him that Authority and Command, as to derogate from his Honour. And for the better Conveniency and Performance of the Service, it is necessary that the Vice-Admiral be aboard the General, and still ready and at hand to advise, and for him to appoint an able Man in his own Ship, till they come to Battel. This did *Philip King of Spain* to his Natural Brother Don *John of Austria*, in the famous Battel of *Lepanto*: Don *John* being Young, Valiant and Forward, it was thought convenient to temper him with a grave Adviser, which was Don *Lewis Reguezzines*, Commander Major of Spain. In the Action in 88. for England, the same King employed the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* for General, but gave Authority to Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, a Man of great Experience to Advise and Counsel him; which prov'd a Happiness to the Duke, for the Enterprize sailing by the Council of *Valdes*, as is to be seen in my First Book, the blame lighted on *Valdes*, which he worthily deserv'd; and the less fault was found with the Duke for it. I would not say thus much, if I were not a Friend and Servant to Nobility, and desir'd their Spirits might be nourish'd in such brave Employments; and will be ready with my best Edeavours to do them all the Honour that lies in my poor Power.

How a King should Elect a General by Land or Sea, a Counsellor of State, and a Governor over his People and Provinces.

HAVING Declar'd in my Third Book the Office of a General by Sea, and in this Second, admonish'd such Generals as take upon them so weighty and important a Charge, without experience first gain'd, to be cautious and wary before they accept of such a Command; now shall follow the Care a King ought to have in the Choice of a General, either by Land or Sea. And because General,

are commonly guided by Instructions from a King, resolv'd on by his Council of State, to which Consultation Generals are seldom call'd, till the Charge of the Expedition be committed to their Mananagement; I will now give my private Opinion what kind of Man a King should make Election of for a Councillor of State, to be assisting to him with his Advice. Of a General, who

who has the Rule and Government of his Forces and Actions : And of a Governor whom he sends into several Countries and Provinces to rule over his Subjects. For the Prosperity of his Kingdoms depends upon their Sufficiency, *viz.* A Councillor to Advise, a General to Execute, and a Governor to Rule.

I will begin with the Councillor of State, as the first considerable thing a Prince ought to think of. A King's Election must be according to the Profession the Party is bred in, as Artificers Tools are chosen to do their Office and Labour ; for a King is abus'd, and his Judgment question'd, that shall be made believe all Men are capable of all Places and Employments, when indeed some of them are of no more use than an Ax to an Auger, or a Knife to a Sickle ; and it is as unseemly a thing to prefer such a Councillor, as to present Armour to a Woman, Books to a Clown, or Nets to a Scholar. Kings therefore must have a care to whom they commit the Affairs of the Realm, either Domestick or Foreign, Civil or Ecclesiastical, and not refer all to one Man ; for they are distinct Things, that require several Councillors, and not to be executed by him that thinks a King's Favour adds Knowledge to his conceiv'd Understanding.

Kings and Princes ought to have Two especial Cares in their Government ; the one how to rule in Peace ; the other how to carry their Affairs in War ; both which must depend upon the Choice of Councillors, who must be provident what they advise, and assur'd, that what they say is honest, necessary, profitable, and possible : They must not quickly determine, lest they repent at leisure ; they must advise slowly, but execute speedily ; they must not rely on the Name and false Word of Fortune ; for to great Persons she is deceitful, to good Men unstable, and to all unsure.

A good Councillor ought to have these Properties, to be good and just ; for such have weight in their Words ; to be Virtuous and speak Truth, as well in Absence as in Presence ; they must be plain in Business, and reprehend with Love ; they must praise the Good, and admonish the Bad ; they ought not to speak much, and when they do, to let it be to purpose ; for what they have in their Mouths must be the Picture of their Hearts.

If their Opinion be ask'd in Point of War, they must be cautious what to answer ; for the Security, Honour, and good Hap of their Master, depends on

it, and the Man's Reputation of Wisdom will appear by it ; which, when it shall be known to his Enemy, will breed Terror : For when King *David* had War with *Absolon*, he pray'd, That God would blind the Understanding of his principal Councillor *Achitophell*, whom he more fear'd than the Force of *Absolon's* Host.

A Councillor cannot give a better Answer to his Master's Demand in point of War, than *Augustus Caesar* did in the like Case, who said, *That a War ought to be Commanded by Gods, Justify'd by Philosophers, Maintain'd by Princes, and Executed by Wise Captains and Courageous Soldiers* : And moreover he advis'd, That neither Battel nor War be undertaken, unless there evidently appear more hope of Gain than fear of Danger : He compares it to him that angles with a Golden Hook, which if it be snatch'd away, the Fish that is taken cannot countervail the Loss.

Caesar would not so much rely upon himself as upon the Opinion of *Virgil*, how a Commonwealth should be best governed, who answer'd, *If wise Men hold the Helm, and good Men be seated in place over the bad ; If the best Men have due Honour, and the rest be not injuriously dealt with ; If Judges and Men in Authority will not be led by Malice, Friendship, Anger, or Love* : For nothing ruins Commonwealths but hypocritical and covetous Councillors, that support their deceitful Credit, and make a Prince believe he cannot err.

But a wise King will soon know such a Councillor, by observing his Words, which will discover his Intentions, and lay open his Conditions : and a just King will reward him that shall thus falsely seduce and corrupt, as in reason he should be rewarded that Poisons a Publick Fountain or Spring, whereof all People drink ; for both King and Subject have part of this pernicious Council.

A King therefore ought to be careful of Three Things ; the First of himself, the Second of his Subjects, and the Third of his Councillors, Officers and Servants ; for *Caesar* in his time complain'd of the Miseries of Princes, saying, *They are subject to Perfidiousness, to Imaginations, to detestable Treason, deceitful Conspiracies, and destructive Poisons ; some deceive, and others flatter and betray them ; so that they are made the Subject of all Discourse.*

For the Honour of the Sex, I will mention *Zenobia*, a Queen in *Asia*, and will make her the Mistress of Council, for Councillors to imitate. They write of her, That she was constant in her Enterprises ;

prizes, faithful in her Words, liberal and just, severe in Punishment, discreet in Speech, grave in Determining, and secret in her Doings.

The indifferent Man to make a Councillor to a Prince, is neither to be too old nor too young; for Youth shews Lightness; and if a Prince take absolute Power to himself, it shews a bold Rashness, and will be subject to be seduc'd by flattering Servants, that will make his Will their Authority; but with this Caution, That it be done with Honour, Duty, and Reverence to their Masters, and Security to themselves; for it is not the Name of a Councillor that gives Reputation, but the due Execution of his Place; he must be an equal Distributer of Justice to all People alike in the Commonwealth, lest, in Comparison of Land, by labouring to make one part too fertile, he leave the other part barren.

A Councillor ought to be wise, and cautious withal, what Advice he gives: For there are Two principal Things that make a Prince belov'd; the one is, Defending his People against Oppression; the other, To have Peace and Alliance with those Countries and Princes that afford them Trade and Commerce, which War seldom produces; and yet I confess, that War well made produces a more perfect and firm Peace, and the best time to make such a War is in Peace, that Moneys may be best rais'd. And tho' all War of it self is unjust, yet a good Cause may make it lawful, but not when it is out of Humour, out of Spleen, or out of private Respects; and yet let it come when it will, they cannot propose any War to a Prince, but it is better to accept of mean Conditions of Peace than endure the Fortune of it; for *Aristotle* says, *Fortune shews her self most favourable where there is least Hope.*

The *Athenians* hearing the Council was dishonest which *Athistones* gave to *Themistocles*, tho' profitable, with one Voice cry'd, *If it be not Just, it cannot be Commodious nor Commendable*: Whereupon *Themistocles* commanded it should be no more talk'd of. Let this be a Caveat to Councillors, That they either hold their Peace, or speak Things that are probable and honourable to Kings and Kingdoms, and take it for a Maxim, *That Peace is the Nursery for Happiness.*

The solidest Advice a Councillor can give his Master, is, to win the Affections of his Subjects; for then he will have their Hands, their Hearts, and Purse, which is the Marrow and Sinews of War; and

yet as I have said, all Things consider'd, it is better to avoid War; for the Nature of it is to bring one into Bondage, and Peace makes him free; the one is a Tyrant's Will, the other a Prince's Decree: But if the Necessity of a War cannot be avoided, the first thing a Prince must provide is Plenty of Money; it will encourage Soldiers, terrifie Enemies, and embolden Alliances, when they shall see no likelihood of want thereof, to go forward with their Enterprizes. The next Consideration is, to have a grave Consultation for the Prosecution of the War, not once, but often; but let them beware they rely not upon passionate Advisers; for Choler is an Enemy to Council, and never to be allow'd of but in Extremity, when Desperateness is the last and best Remedy and Help; for great Actions ought to be resolv'd on at leisure, and executed with speed; and it is better to escape with Judgment, than to go forward with Courage, and to use Victory wisely, than to get it happily. The Victory *Hannibal* obtain'd was attributed to the Direction and Advice of his Council; and many who are brave in the Field, want Maturity to direct themselves or others; which shews all Men are born, as well in War as other Faculties, to support one another.

When Princes are provided of Council, Money, and all other Things for the War, let not them nor their Generals presume upon their Multitudes, Strength, or Power of Men; for God orders Battle, and bestows the Victory when he pleases to stretch forth his Arm, which is of greater Force than all Princes, Powers, and Armies; but commonly he does not use to do it but in Defence of Equity; for generally the Chance of War is like a Cast at Dice, either good or bad, and may be spoil'd by Oversight, or mended by Play.

Now shall follow the Sufficiency, and next the Election a Prince should make of a Councillor; for many Men fly with the Wings of others, and seem outwardly to be what inwardly they are not; and if he hearken to the Praise of others Reports, they are uncertain, because deliver'd out of Hate or Affection; for good Words deceive both the Wise and the Foolish.

It behoves a King therefore to enquire after such a Man's Birth, Education and Reputation; tho' I confess his Birth is the least Exception; for all Ages prefer Virtue before Blood: *Camus Marius*, a great Captain, was born of base Parentage; the Emperor *Valentinian* was the Son of a Rope-

Ropemaker, and divers others little better.

The Philosophers did not account the Lives of Men by their Degrees and Callings, but by the Good they did, and the Virtuous Name they held. Silence is a great Light to discover the Discretion of a Councillor; for Hastiness, Anger and Wrath, are the Properties of a Fool; the empty Vessel makes the greatest Sound; and the least Wits are the greatest Talkers: But the greatest Folly is to rely too much on a Man's own Sense, and to be proud when he is prais'd: Learning is a great help to Wisdom; it makes young Men sober; it is a Consolation to old Men; it enriches the Poor, and adorns the Rich: It is evil to disdain Learning, but worse to impugn it, and the want of it is the worst of all; for indeed there is as great a difference between the Learned and the Unlearned, as betwixt the Living and the Dead, or a Physician and his Patient; tho' Learning can no more help a dull Wit, than Labour make a barren Ground fertile.

There is a surer Method (for a King) to chuse a Councillor, than by his Birth, Education, or Hearsay; for a Man may have all, or most of these Parts, and yet

want Judgment, or be of a pestilent Temper, that shall destroy the rest; for there are some who can give good Advice, and not follow it, like a Harp, that's pleasanter to others, than to him that plays on it; or a Bay-tree, that is ever green, but without Fruit. Therefore judge not of Gold by the colour, no more than of a Man at first sight, till you prove him: But the surest Rule for a King to try the Sufficiency of a Councillor, is, to examine him in private and suddenly, and to propose to him Things of the greatest Importance and Wisdom, for the Government of a Commonwealth; then to command him immediately to write his Opinion to all the Particulars propos'd, in his own Presence, not suffering him to return, or have Conference with any others, which will be a Surprize upon him, and the King will see and discover his Abilities, and whether he be a worthy Minister for his Service or no, or commended for Kindred, Friendship, Bribes, Faction, or other false Pretences, and esteem him accordingly that commends him. And thus much for the King's Knowledge how to elect a Councillor of State.

How to Elect a Governor.

THE next that follows shall be the Choice of a Governor a King sends to rule over his Countries and Provinces. Let *Plato* be the Adviser in this Point, who says, *A Governor must be lov'd of many, and fear'd of all; He must endeavour to do good Actions, and deceive none with Words; He must be constant and pitiful; for the Clemency of a Governor makes a Man alham'd to commit Offences. Seneca says, That Clemency is a great Ornament in a Governor; and that Mercy, which is not accompany'd with Justice, is a Fault reprehensible; and that Justice without Mercy is not Justice, but Cruelty.*

When *Augustus Cæsar* sent his Governors into several Countries to Rule, he was wont to tell them, *I trust you with my Honour, and commit my Justice to you, that you envy not the Innocent, nor be a Butcher to Offenders, but that with one Hand you be a Help to the Good, and encourage the Evil to amend: My Meaning is, to send you to be a Tutor to the Fatherless, a Support to Widows, a Physician to the Sick, a Staff to the Blind, and a Father to all.*

Alexander found the Country of the *Sidonians* in much Disorder, and the Peo-

ple desir'd a just and upright Governor to rule them; which being granted, the chief of the Nobility expected Preferment, and to be advanc'd in the Government; but *Alexander* deceiv'd all their Hopes, and appointed one *Abdolonymus*, whose Vertues he was inform'd of, and who was a poor Labouring Man, tho' of Regal Descent.

A Governor in all his Actions must be secret, pleasant and liberal; he must fear nothing, but be ever fear'd; he must imitate *Alexander* and *Adrian* in Justice. A Man complaining to *Alexander* against another, he stopp'd his Ears, saying, *He must keep them for the Party accus'd.* *Adrian* the Emperor, upon an Information made to him, the Accuser brought his Complaint in Writing; the Emperor told him, *It was but Paper and Ink, and perhaps forg'd; therefore wish'd him to bring Witnesses.* A Philosopher advis'd Princes not to send Children, Fools, malicious or covetous Persons, or that are Revengeful, to govern.

He that is appointed Governor of a Country, is little less than Tutor of a Prince's Person, or Instructor in his Breeding;

ing; he is the Pilot of his Ship; the Standard of his Army; the Keeper of his People; the Guide of his Way; the Treasurer of all he has; because all is put into his Hands to govern. *Agessilaus* exhorts his Deputies rather to study Justice, and to govern well, than to give way to the insatiable Delire of Riches; for a King loses much Love by others corrupt Dealing; and as Injustice provokes Despair, so Revenge is the Executioner of Injustice. An ambitious Governor, who covets and affects Greatness over the People he rules, is like a Rat, that would make himself Lord over Mice; but such High-minded Men must know, That there is nothing so great as to tread false Greatness under foot.

Above all others, never chuse a melancholy Man Councillor to a Prince, Governor of a Country, or General of an Army; for commonly they are basely Minded, Vain, Enemies to Noble Thoughts, Malicious, Superstitious and Phantastical; as on the contrary, a Sanguin Complexion is Witty, has a good Memory and Judgment, can discourse well, is loving, affable, loyal, liberal, and of great Courage; and yet all these Parts and Properties are nothing without Secrecy, which is the Guardian of great Affairs: Secrecy was wont in ancient time to be Pictur'd as a Goddess, with her Hand stopping her Mouth. I confess it is a difficult thing to keep Council, and dangerous to reveal the Secrets of a King. It is an old Saying, *That a Secret is hard for one to keep, enough for two, and too much for three.* *Plato* says, *Whosoever reveals his Secrets, gives away his Liberty; and a Fool being secret, is held wise; an open Man is like a clear Glass, which can hide nothing that is put into it.* Council without Secrecy is like an Abortive, brought forth without Life, that was imprison'd in the Womb of secret Thoughts. Secrecy is the Key of the Cabinet where Council is enclos'd; and the Reward of Secrecy is, That it is without Danger. And thus much for the Election of a Governor; and to proceed to my Third Point, which is the Choice of a General for War.

It is necessary that a General have these Properties following; Knowledge, Valour, Authority, Fortune, and a ready Wit; for the fairest Tilter is not the best Soldier, nor a Favourite at Court more fit to make a General, than a Sheep to have the Leading of Lions.

The first Man that brought War into Discipline was *Beform*, King of Egypt,

who made not War to Conquer Countries, but to spread abroad Fame and Renown. The Person of a General is as much to be fear'd by his Soldiers as his Enemies; for too much Clemency and Familiarity towards his Soldiers, breeds a Neglect and Contempt.

The Romans were ever strict and severe in their Commanders; they never entertain'd Soldiers they could not maintain and govern; for a great Army has more Weight than Force; they are ill to rule, and worse to trust: Neither would they entertain an Army of Strangers, saying, *They took a Wolf by the Ear*; for as it was dangerous to detain them, so it was worse to let them go. They chose young and generous Men for Soldiers, that were virtuously inclin'd; they gave them an Oath, not to fly from Batel, or leave their Stations, unless it were to take up a Dart and throw at an Enemy, or to save a Friend. *Alexander* rather chose expert Soldiers than Multitudes; for brave Soldiers make glorious Captains, that will exchange their Life for Honour: They know their Bodies are subject to Death, but their Deeds remain to the World's end: And the greatest Honour a Soldier can obtain, is, That a King will confess that he has gain'd by his Merit, what he granted him out of Liberality.

The Qualities of a Soldier must be these, to have a good Heart and brave Spirit; he must not be idle or ill employ'd; he must not give nor take Wrong; he must serve God, and despise the Devil; he must observe the Wise, and love the Good; he must let the Enemy see his Face, and not his Back; and give God the Glory of all his Actions.

Valour is not all that is requir'd in a Soldier; it must be mixed with Discretion and Conduct; for Rashness is hot in the hand, and slow in the end, that will adventure without Fear or Hope of prevailing; for Success is but a Tutor of Fools, as Conduct proceeds from Judgment. There are many Things in the War which give better Council to Men, than Men to Things; and therefore a General ought to be no more limited than a Pilot at Sea, that has the Conduct of a Ship.

The greatest Honour and Esteem a Captain can purchase, is, to overthrow his Enemy by Stratagems rather than by hazarding; by Councelling rather than by Combat; and that Captain who has perform'd any Exploit by Policy, enjoys more in the Fame of it, than in the Salary or Reward given him.

Let

Let Generals, Captains and Soldiers beware their War be not against their King or Prince; for that is Unjust, tho' there were Provocation: For no Provocation can give lawful Power to begin such a War, and purchase the name of Rebels, whose Circumstances are such, they are follow'd with Threats, and kept up with Intreaties: They feed upon Promises, and attempt with Fear; they are very Suspicious, and Live upon Hope; they are not Content with Little, nor Pleas'd with Reward; because they leave not the King to follow the best Cause, but out of hope of Benefit by Robbing and Spoiling; and indeed a Rebel knows not what he Desires, nor has a Feeling what he doth; for their Fury is such, as not to admit of Council, which makes their Minds full of Perturbation, because they are Embracers of their own Will.

An Heroical Captain will oblige his Enemy by good Deeds, rather than by Fear; for so did *Leo Africanus* to those of *Carthage* he took Prisoners, for Humility and Clemency are of Noble Extraction: A Country Conquer'd is better preserv'd by Love than Force, or Cruelty; for a Soldier ought as well to relieve the Oppress'd as to overcome his Enemy. It is written of *Cæsar*, That he never left Man unrewarded, nor Offence unpardon'd; whereby he grew popular: He told the Council of *Rome*, That nothing was so glorious, nor pleasant in this World, as to pardon an Injury done; and indeed no Man is Victorious and Conquerour, but he that uses Victory with Clemency. The Emperor *Titus* pardon'd one that would have slain him, which got him much Love and Esteem amongst the *Romans*. *Adrian* treated with those Men that had been his Enemies before he was Emperor, which got him no less Love and Respect. *Soliman* the great Turk, call'd the Magnificent, reprov'd *John Sepasius*, the new rais'd King of *Hungary*, because he would not pardon the Archbishop of *Gran*, saying, there could not be a greater Felicity than to pardon our Enemies; and tho' they should prove unthankful, yet it were better to be requited with Ingratitude, than fail of the Glory of shewing Mercy. This Act made his Actions more favour'd in *Hungary*.

Augustus Cæsar Proclaim'd 25000 Crowns Reward to him that should Apprehend *Corocota*, a great Robber. *Corocota* hearing of it, went secretly and submitted himself to *Cæsar*, which so much mov'd him, that he pardon'd and receiv'd him into his Favour. When *Scipio* took *Carthage*,

he found a beautiful Woman betroth'd to a Gentleman, call'd *Indibilis*, and the being in *Scipio's* hands, he sent her to her Parents; in Recompence whereof they return'd a great quantity of Money, which *Scipio* refus'd to accept of, but commanded it to be given to the young Woman in Dower. This Courtesie so far prevail'd upon those People, that they submitted themselves to *Rome*. The same Temper *Pompey* us'd to many fair Ladies he took in his War against *Mitbridates*, which wrought the same effect. *Selim* the great Turk, who was so cruel that he slew his Father and Brother, took many Beautiful Ladies, whom he us'd Honourably, and sent to their Parents; which avail'd him much in his Victories. *Josephus* writes, That the Coverousness of *Marcus Crassus*, who robb'd the Temple of *Jerusalem*; was the cause of his Punishment; he dying miserably in his Army, and in the hands of his Enemies. *Julius*, Uncle to *Julian* the Apostate robb'd the Church of *Antioch*, and was visibly punish'd; his Entrails rotting out, and Worms creeping out of them, and his Excrements coming out at his Mouth. *Alexander* to his Praise, would not suffer hurt to be done to the Temples, nor any thing within them, when he sacked *Tyre* and *Thebes*.

Honour is the next Degree to Clemency and Mercy in a Soldier, and nothing accounted more dishonourable in him, than Breach of his Promise and Word given; it makes not only himself odious, but it leaves an everlasting Stain of Perfidiousness upon his Nation and Posterity. I could tax some of our Christian Kings with this abominable Vice, if I thought Example would restore them to better Grace, and wipe away their old Offences; for no body can seek Praise by his counterfeit Virtue: For Fame cannot prosper, but Shame may hurt him in the end.

A Soldier must not be stain'd with Vice; his Care must be how to think well, and how to do well, for Death is a continual Watchman over him. A true Soldier is of so Heroical a Spirit, that he had rather persist in his Desires, than live in base Thoughts. He should not be mov'd with Adversity, nor elevated with Prosperity; for *Plato* says, That a Noble and brave minded Man, hath more trouble to tame his Heart, than to attempt great Matters; and will think it more pain to stoop to a Straw, than to reach to a Bough; he will scorn to desire Honour, and not to deserve it with Virtue and Valour, and will think it an unworthy Act to have his Thoughts upon base things.

things. A Philosopher says, He Dies not who leaves a good Fame; nor he Lives not who hath not a good Esteem: They did not value Men by their Birth or Age, but for their Noble Deeds they did. The Triumphs that were so famous at *Rome*, were not esteem'd unless the Party had done some Act of Honour or Renown.

I will now distinguish betwixt such worthy Soldiers as I have spoken of, and the contrary, who make others Virtues their Vices. The Heathens had such regard to their Oaths, that they made it Death for a Man to forswear himself. *Hannibal* gave leave to Ten Prisoners he took, to go to *Rome*, with Promise to return; two of them failed, which they found afterwards to be an Act of so great Indignity, that they kill'd themselves. *Parmenio* advis'd *Alexander* to overcome his Enemies by Deceit and Treason; *Alexander* answer'd, If I were *Parmenio* I might do it, but being *Alexander* he would not offer it. The Physician of King *Pyrrhus* made overtures to *Fabritius* to poison his Master if he would reward him; but *Fabritius* was so far from consenting to so foul an Act, that he discover'd it to *Pyrrhus*, and writ to him, That it was not the custom of the *Romans* to overcome their Enemies by Treason. *Justinian* the Emperor being at War with the *Persians*, hir'd the *Hunnes* to serve him, but they falsly put themselves into the Pay of the *Persians*: *Justinian* inform'd the King of *Persia* of it, who justly Commanded the *Hunnes* to be Strangled for breaking their words, to the shameful Example of a *Christian* King. *Uladislaus*, King of *Hungary* being at War with *Amurat* the great Turk, he Swore the Articles of Peace made betwixt them, but falsly and perfidiously broke it: Hereupon the Battle follow'd; and *Amurat* took out of his Bosom the Articles sworn to by *Uladislaus*, and lifting his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, said, These are the Conditions Sworn to by the *Christians*, which falsly they have broken; but if thou be'st God, as the *Christians* do Esteem thee, revenge this Falseness they have done me: He had scarcely spoken these words, but *Uladislaus* was slain, the *Hungarians* routed, and *Amurat* got the Victory. Here *Uladislaus* perfidiously broke his Faith; and tho' he had lived, yet he had lost all by losing it.

But to redeem this Treachery by a *Christian* Emperor, of more Fame and Worth than the latter times have sent forth; I mean *Charles V.* He being in the Wars of *Tunis* in *Barbary*, the Baker of *Barbarosa* his Enemy, the titular King of

Argiers, repair'd to him, with offer to Poison his Master with a Loaf of Bread of his own Baking; which the Emperor worthily rejected, and told him it was an Act of a Turk and not of a *Christian*, and gave him leave to depart like a Villain as he came.

God is so angry with unjust Actions, that many times he punisheth the Intentions of those that desire to commit unnatural Cruelties. To instance in *Charles* King of *Sicily*, who after his Subjects had Rebell'd, and Massacred the *French* at the *Sicilian Vespers*, besieg'd the City of *Messina*, and put it to such Streights, that the People begg'd Mercy; but with great Anger and Passion he refus'd it: Upon which, they grew so desperate, that they made choice rather to Dye than Submit; and Courageously Sallied forth upon the King's Army, overcame him and became Free. This Rashness made the King afterwards subject to the Government of Don *Pedro* King of *Arragon*.

In the like manner *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders* was us'd at the City of *Ghent*: For being before it with 30000 Men, and it being put to a great Extremity, and pinch, the People of *Ghent* crav'd Mercy, as *Messina* had done; which the Earl refus'd, unless they submitted themselves to his Mercy, with Ropes about their Necks; but they finding his obstinacy and wilfulness so great, 6000 of the Citizens Sallied out of the Town, overcame the Earl, and made him Fly in Disguise, to a little Cottage near *Bruges*; and upon this Defeat, many other places Revolted from him.

Had these Princes had any Grace, or Sense of their Religion they outwardly profess'd, they would have known what a Father of the Church had taught them; That to Pardon many for the Merits of one, was Christianity, but to punish many for the Fault of one, was Tyranny. Out of Conscience one should be more fearful to injure a Poor Man than a Rich; for a Rich Man revenges himself, as those of *Ghent* and *Messina* did by Force; the others with Tears.

Let cruel and perverse Natures think what they please of themselves and Actions; they will find the Pleasures they do to a Friend, it will make him more friendly, and a Courtesie done to an Enemy will be a means to make him become a Friend; but the ground thereof must proceed from God. For *Cicero* says, That take away the Piety towards God, and you'll take away all Fidelity and Conjunction of Humane Society.

To conclude this Point I Treat of, I think that Prince most Happy who has the three sorts of People aforesaid to serve him, (*viz.*) Wise and Grave Senators to Counsel, Just and Upright Magistrates to Govern, and Valiant, young and Discreet Soldiers to Execute: The one Supports the other in convenient time, like Fruit which comes not altogether, or ends altogether, some Learning, others Obeying; or like Antient and Sage Fathers, that leave their tender Sons to succeed them in their Professions and Virtues. And now I will end with the Employment of the King's Ships, from the Year 1635. till this 1640. wherein you have seen the cause of their Employment; for then His Majesty began to have a feeling of the Inconveniences committed on the Narrow Seas, which he redress'd by those Fleets aforesaid, and since has so quell'd his Neighbours, that they dare not but do Reason to His Majesty's Subjects; as appears by these particular Benefits following, it has produc'd.

The First, is an acknowledgement of

His Majesty's Sovereignty of the Seas, which of late years seem'd to be question'd: The Second, is the peaceable Trade we now enjoy into the Ports of *Flanders*, which the *Hollanders* were wont to forbid, tho' they were warranted by the Articles of Peace in 1604. which Trade of *Flanders* hath turn'd to great Profit to His Majesty in Customs, and ten times as much to His Subjects, by the Commerce of that Province; for I must confess with Grief, that our Nation was much injured till now of late, by those base People of *Holland*; for they stuck not to interrupt our Trade, seizing of our *English* Barques, at the very Instant they permitted Ships of their own to enter the Ports, without Impeachment; and tho' I have made often and sundry Complaints thereof, yet no Remedy could be obtain'd; and as I conceive, it was conniv'd at out of Policy, which these Fleets aforesaid have now order'd for the Liberty of the Subject, and Reputation of the King and Country.

The next that followeth, is,

How to make War upon Scotland, if they follow their Rebellious Courses.

THO' this Discourse of *Scotland* is fitter for the Fifth Book, which contains Projects and Stratagems of War, yet because it is an Active time, and concerns the Sea, which is the chief drift of my Narrative, I have annexed it to those Actions that are gone before, and will proceed to make War against *Scotland*, with most Conveniency, and least Expence and Charge.

The Proportion of His Majesty's Ships to be employed, I would not wish to be above Three, for these Reasons; The World should not think it a Service of that Importance, as to require a greater Force; and to these three Ships to have an addition of 10 or 12 Colliers of 2 or 300 Tuns burthen, that Trade to *Newcastle*.

It is not fit for above Three Ships of His Majesty's to be so far from the Narrow Seas; *France* and *Holland* fronting upon us, which want no Ships, nor readiness to Arm to Sea, whatsoever they should intend against us; but we shall prevent any such Design of theirs, when our Ships shall appear at Sea upon our own Coast.

In the Colliers Ships aforesaid, to Transport a Regiment of 14 or 1500 Soldiers,

and to ease the Charge, to allow every Ship but 30 Seafaring Men, which will not amount to the Third part of Charge of Victuals and Men, and yet do the same Service, as so many of the King's Ships would perform.

Besides the Colliers aforesaid, I would wish that as many Fisher Barques may be Press'd, to Arm them with small Guns, and every Man to have his Musquet and Pike, and to be furnish'd with all other Provisions, as Salt, and Hooks to Fish, that when they are not otherwise employ'd, they may continue their Fishing, and supply the Army, both by Sea and Land; we shall find these Vessels of great Importance, as well to send from Port to Port upon any occasion, as to Transport our Men from one Shore to another.

At our first Arrival, that we have care to Possess and Fortifie very strongly some Town near the Sea, on the North side, and the same on the South, and *London* side, and to put into them a sufficient Garrison out of the 1500 Men aforesaid, and the rest of the Soldiers to keep as a running Camp to Forage the Country; for by help of the Fishing-vessels aforesaid, they may be speedily Transported from
the

the North side to the South, or from the South to the North, and havock and spoil the Country as they List, and the two Towns possessed and fortify'd will serve them for a Retreat: And the Country of *Scotland* thereabouts will be forced to maintain 4000 Men continually for its Defence, 2000 on the one side, and 2000 on the other; for the *Firth* so divides them, that one cannot succour another under 100 Miles march, by the Bridge of *Sterling*.

Besides, these Towns being Fortify'd and made Strong, will serve such *Scots* for Places of Rendezvous, as shall fly from the Covenanters, and submit themselves to his Majesty's Obedience, which no doubt many will do, if the former Proclamation be publish'd, which his Ma-

jesty set forth when he was in *Scotland*, for all Tenants to leave their Landlords upon the Condition expressed in that Proclamation; only I would have this added to it, That whosoever shall thus fly, bring with them their Arms to the Places of Rendezvous, where they shall receive ready Money for such Arms as they shall bring, to the uttermost Value; and this will be a ready way and means to disarm great Part of the Rebels.

The next care must be to supply the Army with Corn; for the Boats will be of great help to succour them with Fish, the Corn to be bak'd into Bisket, either in *Holy Island*, or at *Berwick*, and thence sent to the Army; which for want of Ovens, Mills, and perhaps of Wood to bake it, cannot be so well furnish'd with Bread.

How to carry the Action at Sea with least Expence to his Majesty.

I *Aprimis*, To take away the ancient Abuse of Purfers, commonly known, whereby neither King nor Subject shall be wrong'd: This I will make apparent, when there is occasion to treat of it by the Council of War.

Item, Whereas every Four Men are Mess'd with equal proportion of Victuals in the King's Service at Sea, we have often us'd in the Queen's time, in our Southern Expeditions, to make our Victuals go the further, to bring Five Men to the Allowance of Four, and so we have got a Week in every Month.

Item, The same Course we may now take, and with more content to the Company; for in those days, and those Voyages of the Queen's, we could never be supply'd with Victuals, no not so much as Water, till our Return, as here we shall have plenty of Fish and Water.

Item, That one of the best Colliers Ships be appointed for the Officers of the Ordnance, to carry such Provisions as properly belong to that Office, which will nothing hinder the Transportation of such Soldiers as she carries.

Item, To carry in her 10 or 12 Culve-

rins and Demy-Culverins; to fortifie the Island of *Eskiffe*, which is the Guard and Defence of the Harbour of *Leith*.

Item, Besides plenty of all kind of Ammunition, that they carry 1000 Arms to supply the King's Party if there be occasion; as also good store of season'd Deal-Boards, Spikes, all manner of Iron Tools for Carpenters and Smiths; Provision for Pioneers, and every Pioneer to have a Pike-staff to lie by him, whilst he is at work, that he may take himself to it, if he be assail'd by an Enemy; to carry good store of Fowlers, as of great Importance many ways; to carry twenty Pitch'd Pots of Iron, with all kind of Ingredients, to be us'd in a Stratagem to set on fire their Cole-pits; to be careful that the Mould for their Bullets, do fit the Bore of their Musket.

Item, Besides the Spoil the *English* Soldiers shall make in the Country, that they be careful to destroy their Corn, as the next way utterly to ruine them; for besides, that they will take away their Bread, they will utterly destroy their Straw, which is the Food of their Cattel and Horses, for Hay they have none.

How to provide for the West Part of Scotland.

There must be as great a Provision made for the West Part of *Scotland*, as for the East I have spoken of; and how to do it with the least Charge and most Conveniency, I will here set down.

Imprimis, To furnish three Ships of 100 Tuns each, and to be provided and fitted in *Barnstable* in *Devonshire*, with 40 Mariners in each Ship; we shall save thereby 500 Miles sailing, by furnishing them at *Barnstable*, or that part of *Devonshire*, or *Cornwall*, and not at *London*; besides the shift of three several Winds, as from *Barnstable* a Southerly, Westerly, or an Easterly Wind will carry us directly to *Ireland*, or opposite to *Ireland*; so that there will be much Time gotten and great Expence sav'd.

Item, There must be the same Provision made of Fisherboats, Corn, Salt, Arms, and all other Necessaries, as is set down for the East part of *Scotland*.

Item, To command, upon pain of Death, That there be no manner of Trade betwixt *Ireland* and *Scotland*, or betwixt the *Ile of Man*, or any other Place whatsoever, and *Scotland*.

Item, That the three Ships and Boats aforesaid do seize upon all Barks and Vessels whatsoever, Great and Small, on that Western side of *Scotland*, and carry them into the Ports of *Ireland*, there to put them safe ashore, taking out of them their Sails, Masts, Ropes, Rudders, that they may not steal, or be stolen away: And if his Majesty have occasion to transport an Army from *Ireland* to *Scotland*, these Ships and Boats will be able to do it, which otherwise on a sudden all *Ireland* cannot furnish.

Item, That a discreet Gentleman be chosen to Command this Action to the West Part of *Scotland*, and so to order things, that there be one Ship in a Port of *Ireland*, and another in a Harbour of *Scotland*, to send and receive Intelligence of the State of the two Kingdoms, and what help and assistance is requir'd from one to another.

Item, That a Scout-Royal be built in the Island of *Arran*, and such a Place to be chosen where the Water and Chanel is deepest for Ships to ride and float; This Fort will be able to defend such Ships of ours, as we shall employ on that Coast, if it happen that *France*, or any other Nation shall give the *Scots* assistance by Sea.

Item, To make the Castle of *Dunbarton* impregnable, which may be easily done,

and there to keep a Magazine for all Provisions of War. *Dunbarton* is so seated, that it keeps all the Northern Parts of *Scotland* in awe; and that *Frith of Arran*, where it lies, goes as far to the Eastward as *Glasgow*, and Westward to the Cape or Mull of *Cantire*; so that betwixt *Glasgow* and *Cantire* there will be no Passage over the Water, having no Provision of Boats.

And from *Glasgow* to *Sterling* is but 10 or 12 Miles, from whence the River runs into the East *Frith*, and so into the Sea, in which space likewise there is no Passage for want of Boats and Bridges: Insomuch, that we shall have but 10 or 12 Miles to fortifie, viz. from *Glasgow* to *Sterling*, which if we do, we secure the South Part of *Scotland* to *England* from any Incursions the Northern Parts, or Highlanders can make against either of us; and so we shall pale them in their own Bounds and Country, where it is not fit for Civil Men to live.

This being done, if his Majesty please, he may join that Southern Part of *Scotland* with *England*, and make it but one entire Kingdom, allowing the Inhabitants the same Privilege the *English* enjoy: And this is no more than has been in former times; for some while *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, belong'd to *Scotland*, and some time to *England*.

If his Majesty shall please to do it, and make himself absolute Master of *Scotland*, let him raze the Castles and Fortifications of *Edinburgh*; for we may see by Example of all Ages, that the Castle of *Edinburgh* is the Place (in all Combinations) that either King, Rebels, or Foreign Enemies cover to take; for whosoever possesses it, is not so quickly or easily beaten out of it; for, indeed, the Castle is the Defence of the whole Country, being supply'd with Victuals.

And instead of *Edinburgh*, which is the Supreme City, and now made the Head of Justice, whither all Men resort, as the only spring that Waters the rest of the Land within the Kingdom, I would wish his Majesty did Fortifie, Strengthen and make Impregnable the Town of *Leith*, and there to settle the Seat of Justice, with all other Privileges *Edinburgh* enjoys, referring it to the Choice of the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, whether they will make their Dwelling where they do, or remove to *Leith*, where they shall enjoy the same Liberties they did at *Edinburgh*.

His Majesty may do it out of these Respects; *Leith* is a Maritime Town, and will save a great Labour and Charge in Carrying and Conveying their Merchandize to *Edinburgh*, which no Man but will find a Conveniency in.

Leith is a Sea Town, whither Ships resort, and Mariners make their dwellings; and the *Trinity House* there settled, and lies more convenient for Transportation and Importation, it being the Port Town of *Edinburgh*, and in time of War may cut off all Provisions betwixt the Sea and *Edinburgh*, and bring *Edinburgh* to the Mercy of it.

From *Leith* to *Murro-Frith*, and from *Murro-Frith* to the Islands of *Orkney*, there is never a Harbour in that Part of *Scotland*, that will entertain any Ship of great Burthen: Insomuch, That if his Majesty fortifie the Town of *Leith*, and the Islands of *Inskiffe*, it will secure the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*; for by Sea no Enemy can attempt it, and by Land we shall be provided to defend it; by Famine, an Enemy can have no hope to force them to yield, because we shall supply them by Sea; if the People within the Town prove Mutinous and Rebellious, with our Ordnance out of Ships we shall be able to beat their Houses about their Ears, and make them submit their Lives and Goods to our disposal. As I advise the Castle of *Edinburgh* to be absolutely raz'd, so would I in like manner wish that all the Castles in *Scotland* were so serv'd, except *Leith* and *Inskiffe*, as aforesaid, *Dunbarton*, the new erected Castle in the Island of *Arran*; and, if there be need, to continue fortifi'd the two Towns, the one of *Lowden* side, and the other on *Fife* side. These Places excepted, it were good there were a Law enacted, That it should not be Lawful for

any one Piece of Ordnance to remain in *Scotland*, under any Pretence whatsoever; then shall the Fortifications aforesaid be without danger, either by Siege, or otherwise, and of Strength sufficient to defend themselves against all Enemies, Domestic or Foreign, especially when the Sea lies open to us to be reliev'd with Fish or Food, and in our power to forbid others to take Benefit of the Sea.

For the Northern Part of *Scotland*, (which I have paled out from the rest of the Country, as unworthy to be reckon'd with these Southern Parts, both in respect of the Soil, as also for the brutishness of the People) I wish, considering their Qualifications, that they may be only taught so much Civility and Breeding, as to acknowledge his Majesty the true Sovereign King over them, without imposing any kind of Tax on them, for the Country cannot afford it. And because their Natures and Dispositions are turbulent, and never free from Quarrels and Tumults amongst themselves, I would wish that they should be encourag'd in that Factionous way with one another, that their Thoughts may be employ'd otherwise than in plotting and contriving Mischief against the Southern and Civil Part of *Scotland*; this would in time either reduce them to Civility, or by Divisions quite extirpate them.

This Western Part of *Scotland*, I have treated of, is the most dangerous Place of all the Kingdom to receive Relief out of *France* by Shipping, and the more dangerous, because from many Parts of *France*, as namely *Brest*, *Roche*, and all that Coast thereabouts, one Wind will carry them out of their Harbours, without ever striking Sail, till they arrive in that Part of *Scotland*.

An Admonition to Gentlemen to beware how they Engage in Sea Voyages, or give Ear to Projectors that put them upon such Actions.

MAN for hope of Gain is apt to be led into many Inconveniencies, when he has an Opinion of the Wisdom or Honesty of him that persuades; and this no where appears plainer than in Sea Adventures, into which such Impostors and Cheats have drawn Gentlemen, to the Ruine of themselves and Posterity.

I know some who have persuaded Gentlemen, that the *Indies* afforded nothing

but Gold, and that for fetching; and that they fill'd their own Purses with Gold, and those Gentlemen ran headlong to Destruction, without giving Ear to Advice, or believing any Friend that advis'd them to the contrary.

But that such Gentlemen may see their Mistake, I will touch upon the state of the *West-Indie* Trade, by which they may perceive what they are to expect by robbing

bing at Sea, for I have already made out what they are to get by pillaging ashore; and I wish this may come to the hands of those who are in danger of being drawn in by such unhappy Projectors.

He that will undertake a Voyage, either with Fleet, or private Ships, must consider, that in the *West-Indies* he is out of all hopes of Carracks, Ships from *Guinea*, or *Brazil*, and all other Trade, and must expect only such as are bound thither, or Trade from Place to Place.

They must also consider, their Ships will soon grow foul, and not be able to fetch up those that have been lately *Careen'd*. Fires made ashore will give warning of an Enemy being on the Coast, and so prevent him. And lastly, the Wind and Current sets with that Violence and Constancy, that it is impossible to keep to Windward of any Port, if we keep the Sea, or to recover a height if we are put to Leeward of it.

Therefore the Error of our Planters in *Virginia* and *Bermudas* shall appear, who were drawn principally into those Enterprizes, in hopes to annoy the *Spaniards* Trade in the *West-Indies*, not knowing that the Current sets with such force from Cape *Florida* to the Northward, that it is impossible to bear it up.

They were so ignorant as not to know, that if they go from those Places to the *West-Indies*, they must first fetch the *Canaries* for a Wind, which is 1000 Leagues from them, and but 500 from *England*; so that they are 500 Leagues nearer the *West-Indies* going out of *England*, than out of *Virginia*.

Nor do they consider, that the Water does not rise so much in *Virginia* as to grave their Ships; or the small Convenience that Place yields to *Careen* them; or the sudden Gulls that come from the Land, and will endanger them in their *Careening*.

But suppose *Virginia* to be nearer, and no Impediment for our Ships to sail from thence to the *Indies*: I would ask, what possibility there is, rather to meet a Fleet in the open Seas there, where I have shewn the force of Wind and Current will put them to Leeward, than on the Coast of *Spain*, whither they are bound and must repair, and where there are Capes and Head Lands, which they must make before they put into the Shore or Ports.

Reason will make any one confess, it is more likely to find a Man one looks for at the Door he must certainly go in at, than on a wild Heath, where he has many ways to go by; and so it is with Ships, it being better to wait for them at a Cape or Head Land, which they must make, than in the spacious and open Sea. And thus much for this Point.

But seeing I have run over the Casualties or Uncertainties, or rather the Impossibilities to annoy the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, I will shew the Inconstancy of Sea-Affairs, by Precedents of the *English* Fleets that were employ'd against *Spain* in time of War, wherein the Wealth taken in the Voyages will appear; and by it let us judge, what Profit we are to expect by such Actions, which are govern'd by unconstant Winds and Fortune.

The Number of Voyages set out by her Majesty during the War, and the Profit they turn'd to.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1585. SIR Francis Drake to the <i>Indies</i> , some few pieces of Ordnance. | 1591. The Lord Thomas Howard, almost a saving Voyage. |
| 1587. Sir Francis Drake to <i>Cadiz</i> Road, after which he took a Carrack that had Winter'd at <i>Mozambique</i> . | 1591. The Earl of Cumberland, no Profit at all. |
| 1588. A Defensive, but a Victorious Action. | 1592. Sir Walter Rawleigh's Fleet, a Carrack taken; many Adventurers. |
| 1589. The Expedition to <i>Portugal</i> , no Profit at all. | 1593. The Earl of Cumberland, some Gain to himself, none to the Queen. |
| 1589. My Lord of Cumberland, some Gain to himself, but nothing to Her Majesty. | 1594. A Defensive Fleet in <i>Britanny</i> , no Profit. Sir Martin Forbusher slain. |
| 1590. Sir Martin Forbusher and Sir John Hawkins, no Profit at all. | 1595. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins to the <i>Indies</i> , where they both Died; only some Ordnance. |
| | T. c. 1596. Ca- |

1596. Cadiz Expedition, two Galleons with their Ordnance, the Galleons Sold for 300 l.
1597. The Island Voyage, almost Saving.
1599. The Downs Action, a Defensive Fleet.
1600. Sir Richard Lewson, no Profit at all.
1601. Sir Richard Lewson, but with a Defensive Fleet in Ireland.
1602. Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson took a Carrack, a Ship of great Value.
1602. Sir William Monson, no Profit at all.
1603. A Defensive Fleet, when the Queen Died.

The

The Third Book.

Containing the Office of the Lord High Admiral of England, and all Ministers and Inferior Officers under him; and what belongs to each Man's Office; with many other Particulars to that purpose.

THE E P I S T L E.

To all Captains of Ships, Masters, Pilots, Mariners and Common Sailors.

IN all Reason the Dedicating of this Third Book is more proper and due to you, than any of the others to whom they are commended: Forasmuch as what is contain'd in them, you and your Profession are the principallest Actors and Authors of, as the Wheel from whence the rest receives their Motion.

For what would it avail that all Boughs of Trees were Oaks, or every Stalk of Hemp a Faddom of Cable, or every Creature a perfect Artist, to frame and build a Ship? What were all these more than to the Eye, were it not for you, your Art and Skill, to conduct and guide her: She were like a sumptuous costly Palace nobly Furnish'd, and no body to Inhabit in it; or like a House in Athens Laertius writes of, in which all that were born prov'd Fools; and another in the Field of Mars near Rome, whose Owners ever dy'd suddenly; both which were commanded, the one by the Senators of Athens, the other by the Emperor Mark Anthony, not only to be pull'd down, but the Timber to be burnt.

How should we know that France, Italy and Spain produc'd Wine out of the Grape, or England other Commodities not heard of by them? How should we know the Indies, and

Wealth therein, or the Means to receive it from thence, were it not for your Skill and Labour? How should we know that all Nations differ from us in Language, or one from another, but by your Navigations? All Islands, how little soever, would be in the Error of the Chineses, who thought there was no other World nor People but their own, till the Portugueses by their Travels and Mathematical Art and Learning made it apparent to them. All these Secrets must be attributed to your Art, Adventures, and painful Discoveries.

What Subjects can make their King and Country more happy than you, by the Offensive and Defensive Services you may do them at Sea? What Wealth is brought in or carry'd out of the Kingdom, but must pass through your Hands? What Honour has England of late years gain'd, and all by your Adventures and Valour, which has made you Excellent above all other Nations? Who knows not that your Parts and Profession deserve Favour of the State? Who knows not that the whole Kingdom has use for you, and that there is a Necessity to nourish you?

But whether it be the Sea that works contrary Effects to the Land, or whether it be a Liberty you feel afloat, after you have been

pen'd up in Ships, like Birds in a Cage, or untam'd Horses, when they are let loose; certain it is, neither Birds nor Horses can shew more extravagant Lewdness, more Disorder of Life, and less fear of God, than your Carriage discovers when you come ashore, and cast off the Command your Superior Officers had over you: For tho' in desperate Perils at Sea, you promise to your selves Amendment of Life, and perhaps vow never to try that kind of Fortune more; as Women in Labour do, never to have to do with their Husbands; yet when they are past, they are soon forgot of both, and you return to your old accusom'd Vomit, without Sense of Promise, or Danger escap'd, but rather improve in your wicked Courses.

He that could as easily reduce the common Sailor to Civility and good Behaviour ashore, as to be under the Government of a discreet Commander at Sea, were more than Man; for the Nature of Sailors is to stand in more Awe of a mean Officer at Sea, whom they love and fear, than of a great Person on Land, whom they neither fear nor love; and therefore the way to reduce them to Goodness must proceed from the Commanders that govern them; their Words must be as well mix'd with Honey as Gall; they must tell Truth, and not please with Flattery; for a Man cannot be both a Friend and a Flatterer.

This Advising Office is only fit for Men that have been bred and train'd up in the School of Losses and Liberty, and recalled by Years and Grace to Civility: They must teach them to embrace the Good, and eschew

the Evil, and must use the Terror of God's Justice, and the Reward of Repentance: They must shew the Hate God bears to Wickedness, to lying Tongues, to Hands that shed innocent Blood, and a Heart that devises Mischief: And on the contrary, the Love God has for Virtue and Goodness, advising them not only to be good, but to take away the occasion of being evil. This will be the Hope to make them leave Sinning, when they shall be asham'd and afraid to commit Sin; for Seneca says, That the Clemency of a Governor makes many asham'd to offer Offence.

But now let me apply my self to you, the Men of Command and Authority over these untaught and untam'd Creatures, to whom this Charge is committed. Beware that your Council be good, and that you follow it your selves; if not, you are like a Harp, that sounds pleasantly to others, and enjoys no part it self; or to Crispianus, a Servant of Trajan the Emperor, whose Words were sweet and effectual to perswade, but he never acted any thing but what was worthy of Reprehension and Punishment. Remember that Example is of greater Force than Perswasion with many Men; and when these Men shall see your Life concur with your Admonitions, it will be the strongest Force and Motive for their Conversion: For indeed he is not worthy to live, that takes not Care to live well; and Cicero says, He dies not who leaves a good Fame, and he lives not that hath an ill Reputation.

The Office of the Admiralty of England.

THE Master of the Office is the Lord High Admiral of England, who holds his Court of Justice for Trials of all Sea Causes for Life and Goods, being assisted by the Doctor of the Civil Law under him, entituled, the Judge of the Admiralty, a Marshal, and other inferior Ministers of Justice, proceeding in all Affairs according to the Civil Law. The Advocates, Proctors, Civillians, in all great Causes and Trials of Pyrates, especially the Lieutenant of the Admiralty of England, and the Four principal Officers of the Navy, were wont to sit on the Bench as Assistants to the Judges; which Officers of the Navy us'd to commit such Offenders as imbezeld the King's Goods, or had otherwise misbehaved themselves, to

the Prison belonging to the Court, to receive their Trial there, unless in the mean time they were released by the Lord Admiral.

Every Lord Admiral substitutes his Deputy or Vice-Admiral in every Maritime Shire in England, except in such Places where the Lords of Manors challenge a Right formerly granted by the Kings of England, as will appear by their Grants.

These Vice-Admirals are carefully to look that all Things be perform'd that are ordain'd by the Lord Admiral, and yearly to keep a Court in their several Countries, where every Man's Complaint may be publicly heard.

Another Branch of this Office consists merely in the Government of his Majesty's Navy, which since the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time has been of great Consequence, and has divers see'd Officers paid out of the Receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, being Patentees under

the Great Seal of England for Performance of the same, (besides many other inferior Officers, who hold their Places by the Lord Admiral's Warrant only) who are the present Subject of this Discourse. They are as follows.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
THE Lord High Admiral of England, the Grand Master of the Office, whose Fee is <i>per Annum</i> _____	133	6	8
The Lieutenant of the Admiralty, whose Fee is <i>per Annum</i> 100 <i>l.</i> his Diet 10 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> ; Two Clerks, one at 12 <i>d.</i> the other at 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> ; and 10 <i>l.</i> for his Boat hire: In all <i>per Annum</i> _____	325	19	2
The Treasurer of the Navy's Fee, 100 Marks; Diet, 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> Two Clerks at 8 <i>d.</i> each <i>per Diem</i> ; and 8 <i>l.</i> Boat hire _____	220	13	4
The Comptroller's Fee 50 <i>l.</i> Diet 4 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> ; Two Clerks at 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and 8 <i>l.</i> Boat-hire _____	155	6	8
The Surveyor's Fee 40 <i>l.</i> Diet 4 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> ; Two Clerks at 8 <i>d.</i> a piece <i>per Diem</i> _____	146	6	8
The Clerks Fee 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> Diet 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and 8 <i>l.</i> Boat-hire _____	102	3	4
Three Assistants to the Principal Officers, at 20 <i>l.</i> Fee each of them <i>per Annum</i> _____	60	0	0
The Keeper of the great Store 26 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> Diet 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and 6 <i>l.</i> Boat-hire _____	76	5	10
The Surveyor of the Victuals for his Fee 58 <i>l.</i> Diet 5 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and one Clerk 8 <i>d.</i> _____	161	8	4
The King's Merchants Fee 30 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> , without any other Allowance _____	30	0	0
The Grand Pilot's Fee 20 <i>l.</i> <i>per Ann.</i> Black Deeps _____	20	0	0
The Master Shipwright at 12 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> _____	18	5	0
Allowance to a Master for his Attendance in Grounding of the Queen's great Ships at 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> _____	9	2	6
Captains of all Her Majesty's Castles and Forts on the Sea-side, except the Cinque-Ports. _____			

These were the ancient Officers in Fee till the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; since which time there is added,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Store-keeper by Patent at Portsmouth, who is allow'd to his Fee <i>per Annum</i> _____	20	0	0
Two other Master Shipwrights, allow'd each of them <i>per Annum</i> 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> _____	66	13	4
The Store-keeper at Woolwich _____	50	0	0

Memorandum, That there are many other Inferior Officers and Ministers that are paid by the Treasurer of the Navy, whereof the Four Master Attendants and Clerks of the Checque hold their Places by Patent, without any Fee out of the Exchequer, being granted by King James, with the Lord Admiral's Consent, and the rest by immediate Warrant from the Lord Admiral to the Officers, viz.

The Four Master Attendants, each at 61 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> Wages <i>per Annum</i> , besides their Victuals, and the King's Coat out of the Wardrobe _____	244	8	4
The Clerk of the Checque at Chatham, who is allow'd on the Quarter Books for his Wages <i>per Annum</i> 50 <i>l.</i> in Reward of his extraordinary Service, 43 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> and for Paper, Quills, Ink and Travelling Charges, coming Quarterly with the Books from Chatham to London, to deliver them to the Treasurer and other Officers, 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> In all _____	100	0	0

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Clerk of the Survey for his Wages 12 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> and his Reward otherwise 30 <i>l.</i> in all	042	13	00
The Store-keeper for his Wages 12 <i>d.</i> per diem, and in Reward of his extraordinary Pains, 31 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> in all	050	00	00
The Clerk of the Checque at Deptford, who is allow'd on the Quarter Books for his Wages per Annum	030	00	00
The Clerk of the Checque at Woolwich, 12 <i>d.</i> per diem	018	05	00
The Clerk of the Checque at Portsmouth, who hath for his Fee per Annum 20 <i>l.</i> and for Paper 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> also for extraordinary Pains by way of Reward by the Lord Admiral's Warrant of late 20 <i>l.</i> per Annum	040	01	08
A Clerk of the Rope-makers at Woolwich, for keeping the Stores, and Checque of the Workmen twice a day, 2 <i>s.</i> per diem	036	10	00
A Master Workman directing the Rope-makers, allowed per Ann. standing Fee	050	00	00
A Clerk at Chatham that keeps daily Checque of the Rope-makers, and looks to the Stores, 2 <i>s.</i> per diem	036	10	00
A Master Workman over the Rope-makers there at	050	00	00

Standing Officers belonging to the Ships, who have Wages according to the Rates of Ships.

First Rate, besides Victuals.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Boatswain	29	06	07
A Mr. Gunner	26	01	05
A Purser	26	01	05

Second Rate.

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
26	01	05
23	17	11
23	17	11

Third Rate.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Boatswain	21	14	06
A Mr. Gunner	19	11	00
A Purser	19	11	00

Fourth Rate.

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
19	11	00
19	17	07
17	07	00

Fifth Rate.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Boatswain	17	17	07
A Gunner	15	04	02
A Purser.			

Sixth Rate.

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
15	04	02
10	04	02

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Master Gunner of Bayes Sconce has Wages per Annum	14	13	03
A Master Gunner of Warbam Sconce the like	14	13	03

At Chatham.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Boatswain of the Yard at Chatham	25	00	00
Two Porters, each at 20 Marks per Annum	26	13	04
A House-keeper	13	06	08
A Chirurgion	13	06	08

At Deptford.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A Boatswain of the Yard	25	00	00
A Porter of the Gates	13	06	08
A Messenger of the Navy	18	05	00

It now remains to give an Account, by way of Collection out of former Proceedings and Customs of this Office, what may be the general and particular Duties

of all these Officers in the Execution of their Places for His Majesty's Service.

And First, for the Lord High Admiral himself, who is Great Master and Comptroller

troller of the Office, I neither can nor will presume to intermeddle therewith, being sufficiently known by the Extent of his Letters Patents, and former Precedents.

The Lieutenant of the Admiralty is a Place not extended to any late Precedents, to manifest it self, and therefore omitted.

The Four Principal Officers of the Navy, and of late times the Commissioners that executed their Places, are the Conduit Pipes to whom the Lord Admiral properly directs all his Commands for His Majesty's Service, and from whom it descends to all other inferiour Officers and Ministers under them, whatsoever.

First, Their general Duties are, as I conceive, to attend the Lord Admiral, as Men for their Experience and Reputation fit to advise his Lordship in all Causes and Consultations, for the Advancement, Furtherance, and Managing such Undertakings as they are Commanded by His Majesty and the State, as well for Service of his Highness's Ships at Sea, as for the Building and Maintaining them at home; and likewise to advise his Lordship from time to time of all Occurrences, tending to the Ordering and Managing of His Majesty's Service whatsoever for the Navy.

Secondly, They are to observe weekly Meetings, or oftener if the Service require it, at London; as well to attend the Execution and Direction of such Warrants as shall come from the Lord Admiral, as also for the ordering of all Business furthering His Majesty's Service; and to give satisfaction to the Subject for all Materials deliver'd, or Workmanship performed by them for His Majesty's use.

Thirdly, they are jointly to agree with each Merchant, from whom any great Provision or Bargain of Cordage, Hemp, Timber, Planks, Masts, great Anchors, and all sorts of Materials which are bought for the price, at that present, ordinary sold betwixt Man and Man; and thereupon to make them Bills or Contracts for the same, according to the course of the Office, which is the Debt from the King, being first vouch'd from the inferiour Ministers, in the proper places for the quantity and quality.

Fourthly, They are to use the uttermost to procure Moneys for the maintaining all His Majesty's Ships, Pinnaces and other Vessels, and Boats useful, in compleat Equipage, Building and Furniture; and as any of their number happens to decay or perish, to supply them with new, and repair their wants.

Fifthly, They are to proportion a convenient Magazine of Timber, season'd Planks, great Masts, and all sorts of Outlandish Commodities, as Pitch, Tarr, Rosin, Hemp, Anchors, Sails, Canvas, and Cordage for twice Moorings, and once setting forth to Sea all His Majesty's Ships, and to see the same supply'd at all times; to furnish His Majesty's Stores, and whatsoever is wanting, to acquaint my Lord Admiral, and never to cease labouring to the State for Money, till those main Provisions be furnish'd, which cannot be had in the Kingdom at all times, nor sufficient quantity made ready, when the Materials are not had, in many Months.

Sixthly, They are, as Time and Business can permit, to be present themselves, or when more important Business hinders them, their Clerks, at all Payments of all sorts of Workmen and Labourers, to the end they may be Witnesses to the real Payments made; and that His Majesty be not abus'd by the Employment of more numbers than is necessary for Works on Shore, nor for longer time than the Service requires; nor that Boys and young Apprentices be paid so much *per diem*, as able Workmen: Likewise at Sea, and in Harbor, to see that no more Men be paid than have truly serv'd; and in case they either find Clerks of the Cheque, or Purfers, faulty in their Places, in keeping their Books ill, to punish them as their Offences deserve.

Seventhly, They are to be careful that no Workmen or Labourers be Received or Entred into His Majesty's Pay, for any Works to be done by the Day, till there be Materials first in Store, whereupon to Employ them; nor to use more than is necessary; nor to continue them longer than the Stuff lasts to set them on work; wherein if the Master Shipwright or any other Master Workman, be found faulty, by conniving, to suspend such from his Place, as an unworthy Member, till my Lord Admiral be acquainted with the Offence.

Eighthly, They ought to be very careful in the choice of Inferiour Ministers, as any happen to Die off, recommending to the Lord Admiral able experienced Men, according to the Places; the want whereof has bred much detriment to His Majesty's Service both by Sea and Land.

Ninthly, They are to obey my Lord Admiral's Warrant, as well for direction of His Majesty's Service in all things concerning this Office, as also for extraordinary Payments according to usual Precedents; as by Virtue of his Lordship's Warrant, to direct theirs to the Subordi-

nate Ministers under them, for the Execution of so much as concerns their particular Places respectively.

Tenthly, They are to oversee all inferior Officers and Ministers, and as often as they can, by themselves, or their authoriz'd Substitutes, to Muster all Men that are employ'd by Sea or Land, and paid Damages out of this Office, and to cheque all Defaults they find by Mustering for His Majesty's best Advantage.

Eleventhly, They ought to foresee that seasonable Payment be made to all Men employ'd in His Majesty's Service, and not to keep them nor Ships longer in Pay than the Service requires; and to this end, they should use all frugal courses to save His Majesty's Purse.

Twelfthly, They should make quarterly Payments to the Ordinary, and half yearly to the Ships on the Narrow Seas, as has been accusom'd; for want of which, His Majesty's Charge is much increas'd, and the Subject discourag'd.

Thirteenthly, They ought to take a yearly account of the Victuals of the Navy, comparing the Pay Books in the Treasurer's Office with the Warrant for Victuals; and according to the Muller of the Men serving, to allow of the Issues, with such accidental Wastes as by ancient Precedent hath been usual, and no more.

Fourteenthly, They ought to Sign Estimates for Money, as well for the ordinary Service, as extraordinary, to the end the Lord Treasurer may see the Charge His Majesty is at, and continuing the same, that the Payments may be seasonably provided.

Fifteenthly, They ought to take Account of all Store-keepers once every Year, at the least, to the end His Majesty may see what Provision he has in Store, and what has been expended that present Year.

Sixteenthly, They ought to appoint a Surveyor at the Season of the Year, to mark out and sell Timber for His Majesty's Service, for supply of Store, and to

cause the same to be converted into moulded and meer Timber, and cut into several sorts of Planks most useful for His Majesty; and to see that the Summer be not let slip for Land and Sea Carriage of the same into His Majesty's Stores.

Seventeenthly, They ought upon my Lord Admiral's Warrant, requiring the Preparations of any Ships or Fleets for the Sea, immediately to make Warrant from themselves to the Victualers, to make a due proportion of Sea-Victuals, according to the Service and number of Men; and in the mean time for Harbour and Victuals for so many Sailors as shall be employ'd to Rigg the Ships, to be deliver'd by Petty-warrant to any one Officer, or to the Clerk of the Cheque, as will appear upon Muster to be present in the Work; Likewise to the Master Attendants, the Master Ship-rights, Clerk of the Cheque, and Survey, to take notice of the Service in hand, and to require a present Certificate from them of all Wants to perfect the Hulls, Rigging, Tackling, and Furniture of those Ships appointed to be made ready for the Seas; and thereupon to take immediate Order likewise for the providing of all Materials wanting, and appoint Workmen and Sailors to go in hand with them with all expedition.

Eighteenthly, That One of the Three Officers (not the Treasurer, in regard of his continual Attendance for Moneys at London) do in their turns quarterly reside at Chatham, for the Expedition and Oversight of the Works there, and for providing of Necessaries, and directing of all the inferior Officers; and the rather, to prevent the Imbezelling of the King's Goods; as it was in the time of the late Commissioner's Government, who had always one of themselves, or an able Assistant dwelling at Chatham, to order the Business there, no doubt, for His Majesty's great Advantage; the neglecting whereof is no small Damage to His Majesty.

Particular Duties.

The Treasurer.

HE is to make Estimates of the Charge of all His Majesty's Navy, both Ordinary and Extraordinary, and to present them seasonably, being Signed by the Lord Admiral and the other Principal Officers, to the Lord Treasurer of England, who allowing the same, does of course give Order to the Clerk of the Signet, to draw a Bill for the King's Signature, Warranting the Payment of so

much Money as the Estimate amounts to, out of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, which he is to issue to those several Heads for which it has been demanded; and in case the Ships happen to continue longer in Employment than was mentioned in the first, then to make their Estimates for their Surplusses, as long as the Service endures, and sollicite for Privy Seals and Orders for Money, till it be receiv'd, to satisfy the Subject for Materials to be bought before-hand to furnish

furnish the Ships, and Wages to the Company at their Return. He is to make a like Estimate of Building of new Ships, or Repairing the old: Likewise for the Repair of His Majesty's Dry Docks and Store-houses, and for a Magazine of Stores, when occasion requires.

He is to take due Care to get Money seasonably to pay all Workmen, call'd to any extraordinary Works in His Majesty's Yards, or for Reparations aboard the Ships, and to clear them as soon as the Works are ended: Likewise for Payment of Ships Companies returning from Sea; that His Majesty's Charge of Victuals and Wages be not longer continu'd, than the necessity of the Service requires,

He is to take care to pay the Ordinary of the Navy every Quarter, and the Ships serving on the Coasts every Six Months, (*viz.*) *March* and *September*.

He is to give convenient notice to the Officers, who are Vouchers of his Account, of all Pays to be made, to the end they may call for Books of the Clerks of the Checque, and Purfers, for their Clerks to take notice of every general and particular Pay to Workmen and Seamen, taking the Officers Hands to the Books of the Total of the Abstract, or number of Men paid.

He ought within six Months next after the Month of *December*, every Year, to make up his former Accounts, which being fairly ingross'd, in a larger Book, he is to procure the other Officers Hands to every Page thereof, cancelling the particular Bills or Books first paid by each; then to deliver the same, with a Press Certificate from the Auditor of the Receipts of the *Exchequer*, to the Auditor of the Press, and after solicit them to examine it, and procure a Declaration under the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, one of the Barons and Auditors Hands, within Six Months more, to the end it may appear how he stands charg'd on his Accounts to the King for the Money he has receiv'd.

He is to keep his Office constantly at *Deptford* or *London*, that the Subjects may certainly know where to find him, to receive their Moneys for Provisions deliver'd to His Majesty's use, or for Wages due upon lawful Demands.

Contra Rotulator.

He is to keep Counter-Books with the Treasurer of all manner of Payments; and likewise a Ledger-Book written *verbatim*, as the Book deliver'd to the Au-

ditors for every Years Account, to the end he may upon all occasions Witness as well the Payments made by the Treasurer, and the State of his Account with the King, as also to satisfy the other Officers at large of such Precedents and Payments as pass by his and their Vouchers, in the execution of His Majesty's Service.

He is likewise to keep like Counter-Books with the Surveyor of Marine Victuals, and more especially than any of the other Officers, examine and keep a Note of the remainder of Victuals return'd by Purfers at the end of their Voyages, and to charge it on Account for the King on the Victualler.

Surveyor, The First part of his Duty.

He ought to Survey the Quantity and Quality of all manner of Provisions deliver'd for the use of His Majesty's Ships or Navy, to the end he may as well satisfy himself as his fellow-Officers at their Meeting, what Prices are fitting to allow for that which is good; as also to see that no bad and unserviceable Ware be thrust on the King for the Merchants Advantage.

He is once a Year to take Survey of all the Hulls of all His Majesty's Ships, Pinaces and Boats, remaining in Harbour at *Chatham*, *Deptford*, *Woollwich*, *Portsmouth*; and at the Return of any Ship from Sea to view and examine what Defects hapned in the Hull, or Masts, and to Note them down particularly under the Title of every Ship; wherein the King's Master Shipwright, and his Assistants, with the Master Carpenter, and the Master Attendants, ought to assist and testify under his and their hands, in what condition every Ship was, expressing their Wants at the time the Survey was taken.

He ought likewise every year to Survey the Defects of Reparations of all His Majesty's Storehouses and Wharfs, calling to assist him such Master Workmen as are experienc'd to view the same; and then to add in the next Estimate a due Valuation of Materials and Workmanship that must be us'd and employ'd to repair the same.

He ought likewise, after the Launching of every Ship new built or repair'd in any of His Majesty's dry Docks, to take an exact Survey of the Quantity and Quality of all sorts of Timber, Planks, Boards, Trunks, Masts, Nails, and other Iron Works employ'd about the said Ships, remaining in Store; to the end it may ap-

pear upon Account since the last general Survey, before the Ship came into the Dock, how much of each sort of Provision has been expended on her.

The Second Part of his Duty.

He ought also once a year to take a general Survey of all the new Cordage, Sails, Canvas, Boats, Masts, and all other sorts of Materials whatsoever under the Charge of the several Store-keepers in every of his Majesty's Yards, and Ships that lie long in Harbour; and thereupon to examine what has been supply'd since the former Survey, and ballance the Receipts and Issues in an exact Form of Account; to take the Store-keepers Hands severally to the Surveyors Books, charging themselves with what remains.

He, or the Clerk of the Survey allow'd under him, ought, at the Return of every Ship from Sea, with the Assistance of such Master Attendants as are present at the Place, or may be had, to take an exact Survey of all the Rigging, Ground Tackle and Furniture, belonging to her, noting under every particular Dimension their present Quality, to the end he may shortly after account with the Boatswain and Carpenter of that Ship, for their Expences in that Voyage, and be ready against their next going out to furnish her Wants; that so reasonable Demands may be made to supply her in compleat Equipage for further Service.

He is likewise to take the yearly Survey of all Mooring Anchors, other straggling Anchors lying spare at the River side, or in any of his Majesty's Yards not formerly charged: He ought, in case it fortune that any of the King's Ships should put into *Plimouth* or *Bristol*, or any other unusual Harbour, by reason of Leakiness, or any other apparent Defect, to go himself, or send a sufficient Deputy, to take an exact Survey of the State of her Hull, Masts, and Yards, with all her Furniture and Tackling; and after present an Estimate of the Charge in Repairing, and supplying of their Wants with all convenient speed, and procure the Lord Admiral's Warrant to proceed, to make her able to come about to *Chatham*, unless she were fitted for further Service, if cause requir'd.

The Clerk of the Navy.

He ought to Register his Acts, agreed and perform'd at their Publick Meeting, and to note the Days of every Meeting, and what Officers were then present.

He ought to keep Notes or Remembrances of all Business that is material for the Furtherance of his Majesty's Service, and to call on them first to be debated and order'd, before any new Propositions be receiv'd, or any private Person's Business handled at their Meeting.

He ought to keep Records *Verbatim* of all the Warrants sent from the Lord Admiral, directed to the Four Principal Officers, and to keep them safely in a Chest lock'd up, for all their Safeties, if any occasion should after happen.

He ought to take particular Notice of all Warrants or Deputations, thought fit to be made for Purveyors, Pressmasters, and such like Ministers, and to present them in a readiness to be signed by them all at the next Meeting.

He was formerly employ'd in taking up all Outlandish Provisions, as Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Oil, and other small Stores provided for present Dispatches; likewise of Nails, Baskets, Compasses, Lead-lines and Leads, running Glasses, &c.

In all these several Duties of each Officer, in case any of the rest desire to be put, or to have Copies of any Records, or Matter that more properly belongs to the other Places, they are to have it without denial; and being equally interest'd in the King's Service, every of them ought to perform each other's Places in the upper Officers Absence, in case the Service requir'd it.

The Officers Assistants.

The next in place to the Principal Officers, are the Three Assistants, who in extraordinary Employments in time of War, were upon the Lord Admiral's Command, to give their Advice in the Consultations about the Affairs of the Navy; and in the Absence of the Officers, to execute their Business in Places remote: But in the last 30 years, it seems, there has not been much use of them; I suppose rather in respect of the Officers Jealousies to have Competitors, than for want of Employment fit to further the King's Service.

The Keeper of the Great Stores.

He has, by his Letters Patents, the keeping of all the Stores belonging to his Majesty's Navy; But in respect his Salary was not sufficient to maintain Deputies in all Places where the King has cause to use them, Necessity of Times has begotten several Store-keepers in all his Majesty's Yards where the King's Works

Works are managed; and at *Woolwich* and at *Portsmouth* they have Grants for their Places under the Great Seal, and Fee paid out of the *Exchequer*.

He at is first coming receives his Charge upon Survey, and puts his Hand to the Surveyors Book, acknowledging to be charged with all the Provisions therein contain'd.

He ought not to receive any thing into his Charge but by Warrant, nor deliver any out; and properly, in regard of his Account, the Surveyor of the Navy should be one to direct his Warrant to him for all Business.

Surveyor of Victuals.

This Officer, who it seems was at first instituted to Survey the Quantity and Quality of all Victuals, to the end neither his Majesty may be deceived in Goodness, nor the Subject of his Due, is now become Victualler himself: Whereupon there are many Abuses crept into the Office, fit to be reform'd.

The King's Merchant.

No doubt this Office at the first Institution was of notable good Consequence for his Majesty's Profit, when he was employ'd only for his Understanding, to inform the Officers of the Rates of all Outlandish Provisions, as Hemp, Cordage, Tar, Pitch, Oil, Masts, Deal-Boards, &c.

But since it has been converted from Advising for the King, to Merchandizing for himself, which of late has been quite out of use; but in case it were reduc'd to the first Quality, without question his Service would be very beneficial, for providing of those main Materials at the best hand, when the Season may afford it at the cheapest Rate.

The Grand Pilot.

This Man is chosen for his long Experience as a Pilot on a Coast, especially to carry the King's great Ships through the King's Chanel, from *Chatham* to the Narrow Seas; as also for his Knowledge to pass through the Chanel call'd the *Black Deep*s.

Three Master Shipwrights.

These Men ought in their turns to have the new Building and Repairing of all the King's Ships; and when it

happens, by Order of the State, any Ships are built by Contract with Strangers, yet some of them ought always to attend the Oversight of all Timber, Planks, and other Materials put in them, that they be of fit Scantlings and Sizings, well Season'd, and of Strength and Quality sufficient, according to the Burthen agreed on, and so finish'd in all Points Workman like.

Four Master Attendants.

These Men attend at *Chatham* Quarterly one after another, as well to direct and oversee the Boatswain and Ship keepers in Harbour to perform their ordinary Service of the Ships, as also to carry in and out of the River such Ships as happen to be ready for Sea, and to see them rigg'd and fitted compleatly: Also one of them is allow'd 6 *d.* per diem for his particular Attendance at the Grounding of the King's great Ships.

Clerks of the Checque.

These Men are of great Trust, and much Business committed to their Charge, viz. the Entering all Seamen into Pay aboard the Ships in Harbour, and the Shipwrights and other Workmen in Day-work: The first he must muster once a Month, and the other twice a Day. His Ticket serves in the Absence of an Officer to the Victualler, for the Victualling of the Ordinary Ship keepers, and other Seamen employ'd in Rigging of the Ships bound to Sea: He keeps likewise a Book of the Receipts of all Provisions receiv'd into the Stores, and prepares Quarter Books for the Four Officers, for Ordinary and Extraordinary Men's Wages.

Clerk of the Survey at Chatham.

He is to certify the Want of every Ship prepar'd for the Sea, and to send the Certificate, under the Master Attendants and his own Hand, to the Surveyor of the Navy at *London*, to the end he may take present Order to supply all the Provisions wanting, to be sent with all speed to *Chatham*; which being come down, he is, by Ticket under his Hand, to direct the Store-keeper to deliver to every Boatswain and Carpenter their due Proportion of all kinds, as well to furnish the Ships in compleat Equipage in Harbour before they go out, as for Sea Store for the Voyage: He is to make Indenture betwixt

betwixt the Surveyor, or Boatswain, and Carpenters, confirming all manner of Ground Tackle and Furniture belonging to the Ship, and for Sea Stores to the Carpenters, and to take their Hands severally to the one, and to put his Hand to the other Part, which they are to carry with them to Sea, to shew their Carpenters what Stores are in the Ships.

At the Return of any Ship from Sea, he is, with one of the Master Attendants and Master Shipwright, for Things in their Elements, to survey the Remnant of all Stores return'd, and to note down all particular Qualities, to be half worn, or fourth part worn, or decay'd, according as the Master shall judge them to be useful for the King's Service; and thereupon he is to make up the Account of Waste in the Voyage, and to dispose the remainder to be return'd into the King's Store, or left in the Ship, as shall best accommodate the King's Service.

Clerk of the Rope-yard

Receives into his Charge all the Hemp, Tar, and other Necessaries for the making of new Cordage, and delivers the same to the Master Workman, being first dress'd and heckled to be spun into Yarn for Ropes: He also keeps Checque, by calling all the Workmen twice a day to their Labour, and keeping them to their strict Hours.

Master Workmen over the Ropemakers.

There are two of these at *Chatbam*, and another at *Woolwich*, to direct the Labourers and Spinners of Yarn, and afterwards in laying in several Sorts and Sizes of Cordage, and in Stowing the most part at *Woolwich*, and Tarring it only at *Chatbam*.

The Boatswain, Gunner, and Purser, are Officers aboard the Ships.

The Boatswain

Has the chief Charge in looking to the safe riding of the Ship at her Mooring in the River, and to under-run them as often as need requires.

He has the keeping of all the Ship's Stores, Rigging, and Furniture, charging himself on Account to the Surveyor of the Navy, by Acknowledgment under his Hand to a Book, mentioning all the Particulars, whereof he has a Copy deliver'd

him. He is also to come himself, and bring the Ship's Company with him to the Dock, or to such other Places as the Flag is hung out, to shew where the Works of that day are to be perform'd.

The Gunner.

The Gunner has the Charge of the Ordnance, their Carriages, with such Stores as appertain to them, accounting for all to the Office of the Ordnance. No other Service is requir'd here but his Attendance on board, and being found faulty that way, is check'd of his Victuals for that time.

The Purser.

He is to give his continual Attendance, and to see that the Companies Victuals in Harbour be brought them aboard weekly in their Proportion, and well Condition'd.

Gunners of Sconces.

They have several Houses, and some Pieces of Ordnance and Ammunition under their Charge, and are requir'd to give their daily Attendance in them.

Boatswain of the Yard.

He commands the Labourers to their several Works, and sees the Provisions taken off Hoys, or return'd from the Ships, and carried safely, and orderly laid in the Storehouses within the Yard.

Porters of the Gates.

They attend to open and shut the Gates morning and evening, and to wait at the Doors all the day, to keep in the Workmen, and to prevent carrying away or imbezelling any of the King's Provisions; and one of them attends every morning as soon as the Watch is broke up, till the Workmen come in.

Houfekeeper.

He takes Charge to look to the King's House at *Chatbam-Hill*, and the Officers Lodgings there, and the King's Stuff, against their coming to Pays, or other Meetings for the King's Service: He keeps the Orchard and Garden belonging to the House in good Order likewise.

Surgeon.

Surgeon.

He attends daily to cure such hurt Men as happen among the Ordinary Ship-keepers.

Messenger of the Navy.

He attends the Officers at their Meet-

ings, and provides Horses and Victuals for the Paymasters, at such time as they go to make Payments: He is also, at the Officers Directions, to fetch any Delinquent before them, and to keep him under Custody till they give Order for his Release.

What kind of Men are to be chosen Four Principal Officers of the Navy.

I Conceive, That the Treasurer of the Navy were fit to be either a Merchant, or a Mariner, that is or has been an Owner of Ships, and can judge by his own Experience both of the Goodness and Use of all the Materials belonging to the Building and Tackling of Ships, and may, upon special Accidents of Service, cut off His Majesty's Charge, take up a good Sum of Money for his Majesty's Ease, and to content the Subjects, that otherwise will be grumbling for their Wages when the Service is ended.

The Surveyor's Place being too much for any one Man to perform, to be separated into two distinct Offices: The one a Shipwright, who, for his Experience in Building new Ships, for the King or Merchants, the precedent part of his Life, may be absolutely enabled to make Choice of Materials of Timber, Planks, and all other incident Provision in Season, and can both command and direct Workmen of all sorts to be employ'd in the Building and Repairing of all His Majesty's Ships and Vessels; which cannot be so perfectly perform'd by any other Man, that has not had use of the Mechanick part of that Art, and is a full Employment for any one to act, besides the public Meeting for general Dispatch necessary for the Navy.

The other a Mariner bred, that has had the Charge as Master, and greater Place, as Captain, if such can be had, of Ships of Bulk and Strength, knowing all the Furniture and Tacklings of a Ship, and can well judge and rate the Materials of all kinds, and so be able to make choice and recommend to the Lord Admiral such Persons as he finds fit to execute the Boatswain's Place; and can, of

his own Experience, judge of all Wastes expended at Sea, and take the Accounts of the Ships return'd from Sea, besides other general and particular Duties mention'd under the Title of the Surveyor's Place.

The Comptroller and Clerks Places to be reduced into one, who should be an experienc'd Clerk, long bred in the Office, and understanding thoroughly Passages of all Demands, Accompts, and Allowances, usual and of Right appertaining to all particular Places throughout the Office of the Victualler and Treasurer of the Navy; which a Stranger, tho' never so good an Accomptant or Clerk, cannot in many years attain to, if he has not been brought up in the Execution thereof.

Provided always, That besides their Experience and Abilities to perform the active part of His Majesty's Service, these Men be of good Substance and Esteem in their Estates; otherwise the Inferior Officers will scorn to be commanded or directed by them; besides the Obligation His Majesty will find from Men of Means to perform his Highness's Service faithfully, rather than from needy, mean qualified Persons.

Now it remains, that every one of these Officers, from the Highest to the Lowest, under the Lord Admiral, should be limited and ordered by particular Instructions to perform the Duties of their Places; for want of which, some have inroach'd beyond their Right for private Profit, and the most have been negligent in performing what they ought and of necessity should be done for the furtherance of his Majesty's Service, which has suffer'd much on this Account.

Places granted by Warrant from the Lord High-Admiral.

THE three Assistants to the Master
Shipwrights.
Anchor Smith.
Master Caulker.
House Carpenter.
Two Chirurgions for the Ordinary or
Extraordinary.

At CHATHAM.

Store-keepers.
Rope-makers.
Clerk of the Rope-house.
House-keeper at *Charbam-Hill*.
Painter for the Navy.
Gunners of *Wareham Scance, Bay's Scance*.
Boatswain of the Yard.
Two Porters of the Yard.
Pump-maker and Top-maker.

At WOOLWICH.

Rope-maker.
Clerk of the Yard.

At DEPTFORD.

Boatswain of the Yard.
Porter of the Gates.
Messenger of the Navy.

All Places of Boatswains, Gunners, Purfers, Cooks, Carpenters, belonging to his Majesty's Ships and Pinnaces.

All Captains and Masters in his Majesty's Ships and other Vessels, and in all other Ships in his Majesty's Pay.

A brief Collection out of a Discourse of a principal Seaman, touching the Shipping of England, and Officers of the King's Ships.

THE Native Shipping of this Kingdom has been esteem'd (through the Almighty Providence) as Walls of Brass, to secure it from Foreign Invasions or Incursions, as long as we remain Masters of the Seas.

Besides the great Riches and Honour the Crown and Subjects of this Kingdom have gain'd in Peace, by transporting our Native Commodities into the remotest Parts where any known Trade by Sea has been, bringing home the chiefest Wealth and Commodities thereof, and beating our proudest Enemies, even at their own Doors. It may therefore easily appear, how Necessary it is, as well for our Honour and Welfare, as for our Security and Safety, to maintain the Shipping of the Kingdom.

In the year 1588. there was not above 120 Sail of Men of War to encounter that Invincible Armada of Spain, and not above five of them all, except the Queens great Ships, were 200 Tuns burthen, and did not exceed those Rates in all Queen Elizabeth's time; so that our Seamen were, by their Experience and Courage, rather the Cause of our Victories, than the Ships.

Then in the beginning of King James his Reign, who brought Peace with Spain

and all our Neighbouring Countries, our Merchants, in regard the *Hollanders* and *Easterlings* had greater Ships than our Nation without Ordnance, being able to transport Commodities too and fro at far cheaper Rates than the *English*, freighted Strangers, and neglected our own Shipping; insomuch, that our Owners suffer'd their Ships to decay, not regarding to repair them; so that in thirteen years of King James, there were not ten Ships of 200 Tuns left belonging to the River of *Thames*, fit for the Defence of the Kingdom; whereupon, the *Trinity-House* Men complain'd to the King of the State and Decay of Shipping, entreating his Majesty to revive divers ancient Statutes against Transportation of *English* Goods on Foreign Bottoms; producing for Example likewise, That the *Venetian* State finding the decay of their Shipping, prohibited their Merchants to Transport or Import any Merchandize but in Shipping of their own Country, or to Freight any Strangers Ships in Foreign Parts, if any *Venetian* Ship were in that Port wanting Freight.

But the Merchants opposing the Mariners, prevail'd against them, so that no redress'd was then had; and not long after it happen'd in the Fourteenth year of King

King James, That two great *Holland* Ships of 2 or 300 Tuns apiece, came to *London* from the *Levant*, laden with Currants and Cotton-Wooll, upon the Account of *Holland* Merchants residing here, which our Merchants apprehending it might endanger their Trade, immediately became Petitioners to his Majesty and the Lords of his Council for Redress, and so prevail'd with the State, that a Proclamation was publish'd, That no *Englishman* should carry out, or bring into this Kingdom, any manner of Goods but in *English* Ships.

Hereupon, the Mariners and Owners of Ships of this Kingdom, began to build Shipping again; and finding Profit by them, and because the Turks and Pyrates of *Argier* and *Tunis* were many and strong by Sea, able to overcome all small Ships, they built Ships of greater burthen, viz. 3, 4, or 500 Tuns each, and furnish'd them with Ordnance and Ammunition proportionable to their Burthens, and plenty of Men for their Safety in sailing Outward and Homeward; inso-much, that within Seven years after, the State finding so many great Ships built, thought fit to save his Majesty the Five Shillings upon every Tun, which *Henry* the Eighth, and his Successors to that time, had allow'd their Subjects, for building of Ships of 100 Tuns and upwards, and took it quite away; which, notwithstanding, did not discourage the Owners to build, finding the Benefit of Trading in Ships of Strength.

And in the 5th year of King *Charles*, besides the Ships Trading to *Newcastle*, and on the *Eastland* Trade, being 200 at least, at 200 Tun each, the most part whereof were afterwards fitted with Ordnance for Men of War, there were found belonging to the Port of *London* 100 Sail of Merchant Ships, furnish'd with Ordnance; a Number, in the Opinion of most Seamen, fit to parallel the Forces of any State or Prince in *Christendom*.

The Number and Strength of the Subjects Ships, built and maintained without any Charge to the State, on the Profit of Trade in time of Peace, or the Advantage of Reprisal in time of War, preserves the Strength of Shipping and Seamen in *England*, and not only the Power of his Majesty's Navy Royal, though it be conceiv'd to be of more force than any other King's in the Christian World.

On the contrary, if there be no Benefit of Trade to support it, of necessity it must decay as fast, being always decreasing, where Ships bring in no Gain.

The experienc'd valiant Sea-Soldier and Mariner, who knows how to manage a Ship and maintain a Sea-Fight judicially, for Defence of himself and Offence of his Enemy, is only fit to be a Captain, or Commander at Sea; for without good Experience, a Man otherwise Courageous may soon destroy himself and his Company.

The Sea Language is not soon learn'd, much less understood, being only proper to him that has serv'd his Apprenticeship: Besides that, a boisterous Sea and stormy Weather, will make a Man, not bred on it, so sick, that it bereaves him of Legs, Stomach, and Courage, so much as to fight with his Meat. And in such Weather, when he hears the Seamen cry, Star-board, or Port, or to bide Alooff, or flat a Sheet, or haul home a Cluling, he thinks he hears a barbarous Speech, which he conceives not the meaning of. Suppose the best and ablest bred Seaman should buckle on Armour, and mount a courageous great Horse, and so undertake the leading of a Troop of Horse, he would (no doubt) be accounted very indiscreet, and Men would judge he could perform but very weak Service; neither could his Soldiers hope of good Security, being under an ignorant Captain, that knows not scarce how to rein his Horse, much less to take advantage for Execution or Retreat: And yet it is apparent to be far more easie to attain Experience for Land Service than on the Sea.

The bred Seaman is for the most part Hardy and Undaunted, ready to adventure any desperate Action, be it good or bad; as prodigal of his Blood, whatever his Commander order him, if he Loves or Fears him.

The Seaman's desire is to be commanded by those that understand their Labour, Laws and Customs, thereby expecting Reward or Punishment, according to their deserts.

The Seamen are stubborn or perverse, when they receive their Command from the Ignorant in the Discipline of the Sea, who cannot speak to them in their own Language.

That Commander who is bred a Seaman, and of approved Government, by his skil in Choice of his Company, will save Twenty in the Hundred, and perform better Service than he can possibly do that understands not perfectly how to direct the Officers under him.

The best Ships of War in the known World have been commanded by Captains bred Seamen; and Merchants put their whole confidence in the Fidelity and Ability

Ability of Seamen to carry their Ships and Goods through the hazard of Pyrates, Men of War, and the danger of Rocks and Sands, be they of never so much value; which they would never do under the Charge of a Gentleman, or an unexperienc'd Soldier, for his Valour only.

The *United Provinces*, whose Safety and Wealth depends chiefly upon their Sea Affairs, and who for some years past have had great Employment, and enlarg'd their Dominions much in remote places, use only their expert Seamen to go Captains and Chief Commanders in all their Ships of War and Trade.

Great Care must be had to chuse a Commander or Captain of Discretion and good Government, who is to be preferr'd for his Skill and Experience; for where the Seamen are left without orderly Discipline, there can be nothing expected but Confusion and Shame.

The Seamen are much discourag'd of late times, by preferring of young needy and unexperienc'd Gentlemen, Captains over them in their own Ships; as also by placing Lieutenants above the Masters in the King's Ships, which have never been us'd till of late years.

The Seaman is willing to give or receive Punishment deservingly, according to the Laws of the Sea, and not otherwise, according to the Fury or Passion of a Boisterous, Blasphemous, Swearing Commander.

Punishment is fittest to be executed in

cold Blood, the next day after the Offence is committed and discover'd.

A Captain should chuse able and honest Men for his Company, as near as he can; but especially his Master and Master's Mates should be of good Government, whereby he is like to have a prosperous and good Voyage.

Punishments at Sea.

A Captain may punish according to the Offence committed, (*viz.*) Putting one in the Billbows during Pleasure; keep them Fasting; Duck them at the Yard Arm, or haul them from Yard-Arm to Yard Arm, under the Ships Keel; or make them fast to the Capstan, and whip them there; or at the Capstan or Main-Mast hang Weights about their Necks, till their Heart and Back be ready to break; or to Gagg or Scrape their Tongues for Blasphemy or Swearing: This will tame the most Rude and Savage People in the World.

Discouragement to Seamen.

When they have unexperienc'd needy Commanders; bad and unwholesome Victuals, and complaining of it, can have no Redress; cutting their Beef too small; putting of five or more to four Mens Allowance; want of Beer; long staying for their Wages.

The Election of a General or Admiral by Sea, and what is requisite in such a Commander for the Government of the Fleet under his Charge.

NO Fleet can be well Govern'd without a Head; no Flock of Sheep without a Shepherd; no Army by Sea or Land without a General, or Supream Commander, who must be Authorized, either by immediate Commission from a Prince, or his Substitutes that holds his Place by Patent from him; as namely, for Matters of the Sea, from the Lord High Admiral of England.

There have been often Disputes, whether the Title of Admiral or General were more proper to a Sea Commander; and tho' I dare not presume to conclude of either, yet I think it is as unproper to call an Admiral, General by Sea, as to call a General, Admiral by Land; tho' I confess their Authorities are alike in Command of Men's Persons, yet is the Jurisdiction

of the Admiral by Sea greater than the other, in that he Ruleth and Guideth a Fleet of Ships, which are of more Importance to the King and State, than the Lives of Men are that serve in them.

The Authority of a General being granted, the next Consideration is in his Election, That he be a Man of Experience, Valour, Conduct, Temper, Constancy, and Discretion; that by his Clemency and good Carriage he gain Love; and by his Justice, Fear, as well from his Soldiers as Enemies, after the example of *Julius Caesar*, who, to his great Praise, is said, never to have forgot the Service done him, or ever remembred Injury offer'd him.

Such a General is to make Election of his Captains, to be of the same Temper; and out of them to make choice of Three or

or Four to be of his select Council, upon whole judgment he may presume and rely; not trusting altogether to his Wit, and Will; for Wilfulness and want of Experience in Generals, are the utter Overthrow and Bane of Actions, as may be collected out of sundry of those which I have Treated of in my First and Second Books.

The next Caution I give a General, is, That neither Ambition, Covetousness, Vain-Glory, nor Honour, make him seek Employment, till the Prince Command him; but especially, that he be no projector of Voyages, where Princes are not the only Undertakers. Let Sir *John Norris* and *Drake* be an Example in their Voyage to *Portugal*, and *Drake* and *Hawkins* to the *Indies*; for he that desires to undertake an Action which does not absolutely depend on the Prince, must examine the state of himself and Friends, who Engage themselves with him; and if he is to have the whole disposal of the Action, to forecast that there be no want of things necessary.

But above all, he must take care that his Project be grounded upon such assurance, that he fail not in the performance of it; tho' this is impossible: It is only in the Power of Man to Promise, but in the hands of God to Dispose; for if any of his Designs fail, it will prove the overthrow of his Action, the loss of his Reputation, and shew the weakness of his Judgment; whereas on the contrary, He that is call'd to a place of Command by his Sovereign, shall perform the Service with a good Conscience, be furnish'd with all his Wants for the Action, and follow the Directions prescrib'd him; so that whether the Event be good or bad, he shall keep his Credit, and be thought worthy of Employment. For the principallest thing of a General, is to follow the Directions of his Prince; and of an inferiour Officer, to perform the Command of his General, which Sir *Richard Grenvill* neglected, to his own Destruction.

Amongst the *Spaniards*, Private Men undertake no Publick Actions, but the King is the whole Adventurer and Disposer of them himself; and Generals are appointed as they are Esteem'd, who if they disobey the King's Directions, Answer it with Life or Disgrace; As to Instance in Don *Diego Flores de Valdez*, in 88. Don *Allonso de Bassan*, Don *John de Puerto Carrero* and *Diego Soto*, the one Commander of the Gallies, the other of the Ships, in our Voyage to *Cadiz* in 96. Don *John*

was banish'd into *Barbary*, the other committed to Prison, where he Dy'd. This makes them not desire Employment, as amongst us, and more careful to perform the Service for their own Safety when they are Employ'd.

A General is to Examine the State of his Ships, Men and Victuals, before he put out of Harbour; and finding any Impediments, he is to punish the Offence where it deserves, and to see himself provided of all Wants before his Departure; for when at Sea, it will be too late to be Relieved: And herein Sir *Francis Drake*, tho' an old Captain, shew'd himself but a young General in his Voyage to the *Indies* in 85. and to *Portugal* in 89.

The next Care of a General is to give Instructions to his Captains, in as brief and plain a manner as he can, that no Ambiguities may arise, as namely, the place of Meeting if they lose company. Secondly, How to Govern their Men; and Thirdly, How to Work upon any occasion that shall happen at Sea, as by shewing of Lights in the night, by shooting of Ordnance Day and Night, or striking their Topsails by Day, for the better Understanding whereof, I have set down some particulars touching that point, join'd to their Directions. After a General is provided of all those things I have related; the next thing is to expect the opportunity of a Wind and fair weather, and not to put out of Harbour but with a settled large Wind; and being at Sea, he must be as provident to slack Sail for his Fleet, as he shall see occasion; for it is a great weakness in a General, upon a contrary Wind to bear a Piers Sail, seeing the rest of the Ships must strive to do the like, tho' it be to the hazard of their Masts and Sails; for if they miscarry in either, they must of necessity be forced home; whereas in bearing a slack Sail, they will not lose two Leagues in four Days, which will be recover'd in less than two Hours with a large Wind; and herein we may blame the unadvisedness of my Lord of *Essex*, in keeping the Sea in his Voyage to the Islands in 97. with a contrary Wind, foul Weather, and a press Sail, till his Fleet were scatter'd, when in three Hours he might have Harbour'd in *Falmouth*, and avoided the rigor of the Storm.

A General must have a care to assign a place of Rendezvous where his Fleet shall meet, and especially to provide, as the necessariest thing in his Expedition, to have Intelligence of his Enemy, and to keep them from Intelligence of him, by example of 88, and 95.

A

A General that is only appointed for Sea-Service, not for Land, ought to be careful not to carry Gentlemen, more than some few for the Reputation of himself and Action; for whatsoever Gentlemen promise or pretend to the contrary before their going out, when they have been long at Sea, and are tir'd with the tediousness thereof, and find the want of Victuals, they are apt to be the first to cry home, whose examples will make others do the like; as I have shew'd in the Voyage to *Cadiz*, and the Year following to the Islands.

A General that is to enterprize a Service of Importance, ought, before he propose it to his Council, to require the Opinion of his best and trustiest Captains in Writing, who shall have sufficient leisure

to Debate all Circumstances before they give their Judgments; for a Man that is suddenly and rawly taken, cannot give that Resolution, as upon mature Deliberation: It is like a Consultation, which ever proves the best; and a General, out of their Writing, will be able both to judge and determine what to do.

And this did my Lord of *Essex* in his Voyage to the Islands, Requiring a Captain he relied on, to give his Judgment in Writing; First, Whether he should attempt the King of *Spain's* Ships in *Ferroll*, or no. Secondly, Whether before or after his being at the *Terçeras*. And Lastly, The manner how to Assail them. The Captain's Answer you will find in the Second Book, with that Voyage.

The Directions of a General to his Ships, if they lose Company.

IF you happen to lose the Fleet, you shall seek to get your self into the height of _____ and there lye off and on _____ Leagues for _____ Days, and if you meet not the Fleet, nor with Directions, you shall plye to the

height of _____ and keep some Leagues to Seaward; and if you hear nothing in _____ Days, you shall get your self into the height of _____ and lye off and on till you meet the Fleet, or Directions.

Instructions from a General to his Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and Captains, to be observ'd by them at Sea.

MORE than the Reputation of a Vice-Admiral is to be Second Man in Command; and that in Absence or Death of the Admiral, he has the absolute Charge; yet in presence of the Admiral, he is to follow the Instructions given by him, or resolv'd on by Council, in which Council he is the Second Person, and is to have all Rights done to him, next the Admiral.

As he is Vice-Admiral, so is he Admiral of a Squadron; and as he wears the Flag in the Foretop, being Vice-Admiral, so he is to wear what colour'd Flag he please in the Main top, as Admiral of his Squadron.

He is to have a Vice-Admiral and Rear-Admiral of his Squadron, tho' the use of a Rear-Admiral is but a late Invention, and is allow'd but the ordinary Pay of a Captain, but the Vice-Admiral of the Fleet has half the Pay of the Vice-Admiral; these two are to wear the same Flags; the Vice-Admiral does the one in the Foretop, the other in the Mizon, and every Ship of the Squadron besides, is to wear a Streamer of the same colour

in the Forehead or Mizon-yard, to be distinguish'd from other Squadrons.

The Instruction for his Squadron is to Hale them once in 24 Hours; and how to gather them together out of the Fleet, when he pleases to call them, and many other Observations, are to be express'd in the General Articles from the Admiral; and because every Ship in the Fleet receives the same Instructions, it is fit that the Captain under the Vice-Admiral, and the Master of the Ship, be perfect, and have, as it were by Heart, all the Articles before-mention'd, that as soon as they see a Sign made by the Admiral, they may prepare to work accordingly.

It is requisite that the Captain under the Admiral, or Vice-Admiral, be a Man of great Experience in Sea Affairs; for he is always ready at hand to Advise, when Council cannot repair on Board; and yet this place is of so little Esteem among us, that there is no Allowance for it; tho' amongst the *Spaniards* is a Place of great Reputation, and has the Title of *Capitan de la Capitana*.

Such

*Such Instructions as were given in the Voyage in 1635. by the
Right Honourable Robert Earl of Lindsey.*

1. **F**irst, and above all things, you are to take care, That all the Officers and Company of Ships do offer their best Devotion unto God twice a day, according to the usual Practices and Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

2. In your own Particular, you are to have special care, that you perform your Duty faithfully, and with diligence; and if any Seaman, or other in your Ship, shall raise Faction, Tumult or Conspiracy, or commit Manslaughter or Murder, or shall Quarrel or Fight, or draw Blood, or Weapon to that end, or commit Theft, or other heinous Capital Offence, you shall cause precise Information to be brought to me thereof, that I may inflict Condign Punishment upon each Offender, according to the Condition of his Crime.

3. If any under your Command in that Ship shall be a common Swearer, Blasphemer, Railer, Drunkard, Pilferer, or Sleep at his Watch, or make Noise, and not betake himself to his Place of Rest after the Watch is set, or shall not keep his Cabin cleanly, or be discontented with his Proportion of Victuals, or shall spoil or waste them, or any other necessary Provision for the Ship, or shall commit any Insolency or Disorder, fitting by you to be Corrected, you are to Punish them according to the Order and Custom of the Sea.

4. You shall take a perfect Accompt of the Officers in your Ships, to whom it belongs, of the Receipts of the Expences, and Remains of Victuals, Ammunition, and Allowance of Provision and Stores aboard your Ship, and so Weekly to continue the same, not suffering any Spoil or Waste to be made thereof, but to preserve them all the best you can, both in Quantity and Quality; and you shall not suffer any Works to be done in the Ships that shall not be needful and necessary for the same.

5. To prevent the needless Expence of Powder and Shot, you are to take Weekly Accompt of the Master Gunner, of the Expence of the Powder and Shot, and all manner of Ammunition, Provisions, and Stores contained in his Indentures, not permitting any part thereof to be wasted or embezzelled; nor any Piece of Ordnance to be shot without particular Order, or Directions from your self, and that upon very necessary Occasions, and ac-

cording to His Majesty's Proclamations, unless it be for Salutes, keeping the true Number and Kinds of the Shot, that their Accompts may be thereby examin'd, which are not to be allow'd in the Office of the Ordnance without Approbation under your Hand.

6. You are to keep a competent Number of Men allow'd to your Ship compleat, and to have a full Proportion of healthy and able-bodied Mariners and Seamen, and but the allow'd Number of your Retinue, that your Ship be not fill'd with Idlers, and to take care to get such as are able and healthful Bodies, and not Boys or Infirm Persons, to perform His Majesty's Service.

7. You shall not suffer any Boat to go ashore without special Leave, and then but upon necessary Occasions, as to fetch Water, or the like.

8. You shall perform to me all due Respects and Obedience, not taking the Wind of me at any time if you be not forc'd to it, but keep Company with me as much as you may, speaking with me both morning and evening to know my Pleasure, and so often as you see my Flag of Council in my Mizzen Shrouds you shall come on board me; and when I shall weigh Anchor at the Report of a Warning-piece, you shall do the like, and Anchor when I Anchor, ranking your selves under the Colour of your Squadron, the Vice-Admiral taking his Place within me, and the Rear-Admiral without.

9. In the night I will carry two Lights, which you are to observe and follow, bearing the same Course I do, without straggling, unless Storms or Tempests divide us, and then with expedition to return to the Place of Rendezvous, which I shall direct; but if you happen to spring a Leak, spend a Mast, or be otherwise distressed by Fire, you are to give notice by shooting off two Pieces of Ordnance, that other Ships may hasten to your help to avoid Danger.

10. If you discover any Ships at Sea, you are to give notice thereof by shooting off a Piece, and letting fall your Main-Top-sail so many times as there be Ships; and if they appear to be *Turkish* Pirates, or Sea-Rovers, you shall shoot two or three Pieces, to warn the whole Fleet to put in order either to Fight or Pursue.

11. It must be your principal Care to preserve His Majesty's Honour, Coasts, Jurisdiction, Territories, and Subjects, within the extent of his Majesty's Dominion, as much as in you lies, that no Nation or People whatsoever intrude thereon, or injure any of them; and if you shall chance to meet in the Narrow Seas any Fleet or Ships belonging to any Prince, King, or State, you are to expect that the Admiral or Chief of them, in Acknowledgment of His Majesty's Sovereignty there, perform their Duty and Homage in passing by; and if they refuse to do it, you are to enforce them thereunto; and in anywise you are not to suffer any Dishonour to be done to His Majesty's Dominion in his Sovereign Power in those Seas; and if any of His Majesty's Subjects shall so much forget their Duties, as not to strike their Top-sail in passing His Majesty's Ships, you are to enforce them thereunto, and to punish the Commanders of such a Ship your self, or to give me Advertisement of it, that I may take a course with them.
12. You are not to suffer any Man of War to fight with each other, or Man of War with Merchant, in the presence of His Majesty's Ships in the Narrow Seas; but you are to do the best in those Seas to keep Peace for the better and free Maintenance of Trade and Commerce through the same, for that all Men trading or sailing within those His Majesty's Seas do justly take themselves to be in *his Majesty's Dominion* Regis, and therefore His Majesty in Honour and Justice is to protect them from Injury and Violence.
13. If you chance to meet with any Strangers Ships riding at Anchor in any of his Majesty's Bays or Harbours with Countenance to commit any Practice of late much used to entice and draw Foreigners as trade on his Majesty's Coasts, you are to apprehend and bring them unto me, or send them safe into some of his Majesty's Ports, to answer such their Presumption, and Observe according to Law.
14. If you happen to take any Ship and Goods from any Pirate or Sea-rovers, or other Offender, you must be careful that they be kept in safety, and that no part thereof be spoiled, wasted, or impertinently spiking down the Hatches and Boards and bring them to me, that I may send them to his Majesty's Ports and Harbours for his Majesty's Use.
15. If you meet with any Men of War, Merchants, or other Vessel or Ship belonging to any Prince or State, either at Sea, or in any Road or other Place where you shall happen to come, you are to send to see whether there be any English, French, or Dutch, or any other Nation, Gunners, Pilots, or Mariners, shall be found aboard, any of them, you are not only to cause such of his Majesty's Subjects to be taken one and brought to me, to answer their Contempt to his Majesty's Proclamation in that kind, but also to admonish the Captain, and principal Commanders and Officers in such Foreign Ships and Vessels that they receive or entertain aboard any of their Ships more of his Majesty's Subjects aforesaid, than his Majesty have no cause to resent it at their hands; but you are to have special care, that no Man be permitted to go aboard any Ship or Vessel of any of his Majesty's Friends or Allies, to search for any of his Majesty's Subjects as aforesaid, for whose fair and honest Carriage you will not answer. And you are not in any case to suffer any Violence, Wrong, or Inturbation to be given by any of your Company to any of his Majesty's Friends or Allies, behaving themselves fairly and respectfully.
16. You shall do your best endeavour to hinder that none of his Majesty's Subjects whatsoever at Sea, or Inhabitant on the Coast, do buy or sell, or barter, with Pirates or Sea-rovers, and taking notice of such as do or have done, see you give the notice of it, with their Names, Places, Abode, together with a Particular of their Offences, and such Examinations and Proofs as you have against them, that I may acquaint the State therewith.
17. If any Man of War, or other in any of his Majesty's Roads, Harbours, or Coasts, shall offer any Violence in taking out any of his Majesty's Goods, or Merchandizes, unduly, or commit any other Insolencies, you shall do your best to recover the same again from them, and reform the Abuse, either by due Admonition; or, if that will not serve, by bringing the Offenders to answer by Justice, preserving by all means the Honour of his Majesty from such Insolencies as much as in you lies, having always due regard to the Amity betwixt his Majesty, his Friends and Allies.
18. If we happen to defy any Fleet at Sea, which we may probably know, or conjecture design to Oppose, Encounter, or Affront us, I will first strive to get the Wind (if I be to leeward) and to shall the whole Fleet in due order do the like, and when we come to join Battle, our Ship shall presume to assault the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, or Rear-Admiral, but only

my self, my Vice-Admiral, or Rear-Admiral, if we be able to reach them; and the other Ships are to match themselves accordingly as they can, and to secure one another as cause shall require, nor wasting their Powder at small Ventsils or Victuallers, nor firing till they come side to side.

19. You must be careful, that no Bed of Straw, or combustible Matter, be aboard in time of Fight, nor shall permit any Powder to be carri'd up and down in open Barrells or budge Barrells, but to command the Gunners to laid Carriages, which may be kept cover'd; and for prevention of the vomit, you are to cause the Vessels of Urine to be in readiness for your Ship, and shall enjoin your Ship-Carpenter to observe carefully in the Fight, if any Shot chance to fall near the Bulging place of the Ship, and ever to be ready to stop them with Saw Planks, Sheet Lead, Plugs, or whatsoever may be fit.

20. Before Fight you are to see all things put in order, then to encourage the Company, and not to suffer them to board the Ship or Vessel that shall oppose them till the Smoke of their Ordnance be clear'd up, nor till the Men above Hatches be firm, or beaten off.

21. When we set sail, the Vice-Admiral with his Squadron shall sail ahead the Admiral at a convenient distance, and the Rear-Admiral after, observing the like distance. Every Ship is to rank himself under the Colours of his own Squadron, allowing one another fair room, for fear of falling foul if it should happen to be rough Weather.

22. In the night I will bear two Lights in my Poop, the Vice and Rear-Admiral falling something astern of me, but keeping their distance, shall each of them bear one Light in the Poop for the rest of their Squadron to follow. Both Vice and Rear-Admiral shall speak with me twice a day morning and evening if Wind and Weather will permit, and having receiv'd such Directions as I shall give them, they are to sail in their Places again.

23. If I call about in the night, I will shoot a Piece of Ordnance, and shew two Lights one above the other, which you are to answer, that I may know you see me.

24. If I am forc'd to bear round, you shall see three Lights on the Poop of my Ship, and you shall shew the like.

25. If your Ship should happen to run aground upon any Danger, (which God forbid) you shall shoot four Pieces of Ordnance one a little after the other, if in the night, you shall burn a Fire-Pike.

26. If by day or night you find your self near any Rock, Sand, or Shoals that may be dangerous, you shall shoot off three Pieces, and call about; but if in the night, you shall hang out two Lights at your Fore-topmast head.

27. If I shorten Sail in the night by reason of the foul Weather, I will shew three Lights on my Poop one above the other; if I try or haul, besides those I will shew two in my Shrouds; and you shall do the like, that I may know you understand me.

28. If in foul Weather we lose Company, and after come in sight of one another, if in Topsail Gale, you shall strike and hoist your For-Topsail twice; but if it be not Topsail Gale, you shall brail up your Fore-Sail, and let it fall twice; and if you are answer'd by the like Sign, it shall betoken they are of our Fleet; and if in the night you come up and hail one another, the Word shall be *Charles*, and the Answer *Mary*, whereby you shall know the other.

29. If in the night it be foul Weather, and over-blow, every Ship shall carry a Light in his Poop, that we may the better keep clear one of another, and in thick foggy Weather, either by day or night, you are to make a noise with Drum, Tumpet, or ringing your Bell, and sometimes shooting off a Musket, whereby you may keep clear one of another; and if in such Weather I call about by day, I will shoot off a Piece of Ordnance; and in the night I will shoot a Piece, and use the Sign before-mentioned.

30. You shall keep one continually in your Topmast-head to look abroad, and if you discover any Fleet or Ships which you conceive I see not, you shall put your Ancient in your Top and bear with them, till you perceive I see them; and let no Man presume to wear a Flag, tho' absent from the Fleet, but thole to whom it properly belongs.

31. Our principal Place of Rendezvous is in the Downes, whilst our Employment is to the Eastward of the Isle of Wight; if to the Westward, *Falmouth*; whither you are upon all Occasions to repair if you should be absent from me, except you hear otherwise where I am, and then to come to me there to receive such farther Instructions as I shall have occasion to deliver to you from time to time, for the Advancement of the Service we have in hand; or where you may conceive Wind and Weather may force us for more Safety, either *Wight*, *Plymouth*, or any other Port.

32. You are to be careful to keep your Company in good Order, Peace and Unity one with another, and to see that they have their Allowance of Victuals in good Order.

33. When you see the *British Flag* spread upon the Mizen-Shrowds, then the Council of War is to come aboard me; if the Red Ancient, then both Captains and Masters.

34. And when there shall be any oc-

casion to dispose of you upon any Service apart, I shall then give you such farther Directions as the Service requires. And so God keep you, and send us a prosperous Voyage.

From on board his Majesty's Ship Royal, the *Merc-honour*, riding in the *Downes*, the 30th of *May*, 1635.

Signed,

LINDSEY.

The Distinct Practice or Special Duties of Officers belonging to the King's Ships at Sea.

The Captain's Office.

THE Captains in Queen *Elizabeth's* time were Gentlemen of Worth and Means, maintaining their Diet at their own Charge.

A Captain has Power, upon just Cause of Misdemeanor, or Imbezelling the King's Goods, to displace any Inferior Officer, (except the Master) who has the absolute Charge of conducting the Ship in and out, according to the Direction given by the Captain, to the Place whither he should sail the same: And in case the Master commit any Offence meriting Blame during the Voyage, the Captain may require stay of his Wages, till the Matter be heard before the Principal Officers of the Navy, or the Lord Admiral himself, if the Offence be Criminal.

The Captain may require a Copy of the Sea Book from the Purser, and muster the Company at his Pleasure: Likewise the Boatswain, Gunner and Purser, ought to shew the Captain what Sea Stores they have received into their Charge for the Voyage; and he may require a Copy of the Indenture, or Bills of Charge; in like sort a Note of the several kinds of Victuals from the Purser at the end of the Voyage, to certify what has been in any sort extraordinarily expended in his Majesty's Service, or wasted, or lost by unavoidable Accidents; without which the King's Officers should not give any extraordinary Allowance upon their Accounts respectively, provided that nothing be allow'd upon such Certificate but what has been formerly lost, and truly issued for his Majesty's Service only. The Captain must be very cautious not to remove any of the aforesaid Officers that have the King's Goods under their Charge, unless upon urgent Necessity, for Matters Criminal or neglect of the Service, and then

to take good Testimony what Stores are remaining at the time of their Discharge, and to commit the same to such Hands as may be able to account for the same to the Officers at the end of the Voyage.

After the Ship is at Sea, the Purser ought not to enter or discharge any of the Company, but by the Captain's special Order.

1. The Office of a Captain is to be distinguish'd into two kinds, (*viz.*) A Captain that is lawfully chosen by a General, serving under the Patent of a Prince, from which General the Captain receives his Commission for his Employment, and Instructions for him to follow during the time of the Voyage, and at the end thereof to be paid the Entertainment of a Captain as aforesaid.

2. The Captain ought to have Experience and Ability, by his Art and Skill to controul his Master, if he do amiss, or else his Master may willingly commit such an Error as will cast a Disgrace upon his Captain.

These latter times have advanc'd Captains, who only take upon them that Name, holding it a Maxim, That they need not Experience, but refer themselves to the Direction of a Master. I must say, That the Generals who place such Captains are very careless of their Master's Service, and forgetful of their own rising from the Degree of a Soldier to a General, and the Mischiefs that ensue upon it: Nay, I will say, That such a General is improvident of his Master's Profits: For if a Master should direct a Captain, and have the managing of the Charge committed to him, why should a Prince allow 10 s. a day to a Captain, when a Master can execute the Place of both Captain and Master for his bare Allowance.

A Captain of Experience being thus settled in his Command, he shall see that every Officer be chosen in such Places, that they be able to execute the Charge committed to them, and not to advance any unworthy Person for Affection. This Captain, under a General, has lawful Authority to punish Offences committed within his Ship; or if his Company grow mutinous or stubborn, he may have recourse to the General, who will inflict more severe Punishment, as Death, if they deserve it, which no private Captain can do.

If a Captain shall misdemean himself against his Company, the like Censure he shall receive from his General, whose supreme Authority begets Moderation and Agreement amongst them, which the Ships of Reprisal have no means to accommodate but by Violence.

What Instructions the Captain shall receive from his General, needs no other Repetition than I have already declar'd in the Instructions set down in this same Book, to which I refer you; but with this Caution, That you be careful to observe what is there contain'd.

A Captain is to make Choice of his Lieutenant, and it is as necessary that he be a Man of Experience, as himself; and tho' no such Officer be allow'd in his Majesty's Ships but of late, and that the Master repines to have a Lieutenant above him, yet do I hold it fit to have a Lieutenant, and he to have Entertainment from the King, as well as his allow'd

Shares in a private Ship of War, for these Reasons:

A Lieutenant is an Employment for a Gentleman, well bred, who knows how to entertain Ambassadors, Gentlemen, and Strangers, when they come aboard, either in Presence or Absence of a Captain.

A Lieutenant is to be sent on a Message, either aboard Ships or ashore, upon any occasion of Service, tho' it be to great Persons, an unfit Employment for a Master; besides the Master is not to depart out of the Ship, or leave his place, but in case of Necessity.

A Lieutenant knows how to use Gentlemen and Soldiers with more Courtesie and Friendly Behaviour, and will give better Satisfaction than any other Mariner or Master can do, who have not been bred to it, but in the rude manner of a Mariner.

A Lieutenant in a Fight is to command the Forecastle, or the Soldiers before the Mast, as the Captain does abast the Mast, and to see that every Man does the Service he is commanded.

But the Lieutenant must have a care that he carry not himself proudly or presumptuously, nor that his Captain give him Power or Authority to intermeddle in the Master's Office; for where there is a Heart-burning between the Lieutenant and the Master, it will make it burst out into open Discontent, and then will follow Mischiefs and Factions among the Company.

The Second Degree of a Captain, viz. in Ships of Reprisal.

THis Captain I shall treat of is much inferior to the Authority of the other I have spoken of: First, his Title is not Authoriz'd by the immediate Power of a Prince, but by a Subordinate; for a King of England in time of War substitutes his Lord High Admiral of England to grant out Letters of Reprisal to his Subjects, to take and arrest by all means, either by Sea or Land, the Vessels of his Enemy; and this Commission is taken out of the Court of Admiralty, having relation to the Lord High Admiral and his Office.

In this Quality any Man may make himself a Captain, if he put in the Security aforesaid; but what Abuses ensue thereof, I refer you to see in the First Book.

This Captain, after a Ship is furnish'd, is to make Choice of his Master, Officers,

and Company; and tho' he be stil'd the Captain, yet do they not use to obey him so strictly as him that has Power from a General, as I have said before; for they receive no Pay whereby to oblige them, but every one goes upon his own Adventure; and therefore they will tie the Captain to the same Conditions in his Diet, or his part of any Goods taken, as themselves. His Authority is little better than the Captain in a Pyrate; for the Interest and Division of Goods are alike, only that this Captain has Commission to take from an Enemy, and a Pyrate takes without Commission, and makes all the World his Enemies.

The Authority of Reprisals, and the Law to warrant and limit them, has been ancient, and ever since England enjoy'd Aquitain, if it were truly known; for the Laws to this day are call'd the Laws of

of *Alleroone*, near *Roebell*, anciently possessed by the *English*.

And because I speak of the peculiar Laws there establish'd, I am bound to give you an Account of an ancient Record extant in the Tower of *London*, wherein is to be seen, that at a general Meeting of all Nations of *Europe* that had relation to the Sea, with one Voice and Consent they gave *England* the Preheminence and Power over all the Seas, as well those that part *England* and *France*, as also the Northern Seas that encompass *Scotland* and *Ireland*; by which it is apparent, the Kings of *England* did not challenge the Privilege of Masters of the Sea by Force, but by Lawful Right granted by the Consent of all the Maritime Towns in *Europe*.

The Law of these Actions of Reprisal is to divide the Goods taken from any Enemy into Three Parts, the Ship has one Part, the Victualler the other, the Company the Third, and the Lord Admiral to have the Tenths of all.

That which is called Pillage is the loose Goods and Apparel of the Company on the upper Deck, so that it exceeds not a certain Proportion, and is equally to be divided to the whole Company at the Main-mast.

If a Ship fight, the Captain that takes her, by ancient Right, should have the other Captain's Chest, and what he has in it; and every Officer to have the like of other Officers. The Captain is to have likewise the best Piece of Ordnance in the Ship, the Gunner the second, and the Master the best Cable, and all the other Officers after that rate, Sails, Muskets, &c.

The Thirds due to the Company is thus divided, and those that make the Shares are, the Master, or in his Absence the Right-hand Mate, the Gunner, the Boatswain, and the Four Quarter-Masters; (not the Captain.) But the Captain has this Privilege, to take away half a Share, or a whole Share, to give from one to another whom he pleases.

	Shares.
In the Division, the Captain has	10
The Master	7 or 8
The Lieutenant	7 or 8
The Mates	5
The Chirurgeon	5
The Gunner	5
The Boatswain	5
The Carpenter	5
The Trumpeter	5
The Four Quarter-Masters	4
The Cooper	4

	Shares.
The Chirurgeon's Mate	4
The Gunner's Mate	4
The Carpenter's Mate	4
The Corporal	3
The Quarter-Masters Mate	3
The Trumpeter's Mate	3
The Steward	3
The Cook	3
The Cockswain	3
The Swabber	3

The Youngers are according to their Deserts, some Three, some Two, and some less; the Boys one single Share.

A Ship of War is to keep a Man or Boy continually in the Head of the Top-mast, to descry what Sails they can see; and upon the descrying of any that shall prove Prize, he is to have given him a Reward, at the Discretion of the Captain.

If any Prize they take shall fight, and make Resistance, upon the boarding her, the Ten first Men that shall enter her shall have every one of them a Reward, at the Discretion of the Captain.

Tho' these Actions of Reprisals yield no Profit to a King, but only in his Customs, as all other Merchandizes that come into his Kingdoms, yet it is a Matter of great Consequence, not only to him, but to his whole Commonwealth, as appears by these Reasons: The number of Sailors and Seamen are encreas'd treble by it, to what they are in the Navigations of Peaceable Voyages; and they are made more Courageous, and more like to serve their Prince and Country when there is occasion to use them, than any other of his Majesty's Subjects, although their Successes do not prove Prosperous at Sea, but that they return without Spoil or Gain; for I confess, of 20 such Ships as go out with Letters of Reprisal, not two for the most part make a saving Voyage; like a Lottery, where one lighting upon a good Prize, encourages others to venture in it, till they make themselves Pennyless, and derided for their Pains.

But howsoever it fall with these Adventurous People, the Kingdom feels no Detriment or Scarcity by it; for all the time they spend at Sea, they consume no more Victuals than they would have done on shore: Every Man in the Ship bears his own Adventure; so that neither King or Country is bound to pay them at their return: Or tho' they fail of getting in one Voyage, yet upon the end of it they are ready, and never want occasion to be suddenly employ'd again in another.

And

And Lastly, The King receives Benefit by these voluntary Actions, by Annoyance done the Enemy, who is impoverish'd and put into great Discontent by it; Besides that many times his Provisions in furnishing his Fleets are cut off in their way to the place of their Rendezvous, whereby his Preparations fail, to the great Security and Profit of the Prince their Enemy. What this end of the Stealth produces, you will hear afterwards.

The Office of a Master of a Ship of the King's.

A Master is to be chosen by the *Trinity-House*, who can Judge of every Man's sufficiency, as well in the point of his Art as his Command, which is as much to be regarded as the other in a Ship of the King's: Upon Commendations from them to the Four Principal Officers of the Navy, he is to receive Warrant for taking Charge of his Majesty's Ship. I utterly dislike that a Captain should make choice of a Master himself; I speak it for the security of a Captain; for if any thing but Well should befall the Ship in her Voyage, it will be imputed to the Captain's Election of his Master, and he only shall receive the Blame and Imputation by it.

His Place and Charge is to undertake to conduct the Ship safe from Port to Port, and to direct at Sea to and fro as the Captain shall require him, by virtue of his Instructions from the Lord-Admiral in the King's Service; he is also to give Chase, Manage a Fight or Retreat by the Captain's Directions.

He has power to Command the Mariners, and all the Company, to perform the ordinary Labours in the Ship, and to keep due Watch in their turns, at the Helm; and may by himself, or the Boatswain and his Mates, Correct and Punish, according to the custom of the Sea, such as refuse his Command for the Service of the Ship, wherein I conceive no Man is exempted respectively.

He must be likewise acquainted what Furniture, Ground-Tackle, and Sea-Stores, belong to the Ship, and to justify the needful Expences of Sea-Stores in the Boatswain or Carpenters Charge during the Voyage, to the end there may be Warrant for Supply, while the Ship is under his Charge.

There are Six things necessary and requisite in a Master or Mariner that takes Charge (*viz.*) The Card, the Compass, the Tides, the Time, the Wind, and the Ships way.

A Master must be Obedient to his Captain, and so carry himself that he be obey'd by his Company; for a Master that has not Authority in his Command, is slighted by all his Men, and the inferior Officers, and then the Service goes to wrack.

A Master ought to pass through all the Offices and Degres in a Ship, before he attain to his Place of Master; that thereby he may both Direct and Controul the other Officers, if they commit Errors or Mistakes.

A Master ought not to be Arrogant, Wilful or Head-strong; not to presume too much on his own Skill, without the Advice of his Mates, who are to be chosen as his Seconds and Helpers, to Conduct the Ship when he takes his Rest; also to separate themselves into several parts of the Ship at her Tacking about, and Tackling of the Ship, giving Ear to the Master's Command, and to see it perform'd; and also to oversee carefully such business as concerns the Safety of the Ship (*viz.*) The Anchor clear'd, the Splicing and Bending of Cables, that the Shrowds be taut, &c. The Boatswain employ'd to do these things, may not neglect to perform them strictly, whereby any danger may come to the Ship.

The Office of a Master is to guide a Ship into what Coast, Height, or Harbour the Captain shall direct him, who is Commander of all, and in a Fight is to Conn the Ship, and to see the handling of the Sails, by appointment of the Captain.

A Master must observe the Sun and Star, to find out the variation of the Compass; to know the Tides; to prick his Card; and many other things, which for the better Instruction of him that shall hereafter attain to that place, I have set down briefly for them to Learn and Follow, as namely, The working of the Sun, with the North and South Declination; a Rule to know the Age of the Moon, and so consequently to cast the Tides; how many Leagues answer to a Degree; the Prime; the Golden Number, who was the finder out of the Loadstone, and the Winds call'd

Monson's.

How to work the Sun with a North Declination.

The height is 87 De- grees, 54 Minutes.	23 19	46 11	13 12
	21 13	23 2	12 20
	2 6	23 9	1 2
	89 60	89 60	89 60
	2 6	23 9	1 2
	87 54	66 51	88 58

How to work the Sun with a South Declination.

23 19	46 11	13 22
21 13	23 2	12 20
44 32	69 13	25 42
89 60	89 60	89 60
44 32	69 13	25 42
45 28	20 47	64 18

A Rule to know the Age of the Moon, and so to cast the Tides.

The Day of the Month.	23 19 26 2 9 12 28 13
The Epact.	14 2 6 13 29 3 25 2
The Months from Mar.	9 4 8 11 7 4 4 3
	46 25 40 26 45 19 57 18
	30 30 30 30
	16 10 15 25

Leagues to answer a Degree.

North	20
North and by East	20 $\frac{1}{2}$
North North East	21 $\frac{1}{2}$
North East and by North	24
North East	28 $\frac{1}{2}$
North East and by East	36
East North East	52 $\frac{1}{2}$
East and by North	102 $\frac{1}{2}$

It is to be Noted that the North-East Winds which continually blow betwixt the *Canaries* and *West-Indies*, Blow so from the 6th. or 7th. Degree on this side the Line to the 30th. and 32. Degrees; and moreover, of late it has differ'd, for sometimes the Wind blows Southwardly in those heighths, tho' I confels it is strange.

Flavio of Amalphy in the Kingdom of *Naples* was the first finder of the Loadstone in the Year 1300.

In *October* the North-East, and East North-East Winds blow on the Coast of

Brazill, and from *March* to *October* they blow at South-East; and these are called the General Winds.

The *Monsons*, that is to say, the fix Winds in the *East-Indies*, have their beginning from *Mosambique* to *Goa* in the Month of *September*; and the Second *Monson*, from thence begins the 15th. of *December*. The Third *Monson* begins the 15th. of *August*. The Prime, or Golden Number is the time of 19 Years, in which time the Moon makes all her Changes or Conjunctions with the Sun; and when these 19 Years are expir'd, then she begins again. As for example, the Year 1579. she chang'd the 22 of *March*, and every Year alters 11 Days in her Change; till the Year 1593. and then she changeth the said 22 of *March* again.

Every Moon contains 29 Days, 12 Hours, 44 Minutes, from Change to Change; the whole Contents of the Hours of the Moon, 708 Hours and 44 Minutes.

There is in every Year Twelve Changes of the Moon, and the Year contains 365 Days, 5 Hours, 55 Minutes, 13 Seconds.

In the Year of 12 Lunar Months, there are but 354 Days, so that there are Eleven more in the Solar Year, than in the Twelve Lunar Months.

From *January* to *June*, you shall see the Moon within 24 Hours after the Change, because she has a North Declination of the Sun.

From *July* to *December* you shall not see the Moon Three Days after the Change, because her Declination is to the Southward of the Sun; but you may see her in 24 Hours before her Change.

The Golden Number was so call'd, because it was sent out of *Egypt* in Letters of Gold to the *Romans*, or the City of *Rome*.

The Reason of calling it the Prime, was, because it was the first Order the Moon's Course was known by.

An *English* Mile contains 1000 Paces, and every Pace 5 Foot, and every Foot 12 Inches.

The Lengthning and Shortning of the Days is according to the Swiftnes and Slowness of the Sun's Declination. In the Latitude of *London*, the Shortest Day is the 11th. or 12th. of *December*; the longest Summers Day is 16 Hours and a half, and the shortest 7 and a half, from the Rising to the Setting of the Sun.

The 12th. of *December*, the Sun rises a Quarter of an Hour after 8. and sets a Quarter before 4.

The 29th. of *December*, the Day is a Quarter of an Hour longer, and rises at 8; and sets at 4.

The

The 17th of *January*, the day is an hour longer: The 29th, the Sun rises at half an hour after 7, and sets at half an hour after 4.

The 12th of *February*, the day is 10 hours long; the Sun rises at 7, and sets at 5.

The 20th of *February*, the day is 11 hours long; the Sun rises at half an hour after 6, and sets at half an hour after 5.

The 12th of *March*, the day is 12 hours long all the World over: The 24th of *March*, the Sun rises a quarter of an hour before 6, and sets a quarter after 6.

The 7th of *April*, the day is 14 hours long; and the Sun rises at 5, and sets at 7.

The 23d of *April*, the day is 15 hours long; the Sun rises before 5 half an hour, and sets at half an hour after 7.

The 15th of *May*, the day is 16 hours long; the Sun rises at 4, and sets at 8.

The 11th or 12th of *June*, the Sun has its greatest height to the Northward; the day is 16 hours and an half, and the Sun rises a quarter before 4, and sets a quarter after 8.

The 20th of *July*, the day is 15 hours.

The 16th of *August*, the day is 14 hours.

The last of *August*, the day is 13 hours.

The 12th of *September*, equal.

The 27th of *September*, the day is 11 hours.

The 11th of *October*, 10 hours long.

The 26th of *October*, 9 hours long.

The 15th of *November*, 8 hours long.

The 11th of *December*, at shortest.

The Office of a Pilot and Coaster.

He is to carry the Ship over certain Sands, or into such Ports and Harbours as the Master is not acquainted with, at what time the Master himself ought not to controul him, but to follow the Course and Directions of the Pilot, tho' the Managing and Tacking of the Ship belongs to the Master.

I give the Name both of Pilot and Coaster to one Man, for the first is comprehended in the latter: A bare Pilot serves only for the Port he is hired for; but the Coaster serves not only for such a Place, but for the whole Coast, as I will make the Comparison of *England*.

This Man's Charge is more than in the Command of Ship and Company, and is of greater weight and moment than the Office of a Master; for by reason of our daily experience in long Voyages, the Conduction of a Ship is of little difficulty; for it has not been heard that any Ship ever went out of *England*, and return'd home again, without finding the

Country or Place she went for; and yet we have very many lamentable Precedents, that coming home from such Voyages, for want of knowledge of the Coast, the Ships have perish'd.

The principal thing in a Pilot or Coaster of our Coast, is to know where he is; by his first Soundings his Depth will give him Light; and as he draws nearer the Coast, either of *England* or *Britany*, his Depth will lessen, and by his Lead he will take up Sands, by which he shall gather which of the two Coasts he is upon, as also if he be shot into *St. George's Chancel*. The meanest Mariner that trades to *Rochell*, *Bordeaux*, *Biscay*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, knows more in this kind, than the great Masters and others that go to the *East-Indies*, and long Voyages, because they make four or five Voyages in and out of our Chancel to the others one, by which they gain daily Experience of our Soundings, Coasts, Marks on Land, and the Entrance of our Harbours, which the others cannot do.

The Skill of a Coaster is to know the Land as soon as he shall descry it, and after he has made it, then to Harbour himself, for all Ports are alike to a good Coaster; he must be likewise perfect in Casting the Tides, to take his opportunity of coming into a Harbour, according to the Draught of his Ship, and the Depth of the Water.

In 1588, when the Duke of *Medina* came for *England*, had he been furnish'd with a Pilot that knew the *Lizard*, when he made it for the *Ramhead*, he had the next morning given an Attempt upon our Ships at *Plimouth*, when he was not suspected or look'd for.

Mr. *Carvendish*, at his return from about the World, where he made himself and the Nation famous by that Voyage, has often told me, That the first night he entered into our Chancel, not daring to put in with the Land, he endur'd more Trouble and Danger of Shipwrack, than in all his two Years and odd Months of Navigation in the remote and unknown Places where he had been.

In the Year 1589, we being come in the *Victory*, one of the Queen's Ships, with the Earl of *Cumberland*, (as may appear in the First Book) near *Selly* by our Reckonings, were taken with a most violent Storm at East that put us upon the Coast of *Ireland*, where, for want of a Man that knew that Coast and Harbours, we were forc'd to keep the Sea till we were put from Shore, so that before we could recover it again, we endur'd such great Misery

ry and want of Drink, that the like has not been known, as you will find in Mr. Hackler's Book treating of the *English Voyages*. I could insert many other Examples of this Nature, but this shall suffice.

The Office of a Boatswain.

Is to have the Charge of all the Cordage, Tackling, Sails, Fids and Marling Spikes, Needles, Twine, Sailcloth, and Rigging the Ship; His Mates have the Command of the Long-Boat, putting out the Anchor and fetching it home, Waisting, Towing, and Mooring, and to give an Accompt of his Store indented with a Surveyor for the same: He is to make Choice of his Mates to assist him, his Place being more laborious than one Man can perform, in following and directing the common Sailors in their Works. If he die in the Voyage, his chief Mate is to succeed him.

As the Master is to be abaft the Mast, so the Boatswain and all the Common Sailors under his Command are to be afore the Mast; he Messes the Company four and four to a Mess, or more if there be want of Victuals, and is to see they be duly serv'd, and good Hours kept. At Eight of the Clock at Night the Watch is to be set, and half the Company watches and the other half sleeps till Twelve of the Clock that they are reliev'd, unless foul Weather force them all to help together.

As the Master commands the tacking of the Ship, the hoisting or striking the Yard, the taking in or putting out the Sails, upon the blowing of the Master's Whistle the Boatswain takes it with his, and sets the Sailors with Courage to do their Work, every one of them knowing by the Whistle what they are to do.

The Boatswain is to see the Shrouds and all other Ropes set taut, the Dip-siline and Plummet in readiness against their coming into the Soundings, and tallow'd; this is only in deep Water, before they make Land. He is to see the Cables bent to the Anchors: In a Fight he must see the Yards slung to, Parnets and Waste Clothes, the Flag and Pendants put forth, and call up every Man to his Labour and Office. The Boatswain serves for a Provolt-Marshall, to commit all Offenders; and to conclude, his and his Mate's Work is never at an end, for it is impossible to repeat all the Duties incumbent on them.

The Office of a Gunner.

A Gunner at Sea ought to be Skilful, Careful, and Courageous; for the Strength of the Ship is put into his hands.

A principal thing in a Gunner at Sea,

is to be a good Helms-Man, and to call to him at Helm to Loof, or bear up, to have his better Level, and to observe the heaving and setting of the Sea, to take his aim at the Enemy.

A Gunner is to be provided, besides his Ordnance, with Powder and Shot of all kinds, Fire Pikes, Cartridges, Case Shot, Cross-bar Shot, Langrel Shot, Chain Shot, Arm'd Arrows of Wild-Fire, and Grana- does of divers kinds.

He is to furnish himself with a Horn, a Priming Iron, Lint Stocks, Gunners Quadrant, and a Dark Lanthorn; to make Choice of his Mates, his Quarter Gunners, Yeoman of the Powder-Room, and his Company in the Gun-Room, who are Privileg'd from the Labour before the Mast, unless by his Sufferance.

A Gunner must know the Names of his Pieces, their Bores or Height, their Weight, the Weight of the Shot, the Weight of the Powder, the Goodness of Powder, and how far every Piece will carry both at Random and Point-blank, which is fittest for a Ship, and which for Field or Battery: But because every Gunner does not know these Secrets, I will set down so much as is fit for them to know.

A Cannon Royal.

The Bore of a Cannon Royal, is 8 inches and an half.

The Weight 8000 lb.

The weight of the Shot 66 lb.

The weight of the Powder 30 lb.

The breadth of the Ladle 13 inches.

The length of the Ladle 24 inches.

She will shoot point-blank 800 paces.

She will shoot at random 1930 paces.

A Cannon.

The Bore of a Cannon 8 inches.

The Weight 6000 lb.

The weight of the Shot 60 lb.

The weight of the Powder 27 lb.

The breadth of the Ladle 12 inches.

The length of the Ladle 24 inches.

She will shoot point-blank 770 paces.

She will shoot at random 2000 paces.

A Cannon Serpentine.

The Bore 7 inches.

The Weight 5500 lb.

The weight of the Shot 53 lb. and an half.

The weight of the Powder 25 lb.

The breadth of the Ladle 10 inches.

The length of the Ladle 23 inches.

Shoot point-blank 200 paces.

Shoot at random 2000 paces.

A Bastard Cannon.

The Bore 7 inches.

The Weight 4500 lb.

The weight of the Shot 41 lb.
The weight of the Powder 20 lb.
The breadth of the Ladle 10 inches.
The length of the Ladle 23 inches and
3 quarters.
Shoot point-blank 180 paces.
Shoot at random 1800 paces.

A Demi-Cannon.

The Bore 6 inches and 3 quarters.
The Weight 4000 lb.
The weight of the Shot 30 lb. and an
half.
The weight of the Powder 18 lb.
The breadth of the Ladle 9 inches and
an half.
The length of the Ladle 23 inches and
an half.
Shoot point-blank 170 paces.
Shoot at random 1700 paces.

A Cannon Petro.

The Bore 6 inches.
The Weight 3000 lb.
The weight of the Shot 24 lb. and an
half.
The weight of the Powder 14 lb.
The breadth of the Ladle 9 inches.
The length of the Ladle 23 inches.
Shoot point-blank 160 paces.
Shoot at random 1600 paces.

A Culverin.

The Bore 5 inches and an half.
The Weight 4500 lb.
The weight of the Shot 17 lb. and an
half.
The weight of the Powder 12 lb.
The breadth of the Ladle 8 inches and
an half.
The length of the Ladle 22 inches.
Shoot point-blank 200 paces.
Shoot at random 2500 paces.

A Basilisk.

The Bore 5 inches.
The Weight 400 lb.
The weight of the Shot 15 lb.
The weight of the Powder 10 lb.
The breadth of the Ladle 7 inches and
an half.
The length of the Ladle 22 inches.
Shoot point-blank 230 paces.
Shoot at random 3000 paces.

A Demi-Culverin.

The Bore 4 inches.
The Weight 3400 lb.
The weight of the Shot 9 lb. and an
half.
The weight of the Powder 8 lb.
The breadth of the Ladle 6 inches and
an half.
The length of the Ladle 22 inches.
Shoot point-blank 200 paces.
Shoot at random 2500 paces.

A Bastard Culverin.

The Bore 4 inches.
The Weight 3000 lb.
The weight of the Shot 5 lb.
The weight of the Powder 5 lb. and
3 quarters.
The breadth of the Ladle 5 inches and
an half.
The length of the Ladle 18 inches.
Shoot point-blank 170 paces.
Shoot at random 1700 paces.

A Sacar.

The Bore 3 inches and an half.
The Weight 1400 lb.
The weight of the Shot 5 l. and an half.
The weight of the Powder 5 l. and an
half.
The breadth of the Ladle 5 inches and
3 quarters.
The length of the Ladle 18 inches.
Shoot point-blank 170 paces.
Shoot at random 1700 paces.

A Minion.

The Bore 3 inches and an half.
The Weight 1000 lb.
The weight of the Shot 4 lb.
The weight of the Powder 4 lb.
The breadth of the Ladle 4 inches and
3 quarters.
The length of the Ladle 15 inches.
Shoot point-blank 150 paces.
Shoot at random 1500 paces.

A Faulcon.

The Bore 2 inches and an an half.
The Weight 660 lb.
The weight of the Shot 2 lb.
The weight of the Powder 3 lb. and an
half.
The breadth of the Ladle 4 inches and
an half.
The length of the Ladle 15 inches.
Shoot point-blank 150 paces.
Shoot at random 1500 paces.

A Faulconet.

The Bore 2 inches.
The Weight 500 lb.
The weight of the Shot 1 lb. and an
half.
The weight of the Powder 3 lb.
The breadth of the Ladle 4 inches and
an half.
The length of the Ladle 15 inches.
Shoot point-blank 150 paces.
Shoot at random 1500 paces.

A Serpentine.

The Bore 1 inch and an half.
The Weight 400 lb.
The weight of the Shot 3 quarters of
a pound.
The weight of the Powder 1 lb. and an
half.

The

The breadth of the Ladle 3 inches and an half.

The length of the Ladle 11 inches.

Shoot point blank 140 paces.

Shoot at random 1400 paces.

A Rabanet.

The Bore 1 inch.

The weight 300 lb.

The weight of the Shot half a pound.

The weight of the Powder a third part of a pound.

The breadth of the Ladle 1 inch and a third part.

The length of the Ladle 6 inches.

Shoot point-blank 120 paces.

Shoot at random 1000 paces.

Notwithstanding these Proportions of Powder given to every Piece aforesaid, yet there must be respect had to the goodness or badness of Powder, as namely Serpentine Powder, which is weak, and will not keep at Sea; the great and gross Powder is for Ordnance; fine Corned Powder is in goodness according to the Salt Petre; and for the Shot, it must be a quarter of an Inch less than the Bore of the Piece.

No Ship commonly carries greater Pieces than a Demi Cannon; and the rest of her Pieces ought not to be above 7 or 8 Foot long, unless it be in the Chase or Stern; they are easier in Charging, easieful to the Ship, besides better in Traversing and Mounting: The longer the Pieces are, the greater is their Retention of Fire, and the danger of the Piece the greater.

It is true, the longer Piece will burn the Powder better, and carry the Shot further, as the shorter Piece will spue her Powder; the longer is better for the Land, the other for the Sea; for he that shooteth far off at a Ship, had as good not shoot at all.

It is a folly to try a Piece, either great or small, with a double Charge; for a Piece is proportion'd to her Mettle, equal with the Charge of her Powder; and tho' a Piece should endure a double Charge, yet she is the weaker by the Proof, and made the crasier by it.

Taper-bor'd, is when a Piece is wider in the Mouth than towards the Breech, which is dangerous, if the Bullets go not home, to burst her.

Hony-Comb'd, is when she is ill cast, or over much worn, she will be ragged within, which is dangerous for a Cross-bar Shot to catch hold by, or any rag of her wadding being afire, and sticking there, may fire the next Charge you put in her.

Fire-works are divers, and of many Compositions, as Arrows trimm'd with Wild-fire, Pikes of Wild-fire to stick burning into a Ship's side to fire her. There are also divers sorts of Granades, some to break and fly in abundance of Pieces every way, as will your Brass Balls, and Earthen Pots, which when they are cover'd with quarter Bullets stuck in Pitch, and the Pots fill'd with good Powder, in a Crowd of People will make an incredible Slaughter. Some will burn under Water, and never extinguish till the stuff be consum'd; some will burn and fume out a most stinking poisonous Smoke; some being only of Oil anointed on any thing made of dry Wood, will take fire by the heat of the Sun when it shines hot.

It is not impertinent to make repetition of a great Abuse, and the greatest of all others that could besal this happy Kingdom, which God has placed in such a part of the World, that all the Enemies of Mankind cannot annoy it from abroad, if the Kingdom be well govern'd, the People encourag'd, and the Arms and Strength kept from being carried abroad.

But such has been the Oversight of some Magistrates in times past, that they have conniv'd at the Transportation of our *English* Ordnance, which exceeds all other in *Europe* for goodness: And now no Country from the hihermost parts to the uttermost bounds of the World, but is able to give Testimony of it in their Forts and Castles, which are furnish'd with them, to the unspeakable Hazard and Danger to our selves; besides that, it breeds a double Charge and Expence to his Majesty, as shall appear by this that follows. A *French* Ship of 500 Tuns, carries 40 pieces of *English* Ordnance, for which the King has 500*l.* for License of Transportation: To command this Ship, the King of *England* must keep yearly another bigger and stronger than she, which will cost 3000*l.* per Annum at the least, and the Charge to maintain her in Harbour will stand him in 400*l.* a Year; so that for the Profit of 500*l.* this great Charge must be maintain'd, which by keeping our Ordnance will be avoided.

The Ordnance of *England* have been sold for 12*l.* a Tun; in *Amsterdam* for 40*l.* in *France* for 60*l.* and in *Spain* for 80*l.* all in one year; for it is to be noted, that the *English* Ordnance is of another Nature than the Ordnance made in *Biscay*, which break and shiver into many pieces, to the Destruction of Men on board the Ship.

The Carpenter's Office.

I will enlarge upon this Office more than on the rest, because he is the Man that gives Life to the Ship; for all the Works that Iron or Timber is used in, pass through his Hands and Skill.

He looks to the Hull of the Ship, that there be no damage by Leaks within board or without, but that all be tight and stanch; likewise to the Strength of the Masts and Yards, and repairing of the Boats, Cabins, or Partitions of Plank, Deal, Sheet-lead, Nails for work, &c.

What concerns the Building of a Ship.

The Keel, the Stern and Stern post, is the Ground on which a Ship is built.

The Ground and Timber is the Floor of the Ship, and are call'd the Ring-heads.

Your Keelson is laid over your Floor Timbers, which is a long Timber like the Keel, and lies within as the Keel lies without; from it all the upper Works are rais'd.

The Ribs of a Ship are like the Ribs of a Man; the Sleepers run fore and aft on each side of the Ship.

The Sparkers are the Spaces betwixt the Timbers along the Ship's sides in all Parts.

The Garboard is the first Plank next the Keel, on the out side.

The Garboard-streak is the first Seam next the Keel.

The Run of a Ship is that which comes narrower by degrees from the Floor-Timbers, along to the Stern-post, call'd the Ship's-way astward; for according to her Run, she will steer well or ill, according to the swiftness or slowness of the Water coming to the Rudder.

The fore-end of a Plank under Water is call'd the Burs-end; the Planks that are fastned to the Stem, are call'd the Whoodings.

The Tuck is the gathering of the Works upon the Ship's Quarter under Water; if it lie low, it makes her have a fat Quarter, and hinders the quick Passage of the Water to the Rudder.

The Transome is a Timber that lies athwart the Stern, and lays out the breadth of the Ship at the Buttock, which is her breadth from her Tuck upwards.

The Rake of a Ship is so much of her Hull as hangs over both the ends of her Keel, it gives the Ship good way, and makes her keep a good Wind; the Rake forward is near half the length of the Keel.

The Ship's Bidge is the breadth of the Floor when she is ashore; the Billage-

water is that which cannot come to the Pump.

The Main-beam is next the Main mast, where is the Ship's greatest breadth.

Riders are builders from the Keel to strengthen all, and the Orlops do not lie upon them.

The Beams of the Orlops are to be bound with Knees, which are the best that grow crooked naturally.

Clinch-bolts are clinched with a Riveting Hammer for drawing out.

A Flush deck is that which lies upon a right Line from Stem to Stern fore and aft.

The Gun-wall is the uppermost Wall that goes about the uppermost Straight or Stem of the uppermost Deck about the Ships walle.

The Ship's Quarter is from the Mizzen-mast.

Cailing-knees are Timbers that come athwart the Ship from the Sides to the Hatch-way betwixt the two Masts, and bear up the Deck on both sides, and on their ends lieth the Comings of the Hatches.

Comings are Timbers that bear up the Hatches higher than the Deck, and keep the Water from falling in at the Hatches; and they make Loop-holes in them for close Fights; and they are an ease to Men where the Decks are low.

The Knights belong to the Halyards.

The Revels are to belay the Sheets, and tacks upon them.

The Spindle is the main body of the Capstain.

The Whelps are short pieces of Wood made fast to it, to keep the Cable from coming too high in turning about.

The Geer-Capstain is a help to the great Capstain in hoisting and weighing.

The Voyal is fastned together at both ends, with an Eye or two, and a Wall-knot seiz'd together.

A Manger is a Plank before or abaft the Main-mast. The Bits are two pieces of great Timber, and the cross piece goes through them; they are placed abaft the Manger in the Ship loof, to belay the Cable at the Anchor, the lower parts are fastned to the Rider.

The Call is a short piece of Timber over the Haufe, to which is fastned a great hook of Iron to rise up the Anchor from the Haufe to the Forecastle.

The Bulkhead is against the Gun-room, the Cabin, the Bread-room, the Quarter-Deck, or other such Division.

The David is a short piece of Timber, by which they haul up the Anchor's Flock to the Ship's Bow.

The

The Couperidge-Head are placed Murderers; they make close the Forecastle and Half-Deck

Lockets are the Holes the Pintle of the Murderers goes into.

The lower Counter is betwixt the lower part of the Galley and the Transom; the upper part is from the Galley upward.

Cat-holes are over the Ports in the Gun-Room, right with the Capstain, to heave the Ship a Stern by a Cable, or Haufe called A-stern.

A Ship of 400 Tuns requires a Plank of 4 Inches; of 300 Tuns 3 Inches; small Ships two Inches, but no less.

For Clamp, Middle Bands, and Steepers, they are of 6 Inches Plank for building them, the rest upwards 3 Inches.

If a Ship be of 400 Tuns, lay the Beams of the Orlop 10 Foot deep in Hold, and all the Beams to be bound with two Knees at each end.

The Orlop to be laid with square 3 Inch Plank, and all the Planks to be trevell'd by the Beams.

'Tis very necessary to have a square Rudder carry'd in a Ship, as is us'd by the Ships in the South Sea.

A Rule to know the Burden of a Ship.

Length of the Keel. Breadth in Beam. Depth in Hold.

120	40	20
	20	
	00	
	80	
	800	
	120	
	000	
	1600	
	800	

The Burden 960 Tuns.

Length of the Keel. Breadth in Beam. Depth in Hold.

63	21	11
	11	
	21	
	21	
	231	
	63	
	693	
	1386	

The Burden 145 Tuns.

The Mastings of a Ship.

After the Proportion you may estimate the Mastings of Ships: Suppose a Ship of 300 Tuns be 29 Foot by the Beam; if her Mast be 24 Inches Diameter, the Length of it must be 24 Yards; for every Inch in Thickness is allow'd a Yard in Length.

And the Fore-mast being 22 Inches in Thickness, must be 22 Yards in Length.

The Bolt-sprit, both in Length and Thickness, must be equal to the Fore-mast.

The Mizzen 17 Yards in Length, and 17 Inches Diameter: But in a made Mast, which is greater, this rate will not serve.

The Mizzen-mast is half the Length of the Main-mast, which to 24 will be 12.

As you take the Proportion of the Masts from the Beam, so you must the Length of the Yards by the Keel.

A Ship that is 79 Foot by the Keel, her Main-yard must be 21 Yards in Length, and in Thickness but 17 Inches.

The Fore-yard 19 Yards long, and 15 Inches in Diameter.

The Sprit-sail Yard 16 Yards long, and 9 Inches thick.

The Mizzen-yard as long as the Mast.

The Top-yards bear half the Proportion to the Main and Fore-yard, and the Top-gallants half to them.

All these Observations are not exactly to be follow'd, but much after this Proportion; for there are many other Rules to this Point to be observ'd.

The several Ways of Sheathing Ships in Spain and Portugal.

In Spain and Portugal they Sheath Ships with Lead; not durable, heavy and subject to many Casualties.

Another Sheathing is with double Planks within and without, like a Furring; weighty, endures but a while, because the Worm works through the one and the other.

Some have done it with fine Canvas; of small continuance, and not regarded.

To burn the upper Plank, till it come to be like a very Coal in every Place, and after to Pitch it, is not amiss.

In *Cbina* they say, they have a *Bitumen*, or Varnish, like an Artificial Pitch, with which they trim the outside of the Ships: It is said to be durable against Worm, Water, or Sun.

Some have us'd a certain Pitch mingled with Glafs, and other Ingredients beaten to Powder, but of no great use.

The best is with thin Boards, half Inch thick, the thinner the better, and Elm better than Oak, for it does not split, it endures better under Water, and yields better to the Ship's side: (The manner is thus;) Before the Sheathing-board be nail'd on, upon the inner side of it they smear it over with Tar, half a Finger thick, and upon the Tar another half Finger thick, with Hair, such as the White Liniers use, and so nail it on, the Nails not above a Span distant one from another.

Some impute the killing of the Worm to the Tar, others to the Hair, that involves and choaks it; this is the best, and of least Cost.

The Worm begins with a Hole no bigger than a Needle's head, and by degrees becomes as great as a Man's Finger; the thicker the Plank is, the greater it grows: They are the most near fresh Waters and Rivers.

Creatures bred and nourish'd in the Sea, coming into Fresh Waters, die, and they die presently that are bred in Fresh Rivers, and come into the Salt.

The Pitch of the *Canaries* melts not with the Sun; therefore good for the upper Works in Ships.

Near a Town call'd *Buco*, in *Persia*, there issues out of the Ground a great quantity of Oil, which Oil they fetch from the furthest Part of all *Persia*; it serves them in their Houses for Lamps.

Not far from that Place, Tar issues out of the Ground, which will serve for Ships; Proof whereof was made by the Ships the *Englishmen* built in the *Caspian* Sea. At *Cape Brea*, not far from the Isle of *Trinidad*, in the *West-Indies*, there is a Pitch of the Nature of that of the *Canaries*.

The Purser.

In the Nature of a Cape Merchant in a Ship of Merchandize, that keeps an Account of all Things brought into the Ship; he ought to be an able Clerk; he has the Charge of the Victuals sent aboard by the Victualler for the Company serving in the Ship, for such time as by his Warrant he is requir'd, according to the Pro-

portion allow'd by his Majesty, and to see the same deliver'd daily by the Cook and Steward to all Men at their Meals; and at the end of the Voyage to deliver back such Cask and Bisket Bags as are not spent in the Voyage. He is likewise to enter the Names of all the Men in a Sea Book, (as we term it) which he should Originally receive from the Clerk of the Checque of the Place where the Ship was rigg'd and made ready, mentioning the Places where they were Press'd, and the Day of their Entry, with such Denominations of Offices as properly belong to them: And likewise if, during the Voyage, any of the Men happen to die, run away, or for good Cause be discharged by the Captain's Order, to enter likewise the particular Day of the Month against each of their Names in a Margent of the Books: He should also distinguish in the Front of the Book, at the beginning, when the Ship entered into Sea Victuals; for that in all the King's Ships the Captain and Officers do then commence into Sea Wages.

He is, upon any Lawful Discharge, to make a Pass to the Party, relating the time of his Service, the Place where he was Press'd, his Office, if he have any, and the Place where he went from the Ship, and to vouch the same under his own Hand; whereunto he is to procure the Captain's also, and to deliver it to the Party, to carry with him to the Treasurer of the Navy's Office at *Deptford*, to receive his Pay accordingly.

The Allowance of Victuals in the King's Ships at Sea.

Every Man and Boy is allow'd a Pound of Bread a Day.

Every Man and Boy is allow'd a Gallon of Beer a Day; (that is to say) a Quart in the Morning, a Quart at Dinner, a Quart in the Afternoon, and a Quart at Supper.

Every Man and Boy is allow'd a Day, on Flesh Days, One Pound of Beef, or else One Pound of Pork with Pease, that is, on *Sunday, Monday, Tuesday* and *Thursday*.

On Fish Days every Mess, which is Four Men, are allow'd a side of Salt Fish, either Haberdine, Ling or Cod, 7 Ounces of Butter, and 14 Ounces of Cheese, *Friday* excepted; on which Day they have but half Allowance.

The Purser is allow'd by every Man 6 *d.* a Month to provide Necessaries, as Wooden Dishes, Cans, Candles, Lanterns, and Candlesticks, for the Hold.

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Trum.

Trumpeter.

For the more Reputation of this Man's Service in a Ship of the King's, and under an Admiral, it is fit he should have a Silver Trumpet, and himself and his Noise to have Banners of Silk of the Admiral's Colours: His Place is to keep the Poop, to attend the General's going ashore and coming aboard, and all other Strangers or Boats, and to sound as an Entertainment to them; as also when they hail a Ship, or when they charge, board, or enter her: They set the Watch at Eight of the Clock at Night, and discharge it in the Morning, and have a Can of Beer allow'd them for the same. This is not only incident to an Admiral, but to all Captains that carry a Noise of Trumpets with them.

A Surgeon.

He has his Mate; they are both exempted from all Duty, but to attend the Sick, and cure the Wounded: There must be Trial of his Sufficiency, by Certificate from able Men of his Profession; his Chest must be well furnish'd both for Physick and Surgery, which should be viewed before his going to Sea by Men of Skill. The Surgeon is to be placed in the Hold, where he should be in no danger of Shot; for there cannot be a greater Disheartening of the Company than in his miscarrying, whereby they will be deprived of all Help for hurt and wounded Men.

The Corporal

Is to see the Soldiers and Sailors keep their Arms neat and clean, and to teach and exercise them every calm day, sometimes with Powder, and sometimes with false Fires; in a Fight to have an Eye over the rest of the Shot, that they do their Parts, and not to start from the Place they are assigned.

So long as the Fight shall last, they are to put some Budge Barrels of Powder in the Galley, or some close Cabbin, whither People may resort to have their Banderoliers filled, and their Bullets and Match supply'd; with a special care, that no Matches with Fire come near the said Galley or Cabbin.

The Cockswain and his Mate.

The Cockswain is as it were Captain of the Boat; he is to steer the Skiff, and to be sent ashore on all Occasions, or aboard all Ships at Sea he shall meet, and to be directed by the Captain; he is to make choice of a Gang, to be able and handsome Men, well Cloath'd, and all in one Livery. It is necessary he be a good Pilot for the Harbours or Shores he goes

into, and to know the Course of the Tides: He ought to be a Man of Discretion and good Shape, to countenance the Employment he shall be sent on; and if he had Language, it were much the better.

The Quarter-Masters

Are Four, and every one has his Mate; they have the Charge of the Hold for Stowage, romaging and trimming the Ship in Hold: They have their Squadron in the Watch, and see that every one do his Office both by day and night: They have a care to look to the Steeridge and the Travise-Board.

The Cooper and his Mates

Are to look to the Cask, Hoops and Twigs, to stave and repair the Buckets, Barrels, Cans, Steep Tubs, Rundlets, Hogheads, Pipes, &c. For Wine, Beaveridge, Cyder, Water, and other Liquor; and as often as they shall fill fresh Water, the Cooper is to give his Attendance for the fitting the Cask.

The Swabber and Liar.

The Swabber is to keep the Cabbins, and all the Rooms of the Ship clean within board, and the Liar to do the like without board. The Liar holds his Place but for a week; and he that is first taken with a Lie upon a Monday morning, is Proclaim'd at the Main-mast, with a general Crie, *A Liar, a Liar, a Liar*, and for that week he is under the Swabber, and meddles not with making clean the Ship within board, but without.

The Steward and his Mate.

His Office is to be the Purser's Deputy, chosen by him, and keeps always in the Hold, to deliver the Victuals to the Cook, who is trusted to Retail the Victuals in meet Proportions, and is only accountable to the Purser, tho' he has some Allowance from the Victualler, for well husbanding and keeping the Provisions from Waste or Putrifaction: He must not suffer Banqueting or Disorder in his Room, but keep it clean and sweet; and, as occasion shall serve, cause the Quarter-Masters to romage, for the better coming to his Victuals.

The Cook

Is to dress and deliver out the Victuals, and is assisted by a Mate or two; the Meat being fodd, either of Fish or Flesh, he delivers it out to them appointed to mess the Company, and after to put out the Fire, and suffer none to be kindled, or People to resort into the Cook-Room, but in case of Necessity; as namely, when the Cockswain's Gang comes wet aboard, or sick

sick Men have occasion to use the Fire for their Comfort.

All these Officers aforesaid have many People under them in their Rooms, not able upon any occasion to tackle the Ship, or do any other Work, more than that they are bred to: Therefore, according to my Directions in the First Book, it is fit and necessary that such People be put to the use and practice of the Musket, or to the Labour in hawling, and doing other Helps to the Gunner about his Ordnance in the time of Fight, otherwise the Ship will be weaken'd, when there is use of

Men, by so many People, who otherwise would do good Service if they were taught what to do.

Having declar'd the use of every Man's Office and Place in his Majesty's Ships, and how conveniently all Men are provided for that Service in them, without Confusion or Trouble one to another, I will now show how *England* exceeds *Spain* in this kind, and to that purpose will set down the managing and marshalling of the King of *Spain's* Galeons, and shew the Confusion and ill Order aboard them, in comparison of the Kings of *England*.

The ill Management of the Spanish Ships.

THE *Spaniards* have more Officers in their Ships than we: They have a Captain in their Ship, a Captain for their Gunners, and as many Captains as there are Companies of Soldiers; and above all, they have a Commander in the nature of a Colonel above the rest.

This breeds a great Confusion, and is many times the cause of Mutinies among them; they brawl and fight commonly aboard their Ships, as if they were ashore.

Notwithstanding the Necessity they have of Sailors, there is no Nation less respectful of them than the *Spaniards*, which is the principal Cause of their want of them; and till *Spain* alters this Course, let them never think to be well serv'd at Sea.

The meanest Soldier will not stick to Tyrannize over the poor Sailors, like a Master over his Spaniel, and shall be countenanced in it by his Land Commander.

Their Ships are kept foul and beastly, like Hogsties and Sheepcoats, in comparison of ours; and no marvel, for there is no Course taken to correct that Abuse, by appointing Men purposely for that Office, as we do in our Ships.

Their Allowance of Diet is small, and yet not so small as ill order'd; every Man has his Proportion of Victuals in the morning to serve him the whole day, and every Man is his own Cook; and he that is not able to dress his Meat, may fast. The Soldiers will as ordinarily play away their Allowance of Victuals as Money; and others, out of Covetousness, will sell their Victuals for Money to maintain Play: This makes them grow weak and lean, like Dogs, and unable to perform the Service they are commanded upon.

Our Discipline is far different, and indeed quite contrary, as I have shew'd before.

We have only one Captain of the Ship, Sailors, Soldiers, and Gunners, and this

Captain had not so much as a Lieutenant by the Allowance of the Queen, till of late; so that Matters of Command, Direction, and Correction, depend upon his Discretion.

He sees that every Officer humbles himself to his Command, and that every ordinary Man be as obedient to their inferior Officers; he takes Account of the Expence of Victuals, Powder and Shot; he punishes every Offence, and especially Mutinies and Quarrels, with great Severity; he sees no Injury shall be offered the Sailors by the Soldiers, but carries himself indifferently betwixt both: If he affect one more than the other, it is the Sailor, because of the Necessity of them; he overlooks the Ship once or twice a day, that she be kept sweet and clean, for avoiding Sicknels, which comes principally by Slothfulness and Disorders; he will not exceed the Proportion of his Men by Allowance of his Victuals, and will see every Man be provided of his Diet at a due and seasonable time: And for the better ordering of Victuals, there are divers Officers appointed in sundry Rooms, as, Stewards to give it out, meaner Persons to serve it, Men to look to the shifting of it in Water, and Cooks to the dressing of it; so that no Man but upon Curtesie is admitted to have access into the Cook's Room, except the Officers of the Room. There are some appointed to make clean the Ship within board, who are call'd Swabbers, and without board by the Name of Liars, as I have shew'd before. No Man is suffer'd either to sell or play away his Victuals, but to take it orderly and in due season, which keeps them in Health and Heart.

The greatest Inconveniency in his Majesty's Ships is the placing the Cook-Room in the Mid-ships, and so low in Hold, that many Inconveniencies and Dangers arise

by it; if it take Fire, it is not so easily quench'd as if it were aloft, and in the Forecastle: Secondly, it will make the Ship Camberkeel: Thirdly, the continual Fire that is kept in that part of the Ship casts such a Heat amongst Men and Victuals, that it begets Sickness, and disperses such an offensive Smoke in the Ship, that it Putrifies Victuals, and makes it both unwholsome and untoothsome to be eaten.

The Difference between the King of Spain's Ships in former Times and these Days, and the true Distinction of the Strength of Ships.

I have heard divers sufficient Men, as Merchants and others that liv'd in Spain, before the Wars with Queen Elizabeth, very much cry down the King of Spain's Ships in comparison of ours; as in particular, that they were huge and mighty in Burthen, weak and ill fashion'd in Building, lame and slow in sailing, fitter for Merchandize than War; and I remember, that old Seamen, as Sir John Hawkins and others, have maintain'd, that one of Her Majesty's Ships was able to beat four of them.

I confess we may the rather believe it, because the Event has shew'd it; for if we examine the particular Loss on both sides, Her Majesty's Ships have devour'd divers of the King of Spain's; whereas there was but only one of hers taken, and that merely by the Indiscretion of the Captain Sir Richard Greenville; for which one, there have been burnt, sunk and taken, twice as many as the Queen has in number; insomuch, that if the Queen's Loss had equal'd the King of Spain's, she could hardly have maintain'd her Navy in that flourishing State it is in.

But if we should attribute these Misfortunes to Ships, which are made all of one sort of Wood and Iron, and after one manner of building, it were great Folly; but give Caesar his due, and allow the Ships their due; for a Ship is but an Engine of Force, us'd for Offence or Defence; and when you speak of the Strength of Ships, you must speak of the Sufficiency of Men within her; and therefore, in comparing the Spanish Ships with ours, I enter into the Comparison of Men; for if it were in my Choice, I rather desire a reasonable Ship of the King of Spain's Mann'd with Englishmen, than a very good Ship of Her Majesty's Mann'd with Spaniards; so much Account I make betwixt the one and the other.

But if you will agree of the true Strength of Ships, and the difference betwixt the

Queen's and the King of Spain's, as heretofore I have said, the King's are of greater Burthen, which is a great Advantage in Boarding, spacious within, and will contain more Men than ours, have more Decks, and therefore carry more Ordnance.

But you will say, all this is nothing without swift sailing, which Advantage we have of them: It is true, it is the only Advantage on our side; which Advantage may be compar'd betwixt a Greyhound and a Bear, betwixt a Galley and a good Ship in a Calm, or betwixt a Swallow and an Eagle; that tho' they be of little Force to hurt Bear, Ship, or Eagle, yet are they of Agility and Nimbleness to run and fly from them.

But if we will enter into the true Strength of Shipping, without Advantage of Men or sailing, but that you must fight according to the old Saying, *Fight Dog, fight Bear*; that is, till one be overcome, which cannot be better decided than at Anchor in Harbour. I say, no Man can deny but that the King of Spain's Ships are stronger than ours, by the Reasons before alledg'd, that they are bigger, and contain more Men and Ordnance, the Number more, of greater Burthen, and therefore of greater Strength, as I have already shew'd in the Voyage to Cadiz in 1625. But according to my first Argument, considering the Irresolution and Insufficiency of the Men, I would rather chuse to be one of the 10 of the Queen's to encounter with 20 of them, than one of the 20 to encounter with 10 of Her Majesty's.

Notwithstanding these Reasons, I do not disallow the Opinion of such Men as defend the difference betwixt the English and Spanish Ships; for to speak the Truth, till the King of Spain had War with us, he never knew what War by Sea meant, unless it were in Galleys against the Turks in the Streights, or in the Islands of *Tercera's* against the French; which Fleet belong'd to him by his new gotten Kingdom of Portugal.

The Choice of Ships he had of his own in his Expedition of 88. belong'd to Portugal; most of the rest consisted of several Nations, as *Levantine's*, *Biscainer's*, *Flemings*, and Merchants of his own Country: Whosoever since have seen the difference of their building, would scarcely know the others to be Ships, in respect of them that are now.

The first time the King shew'd himself strong at Sea, was in the year 91. when the *Revenge* was taken; since which time

I will make out there have been built at the King's Charge 69 Ships, as shall appear in the ensuing and 4th Book, and most of them of 1000 Tuns in Burden, and upwards; as to instance in the two Galeons we brought from *Cadiz*, which sufficiently satisfy us.

God has endu'd *England* with a singular Blessing above the Southern Countries, both with Shipping and Mariners; and to speak the Truth, *England* lies more convenient for the breeding of Seamen than *Spain*; for what makes skilful and expert Mariners but dangerous and painful Navigations, where the Weather and Seas are boisterous and rough, the Coasts perilous, and the Tide forceable? All which our Country is subject to; then on the contrary, what makes idle, loitering and unskilful Seamen, but such Navigations, where the Seas are calm, and the Weather fair, the Coasts not Perilous, nor the Tides strong? All which Commodity *Spain* has; for betwixt them and their *Indies*, *Guinea* and *Brazil*, to which Place their chiefest Trade is, the Seas are calm, and the Winds certain outward and homeward, seldom foul Weather, or not long, the Coast less dangerous than any other, and a small or no Tide at all to annoy them.

Where there is so great an Ease in Navigation, it breeds idle and unable Mariners. What makes so great a difference betwixt the *Biscainer* and natural *Spaniard* for Sea, but the difference of the Voyage; the one I have shew'd is easie and full of Pleasure, the other painful and troublesome.

The *Biscainers* greatest Trade is in Fishing on the Coast of *America*, where, with great Labour and Pains, they kill the Whale, and take their Fish: This breeds perfect and skilful Mariners, and makes them not only exceed all other *Spaniards*, but get a Reputation and Employment in the King's Ships.

There is no Officer, from the Degree of a Captain to the meanest Officer, but commonly is a *Biscayner*, and the *Biscayners* have divers Privileges, not granted to any other Subject of *Spain*, to encourage them to persevere in their Sea Courses; and to give them their due, no Nation is able to compare with them: Few (for many there are not) that in Knowledge, Hardness and Valour, are able to equal them: And were it not for the *Biscay* Sailors, I know not how the great Armada's of *Spain* would be maintain'd.

The Allowance of Victuals in the King of Spain's Ships and Gallies.

Every Soldier in a Ship or Galley has a Pound and half of Bread allow'd him every day.

Of fresh Beef three quarters of a Pound, of salt Beef half a Pound and an Ounce.

A Quart of Wine a day, and a Pottle of Water.

The Slaves every day half an Ounce of Oil, two Ounces of Rice, Beans, or Garbanfes; one of these three.

They have six Meals of Flesh in a year, two at *Christmas*, two at *Shrovetide*, and two at *Easter*.

The Master, Boatswain, Corporal, Jaylor, Purser, Oar-maker, and Caulker, have double the Soldiers Allowance a day.

The Barber, two Gunners, and Boatswain's Mates, have but one Allowance and half a day.

Those that have two Allowances a day, have 20 s. a Month.

Those that have but one and half, have 15 s. a Month.

A single Allowance but 10 s.

A Pilot has 4 Allowances, and 50 s. a Month.

A Captain is allow'd 5 Ducats a Month, and two Allowances.

There are allow'd in every Galley two Slaves to row in the Boat to shore, who have one Allowance a day betwixt them both.

The King of *Spain* pays yearly 6000 Ducats for the maintaining of a Galley, and before one be Launched she stands him in 7000 Ducats; I mean only her bare Hull.

All his Gallies are built in *Barcelona* of Pine-tree,

There is in a Main-sail of a Galley 1500 yards of Cotton; in a Fore-sail 3 or 400 yards.

The Number of Ships, their Names and Burden, that have been built in Spain at the King's Charge since the year 1590. to this present year of 1600. how many of them are lost, and where; gather'd by me in the Queen's Service.

In the year 1591. Twelve Apostles, Six built in *Bilboa*; their Names as follows; their Burdens betwixt 13 and 1400 Tuns.

St. Philip, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

St. John, burnt at *Havana*; she was the Vice-Admiral that fought with Sir Francis Drake's Fleet in 1595.

St. Tadeus, lost in 1595. when the *Adelantado* pursu'd the *Hollanders*.

St. Barnaby, lost going into *Lisbon*.

St. Mat-

St. Matthew, taken by us at Cadiz in 1596.

St. Bartholomew, lost in *Biscay* in 97. when the *Adelantado* return'd from *Falmouth*.

The other Six at *St. Ander*.

St. Paul, always Admiral, laid up for Weakness at the *Hercado's*.

St. Stephen, Vice-Admiral, the like in *Lisbon*.

St. Simon, made a Carrack, and since broke up.

St. James the Elder, lost coming to the *Groyne* with the *Adelantado* in 1597.

St. Andrew, taken by us at Cadiz in 1596.

St. Thomas, burnt by us at Cadiz in 96.

In the same year two small Ships of 200 Tuns

St. Ursula.

La Castidad.

The same year two Ships built in *Portugal* of 800 Tuns, by Command of *Don Alonso de Bassan*.

One of them lost upon *Cape Finister*, when the *Adelantado* went to the *Groyne* in 1597.

In the year 92. 7 Ships of 500 Tuns, built in the *Rantaria*; These Ships use to fetch the King's Treasure from the *Indies*: I met with them at the *Tercera's* in the *Island Voyage* in 1597.

Nuestra Señora de Aranca.

Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, lost on the Coast of *Spain*.

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, lost in the *Indies*.

Nuestra Señora de Valverde.

Nuestra Señora de Alifés.

Nuestra Señora del Rosario, lost on the *Cape St. Mary's*; and with her

Nuestra Señora de la Merced. (Plate most of it sav'd.)

Built in the *Canary Islands* the same year 4 Frigats of 400 Tuns each: They fetch'd the Plate from the *Indies*.

St. Barbara, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

St. Mary Magdalen, burnt her self at *Puerto Rico*, when *Sir Francis Drake* was there.

St. Helena, was burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 96.

St. Clare.

In the year 1595. built in the *Rantaria* 7 Ships of 1300 Tuns each.

St. John Evangelist.

St. Matthias, broke up at *Lisbon*.

St. Mark.

St. Lucas, lost coming out of *Ferroll*, when the *Adelantado* came for *England*, in 97.

St. Augustine.

St. Gregory.

Flor de la Mar.

The same year, and in the same place, 3 small Ships of 60 Tuns.

La Justicia, lost at Sea.

La Esperança, taken on our Coast by an *English Man of War*.

La Verdad.

The same year built in *Lisbon* 3 Ships, by *Lambert*, an *Englishman*, of 400 Tuns.

El Espiritu Sancto, lost in 97. coming to the *Groyne* with the *Adelantado*.

La Fee.

La Caridad.

In the year 1596. built at *Fuenteravia* two Ships, of 300 Tuns, which were sent into the *South Sea*.

Nuestra Señora de Loreto.

Nuestra Señora de la Peña.

In the year 1597. built in the Port of *Portugal* two Ships, of 1500 Tuns, that were made Carracks.

St. Antonio.

St. Vincent.

In the same year 1597. Six Ships in the *Rantaria*, of 800 Tuns each Ship.

St. Jeronimo, lost in 1599. pursuing the *Hollanders*, with the *Adelantado*.

St. Domingo, lost the same time.

St. Francisco.

St. Ambrosio.

St. Christopher.

St. Joseph.

The same year, and in the same Town, two Ships built, of 200 Tuns.

Santa Margarita.

Santa Maria.

In the same year 97. built in *Leso*, two Galeons, of 300 Tuns.

Santa Margarita, sold to Merchants.

Santa Joanna.

In *St. Ander*, the same year, built two Ships, of 300 Tuns.

La Paciencia.

La Templança.

In the year 1599. built 13 Ships, of 1300 Tuns.

St. Andrew.

St. Philip.

St. John, cast away at *St. Lucar*.

St. Thomas.

St. Barnaby.

St. Salvador.

St. Niccolas, cast away at *St. Lucar*.

Six Ships built in *Bilboa*.

St. Matthew.

St. Simon.

St. James the Greater.

St. James the Less.

St. Bartholomew.

St. Lucas.

St. Diego de Guadalupe, of 1000 Tuns, built by a Merchant in *Biscay*, but bought by the King.

The Number of them all is 69. whereof burnt, taken and lost, 16. but besides these

these 16. the King has lost divers more, some of his own, some hir'd, and others press'd to Serve. It is thought the Dominions of Spain lost in time of War, 600 Vessels, one with another.

Now I am upon the Spanish Acts and Accidents at Sea, I will add such Instructions as Generals of Fleets use to deliver to the Captains under them; and how their Captains of Land-Soldiers, and Captains of Ships are to carry themselves one to another, that every Man's Command may be known and distinguish'd; and particularly in their Expedition for England in 1597. where the *Adelantado* was General, intending to have landed at Falmouth.

Don Martin de Padilla, Adelantado Major of Castile, Earl of Buendia, Captain-General of the Gallies of Spain, and of the Navy-Royal of the Ocean Sea, and of the Catholick King's Army, Anno Dom. 1597.

Imprimis, All Servitors, as well by Sea as Land, of what State or Condition soever, shall be always ready to keep and observe these Orders that are deliver'd them, to live a Christian and Virtuous Life, under the Penalties contain'd in these Articles.

2. You shall be ready, as well Land as Sea-Captains, with your Officers and Companies, to Ship your selves without any delay, when you shall hear the Admiral Fire, to call your Companies Aboard; you shall Muster your People, and make ready your Ships to set Sail, and so to follow the Admiral; as well Sea Captains as Land Captains that shall be in any such Ship, and shall fail to do the same, shall be punish'd with all Rigour; and all Mariners, Officers or Soldiers that shall tarry behind the Fleets, I from this time Condemn to lose all such Wages as shall be due to them, and to Serve the King at an Oar in the Gallies Four Years; and the Officers to be Broke and depriv'd of Office for ever.

3. Assoon as ever you are out of Harbour, as well Sea as Land Captains of every Ship, shall Muster their Sea and Land-Men, and shall make a List as well of their Men as their Arms; and they shall give Order, that they who have no Arms may be provided; the Harque-busiers and Musquetiers that have no Shot, you shall cause them to cast it presently; you shall provide them Match ready; you shall carefully see your Soldiers Powder dry in

the Flasks, and those ready as it were to present Fight; this readines must you be in at all Hours: their Touch-Powder also, their Muskets and Harquebusies must be very clean; and that they neither want Vice-Pins nor Scourers; that they keep their Cocks and Pans very clean, and in good Order; and if in the Muster you make, you want any of those Soldiers you had ashore, then let me have notice thereof, that they be sought out and punish'd.

4. The Captains of Land-Men shall Exercise their Musquetiers, and Harquebusiers by their Companies, at first with Powder in their Pans, and afterwards to shoot at a Mark set up against the Foremast; your Sergeants and Corporals must be very careful to see them Exercise, and to keep their Weapons very clean.

5. Every Land Captain shall be very careful, and make his Soldiers know how to Serve in Shipping, and so to Quarter them that they may know their Places where they are to stand to Fight; so that at the time of need they may not go thwarting one another in the Ship, nor trouble one another. The Captain of the Sea shall likewise make his great Ordnance ready, and the Ammunition must be in Lockers fast by the Pieces; there must be always in readines Spikes, Lanthorns, Cartridges, Armour, Corsets, to have them clean, and every Man his own.

6. The Gunners shall divide themselves into Companies, and every Man shall know his Charge, what Ordnance he is to look to, and to acquaint the Captain withal, and he to appoint such Help as shall be necessary; the Captain shall be very careful to visit his Ordnance, and if there be any Fault, he may see it remedied; and the Gunner that hath not his Piece in readines, to be punish'd, giving me the General Notice thereof.

7. Every Pilot and Captain of a Ship, shall have a special care to speak every day with their Admiral, and to take the Word, and so coming in good Order, one Ship to give another room, without molesting one another; and if they cannot take the Word for some extraordinary occasion, then follow this Order.

The Word of the	Sunday	—St. Mary,
	Monday	—St. James,
	Tuesday	—St. Barbara,
	Wednesday	—St. Eugenius,
	Thursday	—St. Raphael,
	Friday	—St. Benedict,
	Saturday	—St. Martin.

8. No Ship by Day or Night shall go a Head the Admiral, without he have express Order to do it.

9. No

9. No Ship shall go to Windward, nor stop in the Wind, without he be forc'd to it, or have Order so to do.

10. If any Ship fall foul of another, whereby any of them be damnified, there shall be enquiry made, which of the Pilots was in fault, and he shall pay any hurt so done; besides that, he shall be put in Prison for his Fault, during my pleasure.

11. If we chance to Sail with a scant Wind, and by Night, and the Admiral designs to Tack about, she shall fire a Gun, and shew her Lanthorn upon her Poop, that thereby you may know it, and then shall every Ship put out a Light, that the Admiral may perceive you know his meaning.

12. If the Admiral, by force of Wind and Weather, or else to repair or amend something amiss, shall be driven to strike a Hull, then she shall fire a Gun, and set Fire upon her Beak Head; as soon as ever you shall see this Sign, every Man shall strike a Hull, and put out his Light, that the Admiral may tell them, and so be satisfy'd that they know his meaning; and that they are a Hull as well as she; and when this is done let the Pilot take heed that they give the Ship scope enough, and keep good Watch, that you do not fall Aboard one another, and so spoil your selves.

13. When the Admiral sets Sail by Night, she will fire a Gun, and set a Light on the middle of her Main Shrowds, and so every Man shall set Sail and follow.

14. If the Admiral come to Anchor in any Bay; or upon any Coast, she shall set a Light upon the Head of her Fore-Mast; and when the rest of the Ships see this Sign, they must come and let fall their Anchor, as near the Admiral as they may see they be not foul of her ground Tackle.

15. All Captains and Officers shall diligently search what wants they have in their Ships, and then to be Sutors that they may be provided in time, that when need is they be not at a loss. It is no reason that he who is Provident beforehand, and does not only provide for his Wants, but preserve what he has by his Industry and Diligence, should have any thing taken from him, and given to slothful Captains, who do not perform their Duties, as they are bound.

16. All Shipping that shall shoot off any Ordnance, shall within two Days, come to me the said General with a Note under the Captain of the Soldiers hand, drawn by the Purser, and also the Captain of the Ship, for what cause it was shot off, and what Piece it was; that if it be found that the Cause be just, he may have

Allowance; if he exceed the time of two Days, his Note shall not be receiv'd, except it be known he was not able to come to the Admiral.

17. If any Ship break a Mast or a Yard by Night, she shall fire a Gun, and put a Light on the Beak Head, and another upon the Poop, that I, and the rest of the Ships, may know that she is in Distress; and all Ships shall make haste to Succour her.

18. When the Admiral comes to Anchor in Harbour or Bay, let the Pilots take good heed to give a good scope, that one may not hurt another; and he that comes latest to an Anchor, not to come foul of any Ship Anchor'd, for if he do, the Pilot is to pay the Loss and Hurt that is done.

19. All the Ships shall be careful to keep a Man at the Top Mast-head; and he that spies a Sail shall fire a Gun that way the Sail bears, and strike his Top-Sail, and so many Sails as he spies, so many times to strike his Top-sail; and other Ships to bend themselves towards him.

20. If you discover any Vessel in the Night, and are not able to come to the Admiral, then to shew so many Lights as you spy Sails, and to place them fore and aft; and he that spies the first Light of the Enemy, shall have a Jewel given him by me for his pains.

21. When the Admiral putteth her Ancient in the Main Shrowds, then all the Fleet is to come to speak with him; but if she fire a Gun withal, then the Captains and Pilots are to come on Board.

22. In bearing in with the Shore, the Ship that first spies the Land, shall fire a Gun, and put an Ancient in the Head of her Fore Top-Mast; and if it be in the Night, to shoot off a Piece, and to come to speak with the Admiral.

23. If in the Night there happen a Storm, the Admiral to put out Two Lights, besides his ordinary Lights, and every Ship to shew one Light upon the Poop, to avoid any hurt.

24. If Ships be divided in foul weather from the Fleet, and have none of the Three Flags to follow, they shall obey the biggest of their company till they meet with the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, or Reer-Admiral.

25. Before you go from the Groyne, you shall have the Order of the Cross, which you shall keep whilst you are at Sea.

26. When the Admiral shall vail his main Top-Sail, and pike it a little, then shall every Ship put himself into Order of Battle.

27. When

27. When the Admiral and his Fleet arrive in an Harbour, or upon a Coast, no Man or Boat must go ashore without my leave.

28. If any Captain of a Ship be out of his Ship, tho' it be with Licence, yet he shall appoint no Lieutenant without my Order.

29. If we meet the Enemy, you are to make your selves ready to fight, and to place the Soldiers in their places; if in the Night, to keep their Matches from being discover'd.

30. If we meet with the Enemy, and the Admiral and his Squadron resolve to Board, other Ships must do the like; but if the Pilot be of another Opinion, yet notwithstanding they are to do it; and another sufficient Man to be put in the place of the Pilot; and if there be a fault in doing thus, the General to Answer it.

31. If any of our Ships fetch up an Enemy, and fight her, the Ship that shall next come to Board her on the other side, shall share in the Pillage, the Jewels and Money, not exceeding 100 Ducketts; the Arms of them taken, and Apparrel, to be theirs; so it be not Stuff uncut: And whosoever shall light upon Jewels and Stuff, to make it known in Three Days, if not to lose his Pay, and be punish'd; and what he has taken to be divided, according to the King's Instructions.

32. A Ship that takes a Prize, no other Ship shall have to do with her, but follow the rest, if there be more; but if he chance to go on Board her, and take any thing out of her, he shall pay the Captain Four times the value of it.

33. If any such Ship yield, not to Board her, but to send on Board to fetch away the Prisoners; and such Pillage as is in her to be divided, according to the last Article; and he that puts himself Aboard without leave, shall lose his Pay and be punish'd; and if he will do it *per force*, it shall be lawful for the Company to kill him; and in like case, if a Man shall go into a Boat without leave, to be killed.

34. The First, Second or Third Man that enters a Ship, shall have a Jewel given him, according to the Discretion of the General.

35. Whosoever enters an Enemies Ship without Arms, Fighting, shall lose all that he gets in her, and his own Cloaths beside.

36. If an Admiral give Chase, and suddenly Tack about, or lye by the Lee, it is a sign he sees many Ships, and every Ship must then draw near his Admiral in order of Fight.

37. The Captains of Soldiers and Ships, must Command store of Tubs of Water to

stand upon the Deck, and Blankets and Coverlets in them to be ready to quench any Fire that shall happen.

38. Before you come to Battel to have your Yards slung.

39. If you lose company in foul weather, and descry one another, the greater number to go to the lef; if by Night, the greater number to shew Two Lights, the one Ahead the other Aboard, putting them in and out 2 or 3 times, as when they come to Anchor in the Night.

40. You must have a care of your Powder and Cartridges, and set down the number of every Cartridge, according to his Piece.

41. That every Carpenter and Caulker, be ready with his Lead and other things, for stopping of Leaks.

42. That you make no Fire till the Sun rise, and then to dress the Meat for the Company; the Soldiers to watch in the Day time in the Quarters, till an Hour before Sun-set, and then to put out the Fire, and light it no more till the next Day.

43. The Soldier that has the watching of the Fire, shall not suffer any to be carried out of the Hearth, and he that does it, to be severely punish'd.

44. To keep an ordinary Light in the Bittake, and a Lanthorn under the spare Deck, for the Soldiers to watch; and he that takes away either, to be condemn'd to the Gallies for Two Years, to serve for a Soldier without Pay.

45. The Captain of the Soldiers is to Lodge with the Captain of the Ship; the Pilot, Master, Ensign and Serjeant, together, in the Second Cabin; and the rest of the Officers accordingly, and to have an eye over the Soldiers for Brawling.

46. That no Soldier, Mariner nor Officer pass from one Company to another, or from one Ship to another, without my Licence.

47. If we discover any Vessels, and the Admiral make a Signal of giving Battel, the Officers that have the keeping of all kind of Stores, shall have Warrant from the Captain for the delivery of them,

48. For that many Hulks and Strangers in them are deceitful, therefore, if you find any such suspicion, you shall Fire three Flashes of Powder, and the Ships next you seeing it, to repair to you with all speed, to give you Succour.

49. And tho' in my Instructions I have given you sufficient Order for your Navigation, which must not be violated, yet the thing of greatest Importance is, That the Captains by Sea and Land be prudent

A a 2

vigilant

vigilant and careful, as I understand all are in this Service.

50. I have order'd that all the Squadrons shall carry their Flags severally of one colour, that they may be known, and gotten together the sooner; and because sometimes Order cannot be given by word of Mouth, you are to fix your Eyes upon your Admiral, and when he sets upon his Poop the Colours of any of his Squadrons, the Admiral of that Squadron is to behold which way the Sign is made by the same Colours, that so he may follow any Fleet so discover'd.

51. If any of the strange Ships shall have a Leak, let it be searched by the two Captains by Sea and Land; and if they find it to be done on purpose, let him be Hanged, and his Ship forfeited.

52. That no Captain or Pilot do set any other Course than the Admiral directs; and if they do, no Excuse shall serve their turn.

53. That no Captain, or other, Ship any Woman, except she be Marry'd, and proof thereof brought from the Ge-

neral's Priest, upon Forfeiture of his Office, and serving the King Two Years without Pay.

54. If any Servitor stand in need, let him go to his Captain; and if he cannot help him, then to the Admiral, where he shall have help.

55. If any Ship be in Distress, then to shoot off a Piece, and those next to her to hasten to her; and if they fail, to be severely punish'd.

56. If we meet with an Enemy, great or small, let none of the Fleet follow him, but follow the Admiral of his Squadron, and do as he does, or shall direct; except Pinaces and small Ships, which shall be at the disposal of the Admiral.

Some of these Instructions are frivolous, some of them needless; but most of them tedious, and may be comprehended in fewer words, and to greater purpose: But for my part, I will rather desire to know what they do, than seek to follow and imitate their Directions in Sea Affairs.

How to Fight at Sea, one Ship with another; or in Fleets; or Ships against Gallies; or Gallies against Ships: And the manner how every Country preserves Men from Danger in a Fight.

BEfore Ships and Fleets Encounter, or enter upon Action, these things following are necessary to be done; to divide the Company into Three parts; the one appointed to Tack the Ship, the Second to ply the small Shot, and the Third to attend the Ordnance; but not so precisely, but that one may be assisting to the other in the Three several Places.

The Ship is to be brought into its short and fighting Sails, (*viz.*) Her Foresail, her Main, and Fore-top-Sail; for the other Sails are troublesome to handle, and makes the Ship heel so, that her Ordnance cannot be used; beside the danger of firing her Sails with Arrows and other Wild-Fire from the Enemy.

The Master is to appoint a valiant and sufficient Man at Helm, and to receive his Directions from his Captain how to order the Fight, and where to Board, which must be done with most Advantage, and according to the placing the Enemies Ordnance; and therefore it is requisite to have a Captain of Experience.

Every Officer is to do his part, the Boatswain to sling their Yards, to put forth the Flag, Ancient and Streamers;

to Arm the Tops and Waist Cloths; to spread the Netting, to provide Tubbs, and to Command the Company to make Urine in them, for the Gunners to use in their Sponges to cool their Ordnance in the Fight, and all other things that belongs to his Charge.

The Gunner is to appoint his Officers to their Quarters, to have care to their Files, Budge-Barrels, and Cartridges, to have his Shot in a Locker near every Piece, and the Yeoman of the Powder to keep his Room, and to be watchful of it, and to have his Eye upon any Leak that shall happen in Hould.

The Carpenters are to be vigilant, and to have their Oakham, Lead, Nails and what else belongs to the stopping of Leaks in readiness. He must have a Man always ready to sling overboard, if there chance a Leak. Or if there be cause to take in the lower Tire of Ordnance, by the sudden growing and working of the Sea, he must have all things ready to caulk the Ports.

The Building of Ships.

There are two manner of Built Ships, the one with a flush Deck, Fore and Aft, Sunk

sunk and low by Water ; the other lofty and high charged, with a Half Deck, Fore-Castle and Copperidge-heads.

This Ship with a flush Deck I hold good to fight in, if she be a fast Ship by the Wind, and keep her self from Boarding : she is Roomfom for her Men, and yare to run too and again in ; but she is not a Ship to Board, unless it be a Merchant, or another Ship that is inferior to her in strength and number of People.

For if it happen that she be Boarded, and put to her Defence, she lyeth open to her Enemy ; for gaining her upper Deck you win her, having neither Forecastle, nor other close Fight to retire unto ; and in that case the Defensive part of the Ship is the strength of the Forecastle.

When her Deck shall be gained, and her People beaten down into the Second Deck, the only help is to use Stratagems by Fire, in making Trains of divers fashions to blow up the upper Deck, and Men upon it ; and this did the *Riskainer* I have formerly spoken of in my First Book, in the Voyage I first went to Sea, and the first Fight I did ever see, in 1585.

This Ship had a Flush Deck Fore and Aft, which in Boarding we won upon her, and her Men retiring into her other Deck, spent the most part of her Powder in making Trains to blow us up ; which by Fortune we prevented, and our Fire-pikes took fire before it could be brought to Perfection ; and thus after 12 Hours Fight in the Night, we being upon a Flush Deck, and Commanding their Scuttles aloft, that they could not come up to us, and they Commanding the Scuttles below, that we could not go to them, they grew so weary for want of Powder, and the death of their People, that they yielded, as I have before described, after 12 Hours Sail on Board her.

As I have said, such a Ship that has neither Fore-castle, Copperidge-head, nor any other manner of Defence, but with her Men only ; that hath no Fowlers, which are Pieces of greatest Importance, after a Ship is Boarded and Entred, or lieth Board on Board ; for the Ordnance stands her in little stead, and are as apt to endanger themselves, as their Enemy, for in giving fire it may take hold of Pitch, Tarr, Oakham or Powder, and burn them both for company : But a Murderer or Fowler being shot out of their own Ship, laden with Dice-Shot, will scour the Deck of the Enemy, and not suffer the Head of a Man to appear.

The Advantage of a Ship with a Flush Deck, that Boards another to Windward,

is this, she may with her Lee Ordnance, shoot the other under Water, and her self in no hazard ; the Ship that is Boarded to Leeward of her, is at the other's Mercy, and becomes weak in comparison of the other to Windward.

Whoever enters and takes Possession of the upper Deck of such a Ship, shall be able to cut down her Masts, Shrowds, and all things over head ; that tho' he take her not, yet she shall be left a Wreck in the Sea, and perish.

I will make a comparison of the *James Regis* of his Majesty's (of whom I will say) That for her Mould and Condition, she is a Paragon of Ships, and not to be equall'd ; but in her Built with a Flush Deck, and her close Gally Abaft, she is to be excepted against in a Defensive part ; but how it may be amended, and she be made serviceable, as well for Defence as Offence, I will refer to my own Direction, with his Majesty's Approbation, tho' something I will say of her close Galleys, that is made only for a Shew, and to accommodate Captains, when I shall have occasion to Treat of Gallies.

The only strength of the *James* at this present is in her Broad Side, where she hath two brave Platforms of Ordnance to Overdare any Ship to Board her ; nor no Enemy in Discretion will do it, if he can find a weaker part in the Ship to Attempt ; but suppose she be Boarded in her Prow, or Abaft at the Poop, and be entred by more Men than the Hands of her Company can resist ; she neither having Fore-castle Ahead, nor close Fight Abaft ; all must rest upon the Strength and Valour of a few Men, which if they be overcome, both Ship and they must fall into the hands of an Enemy, in the manner I have shewed.

The best manner of a Fight in a Ship of a Flush Deck, or any other indeed being to Windward of his Enemy, is to bring himself within Pistol-shot of her, and to ply her and her Ports with Small Shot at that distance ; to lade his Ordnance, some with Musket Bullets, others with Cross-Barr, and Langrell Shot, or Billets to be the Destruction of Men ; but to avoid Boarding, or being Boarded : This I hold the best manner of Fight betwixt Ship and Ship, it will make short work, and the Quarrel will be soon decided ; as Fighting further off is like a *Smilfield* Fray in times past with Sword and Buckler, which is nothing but the walling and consuming of Powder to no purpose.

A high Built Ship is the better for these Reasons, Majesty and Terror to the Enemy

A a a 2

my, more commodious for the harbouring of Men; she will be able to carry more Artillery, of greater Strength within board, and make the better Defence; she will overtop a lower and snug Ship; her Men cannot be so well discern'd, for that the waft Cloaths will take away the view and sight of them.

And lastly, to speak of a Ship with Three Decks; (thus it is) she is very inconvenient, dangerous, and unserviceable; the number and weight of the Ordnance wrings her sides, and weakens her: It is seldom seen that you have a Calm so many hours together as to keep out her lower Tire, and when they are out, and forced to hail them in again, it is with great Labour, Travail and Trouble to the Gunners, when they should be fighting; she casts so great a Smoak within board, that People must use their Arms like blind Men, not knowing how to go about their Work, nor have a sight of the Ship with whom they encounter.

How to preserve Men in Fight.

Several Nations have several Ways to preserve their Men in Fight at Sea; the *French* use to stow half their Soldiers in Hold, and to draw them out, causing the others to retire as there shall be occasion or necessity: This I hold dangerous, troublesome, and inconvenient, when all Men are otherwise busie in their several Places, to pass to and again with their Matches lighted, which may unhappily fall on something to take fire.

The *Spaniards* imitate their former Discipline at Land, as namely, a Van-guard, a Rear-guard, and a Main-battel; the Forecastle they count their head Front for Van-guard, that abaft the Mast the Rear-guard, and the Waft their Main-battel, wherein they place their principal Force.

This in my Opinion will breed great Disorders, especially if the Ship should fight with all her Sails standing; for the Labour of the Mariners in tacking and handing their Sails will confound them, that they know not what to do; but if they fight with their small Sails, it will prove the better; but howsoever here is no Provision for Safeguard of Men, who lie open to their Enemy.

The *Dunkirkers* use in Fight to place their small Shot flat on their Bellies upon their Decks, that the Shot, great or small, coming from an Enemy, shall have only their Head for their Aim: This is to be allowed of in small Ships that carry not many Men nor Ordnance, but inconve-

nient in greater Vessels, where Men are ever in Action, running and stirring up and down in the Ship.

There is a Device made with a Plank of Elm, because it does not shiver like Oak; this Plank is Musket-proof, and removed with Trunks from one part of the Ship to the other, which is a good Safeguard for small Shot: But in my Opinion I prefer the quoying of Cables on the Deck, and keeping part of the Men within them, (as the *French* do theirs in Hold) above all the rest; for the Soldiers are in and out speedily upon all sudden Occasions to succour any part of the Ship, or to enter an Enemy, without Trouble to the Sailors in handing their Sails, or the Gunners in plying their Ordnance.

The *Hollanders* of late years have got a Reputation at Sea; tho' for their Warlike Affairs they have little deserv'd it, as I have shew'd in the First Book; for they never made Fight of Six Ships to Six, as is there to be seen; but now of late, and since the Truce ended with *Spain*, and that the *Dunkirkers* are grown strong and powerful by Sea, they have often Encounter'd Ship to Ship, or two to two, but never with Fleet, and more to the Commendations of the *Dunkirkers* than themselves.

Whereas I have shew'd every Country's manner of Fight at Sea, and their Care to preserve their Men from Danger, and to annoy the Enemy with Advantage; instead of Cables, Planks, and other Devices to preserve their Men, the *Hollanders* wanting Natural Valour of themselves, use to line their Company in the Head, by giving them Gunpowder to drink, and other kind of Liquor to make them soonest drunk, which, besides that it is a Barbarous and Unchristian-like Act, when they are in danger of Death, to make them ready for the Devil, it often proves more perilous than prosperous to them, by firing their own Ships, or making a Confusedness in the Fight, their Wits being taken from them; whereas if they had been sober, they might have fought in good Order.

The Direction of a Fight in a Naval Battel.

The most Famous Naval Battels these late Years have afforded, were those of *Lepanto* against the *Turks* in 1577. of the *Spaniards* against the *French* at the *Tercera* Islands in 1580. and betwix the Armada of *Spain* and the *English* in 1588.

In these Encounters, wherein the *Spaniards* had the chiefest part, as I have said before,

before, they imitated the Discipline of War by Land, in drawing their Ships into a Form of Fight, which, in my Opinion, is not so convenient; tho' I confess in a Sea Battel, that shall consist of Gallies, in a Calm, it is better to observe that Order than in Ships; for Men may as well follow Direction by their Hands in rowing, as an Army by Words of the Tongue speaking, or their Legs moving.

But Ships which must be carry'd by Wind and Sails, and the Sea affording no firm or stedfast Footing, cannot be commanded to take their Ranks like Soldiers in a Battel by Land.

The Weather at Sea is never certain, the Winds variable, Ships unequal in sailing; and when they strictly seek to keep their Order, commonly they fall foul one of another, and in such Cases they are more careful to observe their Directions, than to offend the Enemy, whereby they will be brought into Disorder amongst themselves.

Suppose a Fleet to be plac'd in the Form of a Half Moon, or other Proportion, to fight; if an Enemy charge them home in any of the Corners of the Half-Moon, they will be forc'd to bear up room into their main Battel, and then will ensue Dangers and Disorders of boarding one another; insomuch that it will not be possible for a General to give new Directions, but every Ship must fight at its Will, not by Command.

For the avoiding of such Confusion, the Instructions of a General ought not to consist of many Words; for the greatest Advantage in a Sea Fight is to get the Wind of one another; for he that has the Wind is out of danger of being boarded, and has the Advantage where to board, and how to attempt the Enemy: And thus did the Marquis of *Santa Cruz* labour to do three days, before he could get the Wind of Monsieur *l'Estrois* at the *Tercera* Islands, whom he afterwards overcame, and had a great Victory over him.

The Wind being thus gotten, a General need give no other Directions than to every Admiral of a Squadron to draw together their Squadrons, and every one to undertake his opposite Squadron, or where he shall do it for his greatest Advantage; but to be sure to take a good Distance of one another, and to relieve that Squadron that shall be overcharg'd or distress'd,

Let them give warning to their Ships, not to venture so far as to bring themselves to Leeward of the Enemy, for so shall they either dishonour themselves to see such a Ship taken in their view, or in

seeking to relieve her they shall bring themselves to Leeward, and lose the Advantage they had formerly gotten; for it will be in the Power of the Enemy to board them, and they not to avoid it; which was the only thing coveted by the *Spaniards* in our time of War, by reason of the Advantage of their Ships, as I have before express'd.

The strict ordering of Battels by Ships was before the Invention of the Bowling; for then there was no sailing but before the Wind, nor no fighting but by boarding; whereas now a Ship will sail within 6 Points of 32. and by the advantage of Wind may rout any Fleet that is plac'd in that Form of Battel.

A Fight with Gallies to Gallies, and Gallies to single Ships.

There is no Precedent of these latter times that Gallies have been in use in our Seas, till the latter end of the Queen's Reign, when two Squadrons of Gallies were brought out of *Spain* into *Flanders*, the one in the year 1599. the other in the year 1602. the latter commanded by *Frederick Spinola*, Brother to the late Marquis *Spinola*, who after was slain in the same Gallies.

All the Designs of the *Spaniards*, undertaken against *England* by Sea in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, prov'd unlucky and fruitless, the reason thereof to wise Men is not to be marvelled at; for their Actions have been grounded on so little Judgment, that it was no great Art to divine their evil Success before they were undertaken.

Let this Act of bringing down the Gallies aforesaid be parallel'd with their great Expedition in 88. and it will appear they both fail'd in one kind, (that is to say) for want of an able and secure Port to entertain them upon their Arrival in *Flanders*; for tho' the Gallies had the Harbours of *Graveling*, *Dunkirk* and *Sluice*, at that time, yet such is the Nature of these Ports, that no Vessel of their Draught can go in or out of them but from half Tide to half Tide; for they are bare Harbours, and all the rest of the Tide they are dry, so as if a Galley observe not her just time of Entrance, she is expos'd to the Mercy of the Sea, the Danger of the Shore, or to fall into the Hands of an Enemy; and therefore whosoever thinks to make use of Gallies, and not to be secur'd of a Port at all Times and Tides, will shew himself weak in Sea Affairs, as the *Spaniards* have done in this, and in their Expedition of 88. as I have before declar'd.

The proper use of Gallies is against Gallies, in the *Mediterranean* Sea, that is Subject to Calms, and where both Turks and Christians strive to exceed one another in that kind of Vessels, he accounting himself Master of those Seas that has the greatest number and best order'd Gallies.

And such was the Goodness of God towards the Christian Commonwealth, that in the Battel of *Lepanto* in 1577. he gave a most Happy and Victorious Overthrow to the cruel and misbelieving Turks, who since that time have not been able to hold up their Hands or Heads against the Christian Forces within the *Mediterranean* Sea.

Next to the Valour and well Marshaling Order of the Christians Navy of Gallies, the next Attribute is to be given to the Gallies of *Venice*, which, tho' they were but Six in number, yet such is the Advantage of those Vessels against Gallies, that they did the Christian Gallies treble the Service of their number.

You must know that a Gallies is built like the *Vanguard*, or *Rainbow* of His Majesty's, low and snug by the Water, and carries the Force of a Ship in Men and Ordnance; but the thing that gives her Advantage in Fight, is her Oars; not that there can be expected any Swiftnes in rowing, but with her Oars she is of that Agility, that she is able to wind about as she sees occasion, to damnishe her Enemy; whereas a Ship lies like a Log of Wood, not able in a Calm to help her self, or to have the help of a Rudder to guide her.

If Gallies be forced to fly from other Gallies, and not of speed to overgo them, they fall into the Mercy of those that chase them; for it is to be consider'd, that the Strength of a Galley is in her Prow, where she carries her Ordnance, as I have before declar'd; for unless it be some few choice ones of *Malta* and *Florence*, no other Christian Galley carries Artillery to fire astern; so that of necessity those Gallies chas'd must either yield, be burnt, or sunk.

In a desperate Case, where Gallies in Battel are in danger to fall into the hands of an Enemy, the present Remedy is to proclaim Liberty to all the Slaves, and to put Arms in their Hands to fight for their Defence, and to deliver them out of Chains, and make them Free Men: This was the Safety of Don *John* of *Austria* in the great and famous Battel of *Lepanto*.

The chief Annoyance that can be done a Galley in Fight, is to seek the Destruction of the Slaves and Oars; for with-

out them Gallies are of no use; and therefore whosoever fights with Gallies, must seek with Cross bars and Langrel-shot to hurt and spoil their Men and Oars.

And in this case a Ship that carries her Ordnance low, and her Hull high built, has a great Advantage of a Galley, for her Ordnance will lie level with her Oars; and if she have the fortune to take away a Row of them on either side, she falls into the Mercy of the Ship; or if she be desperately forced to board the same Ship, she will not be able to enter her, in respect of her height and high Carving.

As I have promised before, I will take occasion to speak something of His Majesty's Royal Ship the *James Regis*, and her Disadvantage to make a Defensive Fight, as she is now built.

Ships of much less Burthen than the *James* have Four Pieces of Ordnance placed to shoot astern, as namely, Two in the Gun-Room, and the other Two in the upper Gun-Room, which is commonly used for a Store-Room, Lodgings, and other Employments for a General or Captain's use, and his Followers, which is done without Prejudice to the Two Pieces.

Above these Two Gun-Rooms aforesaid, was placed the Captain's Cabbin, with the open Galleries astern and on the sides, that Fowlers and lesser Pieces might be thrust out for Defence, and small Shot placed to defend that part of a Ship.

In these Two Gun-Rooms aforesaid, where the Four Pieces are usually plac'd, the *James* carries only Two, and that is in the lower Gun-Room; for the upper Gun Room is converted into the Captain's Cabbin, and a Rafter and two sided Galleries are made close, that cannot afford so much Convenience as for a Man to look out of them, but through some narrow Windows; insomuch that if a General or Captain have occasion to give or receive Directions, he must do it upon the Poop or the Deck of the Ship, to the great Inconvenience, and loss of Time and Opportunity, what sudden Occasion soever should offer.

Moreover, if a Ship by mishap shall take Fire, out of her open Galleries Water may be suddenly drawn, and prove both the Safety of Ship and Men; whereas being close, as now they are, there will be no Remedy to quench them. It may be compar'd to a round Pigeon-House, into which People fly from an Enemy for Refuge; and what Defence can such a House make, that is compas'd about with Foes? No more than to yield to Fire and Water.

Now

Now compare the *James*, by the true Description I have made of her, but with one or two Gallies in a Calm, having no Ship near to assist her, considering she carries but two Pieces in her Gun-Room, with what ease and little danger a Galle may run up in her Stern, and with her Prow and small Shot put her from her two Pieces; for every Galle carries Four Pieces a-head, besides her Cannon in the Cruzea, which Piece lies more to the Advantage than the other two, in that they are plac'd low by the Water, and the Gallies standing still, they may shoot as steddily out of her as out of a Platform.

Indeed this Cannon in the Cruzea is of greater Danger and Annoyance than all the rest, for it lies at an even stay, and not to be mov'd nor travers'd one way or other, and the use to be made of it is for the Master to bring the Mast of the Ship and the Mast of the Galle both in one, and then to call to the Gunner to give fire; by which Means it is impossible to miss the Ship, and hazard sinking of her.

And as the *James* lies open to Gallies, as I have shew'd, so does she in like manner to such Ships as shall board her, either afore in her Prow, or abaft in her Stern, where she has no Defence, either of her Forecastle or close Fights. There are many other necessary Uses to be made of an open Gallery, which at this time I forbear to speak of, and will return once more to treat of the Nature of Gallies.

If it were in my Choice, I would rather have two Ships of 200 Tuns each to encounter six Gallies, than one Ship of 1000 Tuns to fight two Gallies, for these Reasons:

My two Ships of 200 Tuns, I will bring athwart the Hawse of one another, that wheresoever the Gallies shall charge me, I will have a Broadside to play upon them; whereas in one Ship alone, I have only my Stern for my Defence, where two Gallies with their small Shot will soon beat the Gunners from their Ports, with little danger to themselves; for no great number of small Shot can play upon them out of the narrowness of the Poop; by which Means they will burn, sink or destroy any such Ship, with long Fire-Pikes made on purpose.

And for Security of my self and Men, I will displace 3 or 4 Banks on a side in my Gallies, and in that space make a Bulwork with Gowns, Beds, Sails, and other Things, that no Shot from the Ship shall do me hurt:

And if in Fight I shall happen to be shot under Water, it will be an easy thing

to stop any such Leak, by making the Slaves heel all on one side of the Galle; so that if it were as low as the Keel, I will come speedily to it and stop it.

How to employ such People and their Stocks in Gallies as are sent to Houses of Correction, and the use that may be made of Gallies in England.

Whoever have the Charge of these Houses, seek only their own Gain, not the Use for which they were instituted; People are punish'd or pardon'd as they are able to gratifie their Keepers; their Labours or Liberties are according to their Abilities; for as I have said, the Rich buys his Ease, the Poor is threaten'd with Cruelty, which has caus'd that Desperateness in Men towards their Keepers, that to be reveng'd they have slain them; and yet I see no decrease of Vagabonds by the Course taken in the Houses of Correction.

The Benefit of employing these People and their Stocks in Gallies in England.

The time of Men's Imprisonment in Gallies is to be limited, some for Life, some for Years, more or less, according to their Offence, but none under Seven Years; by this Means there will be a riddance of Lewd People for Life or Years.

At the end of which time they ought to procure Services, or be bound to work in their Occupations, which they shall be taught in their Gallies; but if they shall refuse it, and continue still loytering, then to send them into *Virginia*, or other Colonies Planted by us.

If they shall escape out of their Gallies before the Expiration of their time, to have a Proclamation, That no Man, upon certain Penalties, should harbour or give them Entertainment: And that they may be known from others, they must be shav'd both Head and Face, and marked in the Cheek with an hot Iron, for Men to take notice of them to be the King's Labourers; for so they should be term'd, and not Slaves; and if any such be found, that cannot give a good Account of his Discharge out of the Gallies, to be apprehended and sent back again, which would be a Means that none of them ever after will offer to escape.

This Course being carefully observ'd, the Vagabonds will be soon lessen'd; for the Terror of Gallies will make Men avoid Sloth and Pilfering, and apply themselves to Labour and Pains; it will keep Servants and Apprentices in awe; it will take away the occasion of Pyrates and Pyracies; it will save much Blood, that

is lamentably spilt by execution of Thieves and Offenders, and more of this Kingdom than any other; it will take away the Occasion of Women-Vagabonds, when such Rogues and Thieves shall be restrain'd, for such Men are enticers and drawers of Women to Lewdness. If all these Mischiefs may be prevented, and the Kingdom strengthen'd, without further Expence than now it is, no Man but must commend this Project, and give his furtherance to it.

Provisions to maintain the King's Labourers, and the Labour they shall be put to, Winter and Summer.

Their Diet shall be certain, not according to the miserable Rate they are allow'd in Houses of Correction, where it is proportion'd according to their Earning by their Labour, for in the Galleys each Man shall be allow'd 2s. 6d. a Week for his Diet, to be husbanded by Men appointed by the Labourers themselves for their best Advantage.

Every Galley shall be allow'd a Surgeon, a Physician, and an Apothecary General for them all. Their Apparel to be two Suits a Year, the one for Summer, the other for Winter, with a Gown of Frize. Their Labour to be at the Oar in Summer; and when they are not so employ'd, they may lawfully use any means for their Maintenance, as in Knitting, Sowing, or any other such kind of Work, for no Summer labour, more than Rowing, shall be requir'd at their hands: And by the way I will tell you for a Jest, that when I was Prisoner in the Galleys of Spain in 1591. all our *Englishmen* that were thither committed, amongst other Occupations, fram'd themselves to the Trade only of making Dice, as an Occasion to set the *Spaniards* together by the Ears.

In Winter they must be had ashore, and kept safe in some strong Castle, where Lodgings and Beds, with necessary Stocks and Tools must be provided to set them to work; as namely, Forges for Smiths, Leather for Shoemakers, Hemp to make Ropes, Mills to grind Corn, or any other thing that can be thought of for their Benefit: And for such as have been bred to Husbandry, they may be hired to Farmers for their Winter's work, binding the Farmers to return them at the Season of the Year to the Galleys, which they may securely do, for it will not be in their powers to escape, by the Course which is formerly taken.

The Use of Gallies in time of War.

I have formerly in the second Book said something concerning the Use of Gallies, which you will find there: And in this Book the Manner of Fight with Gallies. But having occasion to treat more largely of that Subject, I will reiterate something that I said before concerning Gallies.

1. Gallies are of no use to encounter a Fleet at Sea, in respect of their Strength, but against single Ships in Calms, that cannot come to rescue one another.

2. The use of Gallies is to tow a Fleet out of Harbour which is kept in by Wind and Tide, which is a thing of Consequence either in Peace or War.

3. The use of Gallies is the Conveniency to land an Army, both suddenly and safely, and to take advantage in Landing, both when or where they list; by example of the Marquis of *Sancta Cruz*, who arriving at the *Tercera* Islands, attempted Landing at *Angra*, the chief Town of that Island, and whither the Inhabitants drew their Forces to withstand him; but when he saw and imagin'd the other Part of the Island lay open for his Entrance, he alter'd his Purpose, and suddenly winded his Gallies about, and landed at *Leplais*, five Leagues from thence, without resistance.

4. The use of Gallies is to annoy an Enemy in his landing, by cutting off his Boats and Men, as they shall offer to land: And the like would have happen'd to us at *Cadiz*, if we had landed where we attempted it the day before, and where our Projectors of that Voyage had design'd us, if we had not been prevented by foul Weather; for there we found four Gallies placed, to lie betwixt the Shore and us, to cut off our Boats, and thereby to have overthrown our Action.

5. The use of Gallies is against a Fleet at Anchor, who may tow Fire-Ships amongst them, and either burn, or put them from their Anchorage; and it may happen in a place near Shoals or Sands, or upon a Lee Shore, and so destroy a whole Navy.

6. The use of Gallies is to prevent the like Stratagem; for if such Ships be set on Fire, with Gallies they may be row'd unto, and cast Hooks on board them, and so tow them clear of their Fleet, where they may burn without endangering the Ships they attempt.

7. The use of Gallies is in succouring an Island that is Invaded by an Enemy; as for Example, The *Ile of Wigbt*, with Gallies,

Galleys, may be suddenly supply'd both with Men and Ammunition from the Main Land, in spight of what Ships or Force shall lie to hinder or intercept them.

8. They ought to be kept for Reputation; for as his Majesty is King of all Kingdoms for Goodness and Greatness of his Navy, so it should be said there is no kind of Vessels that other Princes can shew, but what his Majesty has the like in use; and it will be the more strange, in that no Country nor Harbour in *Europe*, to the Northward of *Lisbon*, can shew the like.

If at any time a War happen betwixt his Majesty and the King of *Spain*, or betwixt him and the *Hollanders*, having the Port of *Flushing* and *Sluice* for the receipt of our Galleys, we may much annoy the Harbours of *Flanders*, and their Trade; or having the Ports of *Ostend* and *Dunkirk* to enter, we may as much, or rather more, impeach *Holland*, but especially the Province of *Zealand*, and the Island of *Wakerland*; for besides the hurt we shall do them at Sea, we may watch and take the height of a Spring-Tide in a Calm, and be able to cut their Banks to give the Sea entrance into their Country, and hazard their Destruction.

But speaking of Galleys and *Lisbon* in the Eighth Article, I will say something that had been more proper to have been inserted in the First Book, where the taking of the Carrack is treated of, because one of my scopes in that Book is to shew the Errors committed in the warlike Sea Actions betwixt *England* and *Spain*.

In the describing the manner of that Fight, you shall find, that the Eleven Galleys were placed under the neck of a Rock, as we should enter into the Road, and that at my coming to an Anchor, I routed and forc'd them to fly under the Castle of *Zezeimbra*, where they drew themselves into a Body, as they had done before; but yet they found my Ordnance of the same Nature as when they were under the Rock, for when I hit one of them, my shot pass'd through most part of the rest, with so great hurt to them, that, in conclusion, disgracefully they quitted the Road, and escap'd to Sea, two excepted, which we took and burnt.

But if these Galleys had, when they quitted the neck of the Rock, as I have said, retired, whither they did, under the Protection both of the Castle and Carrack, and instead of linking themselves as it were together, had divided themselves 100 Paces from one another, and play'd upon us with their Prows, each of which carried Five Guns, they had been

a narrow Mark for us to hit; and what hurt we could then do them, was only to her we light upon, whereas in the Course they took, hitting upon one we pass'd through them all.

And moreover, where they retir'd, they brought themselves into shoal Water, so that our Ships could not come at them; and if they had not quitted the Road, they would have cut off all Treaty betwixt our Boats and the Carrack, and given relief to the Carrack from the shore, that it had been impossible for us to have taken her. The *Spaniards* may allow of this Oversight, as one of the greatest they committed during the War.

Other uses Galleys might be put to.

Galleys may attend his Majesty's Navy at all times when they go to Sea, from *Chatham* till they bring them clear of the Sands; and if it happen any of the Ships should unluckily come a-ground, by the force of Galleys she may be instantly haul'd off again, without hurt to the Ship; and in this case a Galley might have been the Preservation of his Majesty's Ship the *Prince Royal*, at the time the Queen of *Bohemia* went over, who struck upon a Sand at the *Nes*, and put her into great Peril, if it had not been for present help of Boats of other Ships of the Kings that rid there.

Galleys may pass the Seas in a Calm, when Ships and Barks cannot, and Boats dare not for fear of Enemies, and so prevent the Surprise of Packets or Intelligences, as lately we found, to the Prejudice of Merchants Affairs, and Dishonour to the King.

The Galleys may at all times, both Winter and Summer, carry Provisions for his Majesty's Ships, from *London* to *Chatham*, and ease the Charge of Transportation; as also in Summer they may do the like to his Majesty's Ships at *Portsmouth*; for Barks often go in danger, and more especially if we have Wars with *France*, *Holland*, or *Dunkirk*.

The fittest Place in England for Galleys.

Because I have formerly nam'd the *Isle of Wight* by way of Comparison, I will say of that Island, that it is not only the best and fittest Place in *England*, but in *Europe*, to entertain Galleys, considering the two Harbours within it, the one *Newport* and the other *New Town*, besides three others in the main Land opposite to it, *viz.* *Portsmouth*, *Hamble* and *Hampton*, where Galleys may ride and float without coming a-ground, which no other Harbour can do betwixt the River of *Thames* and *Portsmouth*.

For suppose the Gallies coming betwixt the *Thames* and the *Isle of Wight*, are taken

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with

with a Storm at *South*, or being chas'd by an Enemy, and forc'd to seek an Harbour for Succour; if they bring not the Tide with them they perish, either upon a Lee Shore, or upon the Pursuit of an Enemy: And as I have shew'd there is no place to compare to those aforesaid for the Receipt of Gallies, so there is no place so commodious for the Labourers to reside in the Winter time, as those; adding to them the Castle of *Portchester*, 2 or 3 Miles from *Portsmouth*, by Water, being a Place secure for the Labourers to abide in; room sufficient to Entertain 5 or 600 of them, with their Manufacturies, Instruments and Tools, that may be set up to get their Livings withal.

A Proportion of Soldiers and Sailors for Five Gallies, and the Charge to maintain them.

You cannot allow less than 15 Soldiers and 100 Labourers for each Galley, every Labourer to have allow'd him 2 s. 6 d. per Week for his Diet, Two Suits of Cloaths, and a Gown; one Physician General, and every Galley its Surgeon, with Ten Sailors to hand the Sails; the Soldiers not to have any allowance of Pay but in Victuals, for they should be such Soldiers as have Entertainment for Hurt, and Lame Soldiers in the Shires.

How this Money may be rais'd.

A Certificate from all the Shires in *England*, what the Contribution of the Houses of Correction do amount unto by the Year, and to have it thus Employ'd in Gallies; and what shall want thereof to maintain them, to be sav'd out of vain and superfluous Gormandizing, which is too much used in many sett Feasts, and more to the Shame than Commendation of our Nation, especially in the Halls and Companies of *London*; the half of which may very well be spar'd and employ'd to this necessary use; for People may meet in a Friendly Conversation to maintain their

Customs, and to determine their Affairs, with half the Expence they are now at.

Thus will no Man be put to any Charge, nor any feel the Loss of it; for there is no body invited to these Feasts, of so mean a Rank and Condition, as to value the Gift of 5 or 6 Meals more or less in a Year.

Another means to raise Money towards this good Work is, out of Hospitals, now become a marvellous Abuse; and that especially erected by *Sutton* in the *Charter-house*, for no Man is now admitted into it, but such as can buy it for Money; and having Money, there is no exception to his Quality, whether Young or Old.

Neither is this Hospital alone, but all others in the Kingdom, which I refer to the Examination and Reformation of those that shall be appointed to overlook them.

I verily believe if the Founders Gifts of those Hospitals were now to be bestow'd, and Gallies upon the Reasons aforesaid to be erected, they would, or such hereafter will, convert the Charitable Benevolences to the use of Gallies, rather than to Hospitals, since they live to see the Abuses of such Houses.

For what they shall give to maintain Gallies, it would prove a strength to the Kingdom, a means to save the Lives of many Men that otherwise should die by the Gallows; a Remedy against Enormities, Thefts and Idleness of People; a Cause to make safe and peaceable Travelling by Land and Sea, and a Course to relieve more poor People, five to one, than the Hospitals do.

There are many other ways, too tedious to set down, how to uphold this Work, that shall no way prejudice either King or Common-wealth, which I refer to After-times to consider of, when it is on foot, by certain Commissioners that must be appointed for that purpose.

The Ceremony of wearing the Flag, and the Use that is and may be made of it.

I Have formerly shewed, when I Treated of the Office of the Vice-Admiral, how every Admiral, and Admiral of a Squadron, was to carry their Flags, and each Ship under them in their Squadron; Now it remains for me to speak more particularly of the Flag, and the Use and Custom of it at Sea, for it is the Standard under which all the Fleet marches, as Soldiers do under their Ensign by Land.

England, as I have declar'd, truly challenges the Prerogative of wearing the Flag,

as the sole Commander of our Seas, and so has held it, without contradiction, time out of mind.

The Privileges are these; That if a Fleet of any Country shall pass upon his Majesty's Seas, and meet the Admiral's Ship serving on those Seas, they are to acknowledge a Sovereignty to his Majesty by coming under the Lee of the Admiral, by striking their Top-sails, and taking in their Flag; and this hath never been question'd, out of Stubbornness, resisting the King's Authority; but rather out of want

want of Knowledge and Ignorance, as appear'd in the Case of King *Philip* the Second, when he met the Lord-Admiral of *England*, when he came to Marry Queen *Mary*.

But tho' this Privilege be granted to his Majesty, and his Deputy upon the Seas, yet every Ship of the King's that serves under an Admiral, cannot require it, if he be out of sight of the Admiral; but the other Stranger, be he Admiral or no, is to strike his Topsail and hoist it again, to any one Ship of the King's that shall meet him.

Or if any such Ship or Fleet belonging to any other Prince, shall arrive in any Port of his Majesty's, or pass by any Fort or Castle of his, in their Entrance, and before they come to an Anchor, they must take in their Flag three times, and advance it again; unless the Admiral's Ship be in the same Harbour, and then they are not to Display it, but to keep it in so long as they shall remain in the Presence of the Admiral. But if any other Ship of his Majesty's be there, but the Admiral, they are not bound to keep in their Flag, but only to strike it thrice as aforesaid.

This Case bred a great Question in 1613. when the Earl of *Gundamar* came Ambassador into *England*, being accompanied by Two Gallions of the Queen, of *Spain's*, who arriv'd at *Portsmouth*, and as he pass'd by *Stokes-Bay*, there rid a Ship of the King's, that was neither Admiral of the Narrow Seas, nor had Employment under his Commission.

This Ship requir'd the Two *Spaniards* to take in their Flag, as a Duty due to his Majesty's Prerogative, on the Seas, which they refus'd to do, only they struck their Topsails, till they were compelled to it.

This Act was complain'd of to my Lord Admiral, by the Ambassador, who found himself and his Master injur'd by it: It pleas'd my Lord Admiral to confer with me about it; and out of his long and ancient Experience concluded, that they were not bound to strike their Topsail, as they were requir'd, unless the King's Ship had been Admiral of the Narrow Seas; and this I set down from the long Experienced Admiral the Earl of *Nottingham*.

But I am not lavish in Speaking of it, whensoever I hear an Argument upon this Subject of the Narrow Seas disputed; because in these latter times, both the *French* and *Hollanders* seek to Usurp on his Majesty's Right; I will therefore wish that

his Majesty's Ships would take more Authority upon them, than is due, because I would have their Insolence curb'd.

If any Merchants Ship shall neglect to do their Duty, as aforesaid, either to Ship or Pinnacle of his Majesty's; that Ship or Pinnacle is to fire at her, and to bring her to acknowledgment of her Error by force, which being done, the Ship thus Offending is to pay double the value of Powder and Shot, spent against her by the King's Ship.

If any Ship of the King's shall pass by any Fort or Castle on the Shore, out of Ancient and Foolish Custom, they have us'd the same Reverence that Merchants and Strangers use to do, save only striking their Flag, which is a thing improper, and indeed most ridiculous for one of the King's Ships to strike to his Castle, both of them being his own; and it is as much as for a Man to put off his Hat to himself.

And besides, it may happen at such a time, Tide and Place, as the striking a Topsail may endanger a Ship upon a Rock, Shelve, or Sand; and therefore necessary to take away this Ceremony, that has neither Ground nor Reason in it.

All Admirals in the King's Service, were wont to carry anciently the *St. George's* Flag in the Head of the Top-Mast, but since King *James* his coming to possess this Crown, he has added to it the Cross of *St. Andrew*, as due to *Scotland*; which tho' it be more Honour to both the Kingdoms to be thus link'd, and united together; yet in the view of the Spectators, it makes not so fair a Shew as the Cross of *St. George* only, if it would please his Majesty to consider it.

Besides those Crosses of *England* and *Scotland*, carry'd as aforesaid, the Cross of the Arms of *England* is peculiar to the Lord High Admiral of *England*; who is, and no other, bound to bear it when he goes to Sea; which Flag, in truth, carries a Princely shew when it is display'd.

As the Lord Admiral of *England* has the only Privilege to wear the Standard of *England* in the Main-top; so has he likewise Power to permit and suffer another Man to wear the bare *English* Flag in the Main-top in his Presence; which Case I am able to instance; and besides this that followeth, there are few Precedents as I conceive.

In the Year 1596. and the Easter before the taking of *Cadix* in *Spain*, *Calais* in *Picardy* was Beleagu'd and Taken by the Arch-Duke *Albert* and his *Spanish* Forces, which made the Queen weigh how

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much it concern'd her, not to permit the Neighborhood of the *Spaniard*, her then Enemies, so near her; hereupon with all Celerity the rais'd Land Forces, to give Succour to *Calais*, and appointed the Earl of *Effex* Commander of them: No Nobleman or Gentleman of Spirit but voluntarily put himself into the Action; as namely the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Borowe*, the Lord *Monjoy*, the Lord *Riche*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Burke* of *Ireland*, Don *Christopher*, Son to the pretended King of *Portugal*, with divers others who were on Board me in the *Rainbow* at Supper, and our Fore-Sail cut to stand over, even as news was brought of the Taking of *Calais*.

The Lord Admiral, who was never backward to do his Prince and Country Service, haltred down to *Dover* to secure the Seas, and Imbarqued himself in the *Vanguard*, as my Lord of *Effex* had done in the *Rainbow* with me. Whereupon I took in my Flag, and acknowledged my Duty to my Lord Admiral; notwithstanding the Greatness of the Persons on Board me, which my Lord Admiral perceiving, Commanded me, tho' my Lord of *Effex* should oppose it, to wear the Flag with him equal in the Top, as long as we were in company together, which I did, tho' at first it was resisted by my Lord of *Effex*.

And tho' the Journey to *Cadiz* succeeded immediately after this, and my Lord of *Effex* had the Privilege to wear the *English* Flag in the Main-top, in company of my Lord Admiral, who went likewise in that Expedition; yet the Time and Case must be considered, for they had both equal Authority by Land and Sea, under the Great Seal of *England*, which made their Command alike.

In the Year 88. when the *Spaniards* appear'd on the *English* Coast with their Fleet, a Gallion of theirs being distress'd, arriv'd in the Port of *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, which being known in *England*, Three Ships of the *Queens*, and one Pinnace were sent to surprize her in Harbour, as I have shew'd before; my Self being in that Fleet.

Mr. *Knevet*, a Gentleman of the Queen's Privy Chamber, was sent to Sea at that time, with certain Merchants Ships, to strengthen my Lord Admiral's Fleet, fearing the *Spaniards* would return again from the Northward, whither they were gone: This Fleet of Merchants and Mr. *Knevet* was to join with Four Ships of the *Queens*, of which he was appointed Admiral, tho' it was a Merchant Ship in which he Serv'd.

And that Power may the King of *England* grant to any Subject of his, notwithstanding his former Patent to my Lord Admiral of *England*; and yet I am of Opinion, that within the compass of the Narrow Seas, if any such Admiral shall be appointed by the King, and meet the Admiral's Ships serving on the Narrow Seas, who is Deputy to the Great Lord Admiral, That such Ship there Serving, the other is to take in his Flag in his Presence, who doth wear it as Substitute to the Lord Admiral, within the Jurisdiction of the Narrow Seas; he having a former Grant, and Supreme Authority, before the others Employment.

How far the narrow Seas extend, is much controverted betwixt the *French* and us; they challenging rather by Words than Right or Precedent, half the Seas betwixt *England* and *France*, as some of *Flanders* do by the same reason; but I could never hear that ever they contested with us about it. *Englands* claim to the Narrow Seas, needs no other Repetition than I have formerly related (*viz.*) a Consent of all Nations, an everlasting Possession, and an Invincible Power to maintain it.

Tho' to speak truly in my Opinion, if from Headland to Headland be measured in *France* with a Line, what Seas, or rather Bayes, shall fall within that Line, or within them Capes, do properly belong to *France*, and may be termed the *King's Chamber*, if so be we had no Title to *France* our selves; but if you will see what share of the Sea may belong to them by this Measure, it would not be worth contesting for, as may appear by the following:

Beginning at *Calais* Cliffs, with a direct Line from Sea-Head to Sea-Head to the *Hogue*, and from the *Hogue* to *Ushant*; but this last we will not acknowledge, tho' there were Right in the other; for in that Bound lye the Islands of *Jersey*, an ancient Patrimony of *England*, and possess'd by us nigh 400 Years; and what Title soever *France* can invent to themselves for that Circuit of the Sea, the same we may plead by *Jersey*, that fronts upon the Continents of *France* and *it*.

A General that shall be invited to Banquet on Board another Ship, or otherwise come on Board any other Ship, how small soever she be, that Ship shall carry the Flag of the Admiral, and be so Reputed, so long as he shall remain on Board her; and the Flag born in his own Ship to be taken in till his Return; for it is the Man, and not the Ship, that has the Authority of an Admiral from a Prince.

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The shewing or taking in the Flag in the Admiral's Ship being well consider'd, and resolv'd of before-hand, is able to direct a Fleet in many Cases, as fully as tho' he had given his Instructions by Writing.

The Flag carri'd under the Poop of a Ship shews a Disgrace, and never us'd but when it is won or taken from an Enemy.

Many times Ships wearing contrary Flags, and especially the Colour of an Enemy, it hath wrought many Effects to the Advantage of him that carries it, or may do again as occasion offers.

When an Admiral is in Harbour or Road with the rest of his Fleet, at the taking in of the Flag in the evening, and shooting off a Piece of Ordnance, he sets his Watch, which his Fleet must take notice of, and accordingly set their Watch. The like is to be done at the Discharge of the Watch in the morning, as also when he shall weigh Anchor and set sail.

The Flag in the top half furl'd up, and so worn, some are of opinion is as great an Acknowledgment as tho' it was absolutely taken in; but neither that Ceremony, or the taking in the Flag and advancing it thrice, gave me Satisfaction when I serv'd on the Narrow Seas: But I compell'd the *Hollanders* to take in their Flag absolutely, which was the beginning of their Malice towards me.

Many times an Admiral will take in his own Flag, and suffer a smaller Ship to wear it as Admiral, to deceive his Enemy, till he hath brought him into his Clutches.

In some Cases an Admiral will suffer many Ships to wear their Flag as Admirals, and seeming to be of divers Nations by their Colours, because they shall not be suspected to be a Fleet of War, till he has an opportunity to charge them, and then to take upon him his right Shape.

Laws Enacted for the Punishment of Offenders at Sea, in the Days of King Richard I. in his Expedition to the Holy Land.

IT shall now appear, that the War by Sea is no new practis'd thing by this Nation, as I have shew'd in the days of *Edward III.* when there were Arm'd out of *England* 1000 Warlike Vessels, a number far exceeding us in this Age, and yet not equal to us, if we consider what Art, Experience, and Skill, hath taught us in Sea-Affairs since then, that the Invention of Artillery, Shot, and Powder, has been in use, for by all Likelihood and Reason the condition of Ships then and now is much differing; and besides, since the days of *Edward III.* new Worlds have been discovered, able to equal more than the rest known before, which Discoveries have caus'd greater Traffick, and by consequence the increase of more Ships than in those ancient times: And for the furtherance and ease of Navigation, to perform their Voyages with greater Celerity, the Secret of the Boiling hath been found out: I am therefore of opinion, if the Goodness of their Ships had equal'd their Numbers, some future Sign or other would have appeared for our Satisfaction.

Which makes me believe, that most of their Ships were made of Ofsers, or other kind of light Substance, and cover'd with Hides for Defence and Safeguard of the Sea: But we may say, That a Ship so

built now in this Age cannot be made to brook the Waves of the Sea, the Winds and Weather being so outrageous: Therefore in all likelihood the difference of Times has made the difference of Weather, for the Weather is like the World, and People dwelling in it; that as they grow old, they have the less Vigour and Strength, and consequently will be worse and weaker by the continuance of it, and will by little and little decline, as no doubt it has done since the days of *Edward III.* For there is no old Man now living, but will confess, the Temper and Calmness of the Weather in the time of his Youth did far exceed this of our elder Years; and the like will his Son do after him, when he come to the state of an old Man, and still follow one another as long as the World continues.

Mariners have an Observation, That the 3 Years before and 3 Years after the Prime, which happens every 19th Year, the Weather proves more boisterous and stormy than the rest of the time, and every 19 Years worse than the other: Then what would a Ship do, if she were built after the manner of Vessels 400 Years ago, and sent out into the main Sea.

But leaving this Argument to Men of better Capacity and Learning than my self,

self, I will prove the Antiquity of Sea-Actions, undertaken by our Nation, and the Kings thereof, long before the Enterprize of *Edward III.* formerly spoken of; And I will begin with *Julius Agricola* under the *Romans* Government, that first sail'd about *England* and *Scotland*, and the first that discover'd the Islands of *Orkney*, which he subdu'd.

The Second was the great Action of King *Edgar* the *Saxon*, and King of this Land, who with 800 Sail of Ships sail'd round *England* and *Scotland*, not once, but often.

And the Third I am to take notice of, is *Richard I.* and his glorious Expedition to the Holy Land against the Heathen *Saracens*, in which Expedition he establish'd the following Laws, which in some Points have continued to this day, but not with that Rigour and Severity as in times past.

Laws Establish'd by King Richard I.

1. Whosoever shall kill any Man a Ship-board, shall be bound to the Back of the Party kill'd, and thrown into the Sea with him.

2. If one should be kill'd on Land, the Party should be bound in like manner, and bury'd alive with him kill'd.

3. Whosoever shall draw any Knife or Weapon, with an intent to draw Blood, or by other means shall draw Blood, shall lose his Hand.

4. Whosoever shall strike one, without drawing Blood, with his Hand or otherwise, shall be duck'd three times at the Yard-arm.

5. Whosoever reviles or curses another, for so often as he has revil'd shall pay so many Ounces of Silver.

6. Whosoever steals, shall have his Head shorn, and boil'd Pitch pour'd on it, and Feathers strew'd upon the same, whereby he may know, and at the first Landing-place where he shall come, there to be tow'd ashore.

Admirals at Sea have the same Authority as Generals have by Land, and of as great Antiquity: Some are of opinion, that Admirals were instituted in *Greece* by *Constantine* the Great; tho' modern Times say, they were erected first in *France*, others in *Spain*, and in the Year 1246. in the Reign of *Don Ferdinand* the Third: But let other Countries pretend what they list for themselves, our Records and Commissions do prove a more ancient Right than those of latter Times.

Upon what occasion Ships should salute Castles, or one another, at Sea, with their Ordnance, and how the Abuse thereof may be taken away.

I am sorry I have the occasion to complain of the lavish and wastful Expence of Powder, in saluting Ships under a friendly Pretence of meeting at Sea, more practis'd of late by our Nation, than by any other, tho' no People or Country have more cause to prohibit it than we, when we remember our Opportunity lost against the Invincible *Armada* of *Spain*, as they term'd themselves in 1588. and only through the want of Powder, as is well known. And yet I must say in the Praise of those of the Queen's time, that the want of Powder proceeded not out of a wastful and idle consuming of it, before there were cause to use it: For neither then, nor in all the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, there was spent in a lavish kind the Tenth Part of that which is now a-days; I may impute it to many Causes, as namely, our Wars then that made our Commanders more provident; but principally I must commend the moderate Drinking of that Time, which I could wish a Reformation of now amongst us, and that we may return to our old Fashion, how odious soever it be to this new fashion'd Time.

What I shall say, is not to make a Comparison of times, or to tax our late abuses in that kind; I only advise, and ground my Opinion upon Reason, how things of this Nature may be carried, which I refer to Consideration; and desire, that if it be approv'd, every Captain may be tied to observe it as a Law establish'd, and a Penalty to the Breakers of it: And the first thing I will handle, shall be the Salutations of Castles to Ships, and the Compliments of Ships to Castles.

A Castle and the Governor of it, is in the nature of a Gentleman that will entertain his Friend at his House, and give him a hearty Welcome; and because a Castle cannot perform it in Words, he makes his Ordnance speak it for him, with such a number of Pieces as he thinks fit: After which Proportion, an Admiral is to answer by way of Thanks, but to exceed the number of the Castle's Salutation, because an Admiral's Ship commonly carries three times more Pieces than a Castle has: This is to be referr'd to the Will of the Commander on either side.

If an Admiral be accompany'd by his Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and the rest of his Fleet, there needs no other Salutation

tion from the Castle, for the Lord Admiral's Welcome includes all the rest of his Friends and Fleet; but notwithstanding a Vice-Admiral must salute a Castle with two Pieces less than the Admiral, and the Rear-Admiral with two less than he, and this is as much to honour the Admiral as the Castle; but it must be consider'd, that these three only that carry the Flags of Command, and rule over the Squadrons; and no other Ship, is to shoot, unless it is by Directions of the Admiral, for their shooting will be taken as too great a Familiarity with him.

When an Admiral shall depart from under the Command of a Castle, in sign of his loving Acceptance for his Entertainment, both he and his two other Flags are to give the same Salutation that the Castle gave him at his Entrance, and with the same number of Ordnance and Form as aforesaid.

If a Fleet pass within sight of a Castle, and not within command of his Ordnance to reach him, the Castle is not bound to Salute, only to afford a Welcome and a Visit by a Gentleman of Quality.

If a Governor fail to perform any Compliment that is meet, he must amend it upon the Admiral's landing, making his Ordnance roar aloud his Welcome; but the Ship is not to answer, because it is done to the Person of the Admiral, who is bound to requite the same upon the Governors visiting him on board his Ship, and at his departure from thence.

The saluting of Ships by one another at Sea is both ancient and decent, tho' in this latter time much abused; for whereas 3, 5, or 7 Pieces have been the ordinary use for a Ship to salute an Admiral, and never to exceed that Proportion, and an Admiral not to answer with above 1 or 3, now they strive to exceed that Number, thinking that many Pieces add Honour to the Salutation; but the Owners of Merchant Ships would be gladder it might be done with less Cost, and more Courtesy in another kind. But tho' the Admiral cannot restrain this Compliment in the Ship that Salutes, yet he may command his Gunner not to return above 1 or 3 Pieces, according to the old manner.

And for such Ships as are of his own Fleet, he may prohibit the saluting of one another, but upon the occasions following, (*viz.*) in bringing good and fortunate News against an Enemy after an Escape of a desperate Danger, and then not to exceed 3 or 5, and to be answer'd at the discretion of the Admiral.

The excessive Banqueting on board is a

great consuming of Powder; for as Men's Brains are heated with Wine, to they heat their Ordnance with Ostentation and profess'd Kindness at that instant, and many times not without danger: And therefore, to take away the Cause, a Captain should have Directions from under the hand of a General to forbid shooting, which would be a good Excuse, and give his Guests Satisfaction, unless it be done in the manner following, as I have devis'd.

The vain drinking of Healths is another Means to waste Powder, which a General must likewise forbid, except it be the Health of a free Prince, or Men of that Rank and Condition, and then not to exceed one Piece when the Health shall be begun: the King's, the Queen's, or their Issues, is exempted from this Strictness.

Upon some occasion an Admiral may command his whole Fleet to fire their Guns, as namely, when a Foreign Prince, Governors of Countries, Ambassadors of great Potentates, and Men of great Blood and Quality, shall be either Transported, or make a Visit on board the Admiral to behold the Stateliness of his Fleet, it were necessary they were as well resolv'd of their Force, as the Report they would make of their Welcome; and in that case every Ship of the Fleet is to shoot their whole number of Pieces distinctly and orderly, (as thus:) An Admiral and his Squadron first to begin; the Vice-Admiral to follow his Example, and so the Rear-Admiral to do the like, but with this Caution, That no small Ship or Pinnace do mingle themselves with great Ships, but to second one another according to their Ranks and Greatness.

To come now to my Proposition how Things should be carri'd, it is thus: That upon drinking of Healths, or Leaves taken on board Ships, instead of the excessive Charge of burning Powder out of great Ordnance, it may be done with Muskets; for a Man's Welcome consists not so much in the difference betwixt a Cannon and a lesser Piece, but in the loving Heart of him that invites: Both the one and the other are consum'd in the twinkling of an Eye; and the Report of a Faulconet, when there is no greater Piece, is all one to the Hearer as if it were a Cannon or Faulcon.

Therefore to accommodate this difference, and to bring it to a certain Custom in the King's Ships hereafter, I wish that instead of the chargeable wasting of Powder that is now in use, by shooting out of great Ordnance, to have a number of Musketers plac'd, and decently Arm'd
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and Apparell'd, Soldier like, upon the upper Deck, that when there shall be occasion to drink Healths, or to take their Leaves at departure, they fire their Muskets at a Mark, made like the Shape of a Man put into a Barrel, off at Sea, within Point-blank, where the Soldiers shall take their Aim duly: This will be an Act of more Pleasure and Delight to the Beholders than the other, where nothing is expected but the falling of a Bullet, having no Object to shoot at; the Eye, the Ear, and Sense, are all in action, and employ'd together, and many other Bene-

fits arise by it; for the Soldier will by this Practice be made a perfect Shots-man against he shall encounter his Enemy; and with so small a Cost and Charge, that a Cartridge of a Cannon will entertain Persons of good Rank, and give them as great Satisfaction with them few Muskets, as the number of Cannons will do; for the Ear is only pleas'd with the Report a Cannon makes, which lasts no longer than a flash of Powder; no Gunner is made more perfect in his Art, for he shoots at random in the Air, without level.

The Corrupt Abuses us'd in His Majesty's Service by Sea, and the Means how to reform them.

THE Difference of Times has made so great a Difference in our Sea Actions, betwixt the Days of Queen Elizabeth and those of this time, that I, who have been an Actor in both, have cause not only to marvel, but to lament, to see Abuses thus corruptly crept in: The Particulars of some I will handle, and withal give Instructions how to amend the Errors committed in our Services at Sea, which will now much concern us, because our bordering Neighbours, the *French* and *Hollanders*, daily encrease in Shipping, as we daily see by Proof.

I will begin with the prime Officer, who is the Light and Guide of the rest, *viz.* the Lord High Admiral of England, who is the main Tree, and all other inferior Officers are but Branches that spread out of him; and where inferior Offices are executed by many Commissioners, and those not of greatest Experience, and every one has his Vote, sometimes they are carried by Perswasion of Friends, or wrought upon by Servants, but commonly Corruption has the upper hand, by Money to prefer Men without Merit; for I am informed, that no Place is freely dispos'd of without the gross seeing of some, not otherwise approving their Sufficiencies.

The most inferior Officer of the ordinary in Harbour is the Cook, whose Experience, whose long continuance in his Majesty's Service, or Testimony of his Sufficiency under the Hands of the ablest Officers, cannot advance him to the Place of a Cook, if Prayers of Angels do not prevail above the Prayers of Men.

And tho' the Meanness of this Place is not to be rated with the rest of better degree, yet it will serve for an Instance,

to shew how Things are carry'd with Bribery and Corruption, to the Prejudice of the King's Service; for it is an old Saying, *He that buys dear, must sell dear, or save himself by Deceit.*

But this is not all, nor yet the worst, that may ensue upon this bought Place; for I find no Man excepted from purchasing, but every one must stretch up for the Price demanded for it, which makes the poor Buyer confess it is the dearest Bargain a Man can lay his Money out on.

Here is a brave Opportunity offered for an Enemy, or any other ill dispos'd Person, to buy this Place, who may be the Destruction of the Ship, and all other Ships that ride near her, by setting the Cook-Room on fire, and excusing it as an unlucky Accident or Mischance; for to the Cook is only committed the Fire in the Cook-Room.

And because I make this Cook's Office the leading Card to the rest, I heartily wish and pray, for the good of his Majesty's Service, that the Cook-seller and the Cook-buyer, yet tho' he were a Cook by Name, may be all hang'd together, for Example, Fear and Terror of others.

The next Abuse to this is the Officers of his Majesty's Navy, who of late years have been Gentlemen unexperienc'd; and the Clerks, formerly belonging to the Officers, that are well practis'd how to pretend Profit for the King, and themselves to reap the Benefit of it. These Clerks guide the unexperienc'd Gentlemen, who are often ignorant of their Frauds, as will appear if his Majesty please to grant his Commission to examine Abuses, and to settle a Form of Government in Sea Affairs.

The first Abuse and Corruption that entred into this Office, was in the time of the late Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, by placing a Follower of his own, who, by the Power he had with the good old Lord, became the sole Manager and Director of Things by Sea, and made his own Will my Lord's Peremptory Command, and so the Officers of that time have confessed to me; and since that Party's quitting his Office, it were good to know how other Officers are come into their Places, and the Value they gave for them; for I know there has been paid, and it is commonly rated at 1500 *l.* for such an Office; when, if you deal fairly, it scarce affords the Interest of 1500 *l.*

Leaving these Abuses, which will prove without end, if examin'd by the Commissioners aforesaid, I will now apply myself to redress these encroaching Dangers and corrupt Dealings, and bring it to the State of *Hawkins's* and *Burroughs's* times, who were perfect and honest Men in their Places, the one Treasurer, the other Comptroller.

This was writ before my Lord of Northumberland was Lord Admiral.
The way to settle Things, is to appoint an Admiral, young, heroical, and of a great Blood: His Experience in Sea Affairs is not so much to be requir'd at first, as his Sincerity, Honour and Wisdom; for his daily Practice in his Office, with Conference of able and experienc'd Men, will quickly instruct him.

The next Reformation will consist in the Election of the Four Officers of his Majesty's Navy, formerly treated of. Whosoever shall execute those Places, and not have pass'd the degrees of inferior Officers, as Boatswain, Gunner, Carpenter, &c. but are led most by the Precedent or Direction of the covetous and deceitful Clerks aforesaid, his Majesty shall never be well serv'd, but his Name us'd for a Colour to their Deceits, as appears by an Instance I was an Eye-witness to.

At my Lord of *Lindsey's* Return from the West Country to the *Downes*, there to Re-victual for Two Months, it was no sooner known to the Officers of the Navy, but Twelve of their Servants posted thither to take a Muster of our Men, when a Muster-master is allow'd for that Service.

I desire to know what the King gain'd by that needless Employment, and what every one of those Clerks was allow'd for his Pleasure in riding and wastfully banqueting in that Journey? This strictness is without cause; for it is impossible for a Captain deceitfully to carry a dead Pay,

unless a Purser connive at it, which is unlikely he would hazard his Estate and Reputation for 20 *s.* and therefore let the Officers of the Navy pretend what they list, I know they do his Majesty a Difference in it; for by this occasion, and the badness of Victuals, it makes Seamen backward to serve the King.

It is suppos'd the Officers have some Deceit in it for their own Benefit, in taking a time of Advantage by Men's Absence, that they know had fed upon stinking Victuals at Sea, and would be glad of some refreshing ashoar. These, and other like ill Usages of Officers, makes Seamen disobey his Majesty's Proclamation, and flee to the Service of other Princes and States, or become Pyrates, with Hearts of Revenge for the Injuries done them.

And to end this Voyage, I will say something to parallel this Muster. At my Return from *Portsmouth*, in the Company of Captain *Mason*, who had been Treasurer of the late great Warlike Action of his Majesty's, it was our hap to meet with 13 Clerks and Officers of the Navy, some of them stuffed in hir'd Coaches with Four Horses, the rest well mounted on Horseback, all of them to pay but two Ships of the King's, the *James* and the *Reformation*, which I think will not amount to much more than 1000 *l.* I desire there may be a Quere of their Charge to his Majesty by this Journey of theirs, and it shall appear what Devices they have to enrich themselves and Followers; when Captain *Mason* at that time told me, That in paying his Majesty's great Armies, tho' part of them were as far as *Cornwall*, yet he never charg'd his Majesty in all those Services with more than himself, his Clerk, and one other ordinary Servant.

As this was the end of that Voyage, so I will not let pass what happened in the beginning of it, in the *James* I served in. At the taking in of Victuals at *Tilbury-Hope*, there appear'd a certain Proportion of Beef and Pork, able, with its Scent, to have poisoned the whole Company; but by the Carefulness of the Quarter-Masters it was found unserviceable; yet after it was refus'd by the said Officers of the Ship, and lay upon the Hatches unstow'd, some of the Officers of the Navy repair'd aboard, and by their Authority and great Anger forc'd it to be taken in for good Victuals, which prov'd as I have said before.

My Observation to this Point is, That tho' the Officers of the Navy have nothing to do with the Victualling part, yet it is likely there is a Combination betwixt
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the one and the other, like to a Mayor of a Corporation, a Baker, who for that year will favour the Brewer, that shall the next year do the like to his Trade when he becomes Mayor.

Here will I cease to make any further Discovery of the Abuses, but refer it all to Examination, and my self will turn Physician, and study how to cure the Malignant Diseases of Corruption that have crept in and infected his Majesty's whole Navy, and his Employments at Sea, as well in the Officers that assume Absolute Authority above the rest, and who I think will be found most faulty, as in the Victualler, and Purser, that has relation to the Victualler. My Third Observation is, the State of the King's Ships, their Built, and what is to be amended in them: My Fourth is, the Foremast Men, Gunners, and all the Company in general, without whom Ships cannot sail: And my last, shall consist of the Masters and Captains, which I will make the Voyage of 1635. the ground of my Exceptions to them.

As I have spoken of my Lord Admiral, by his Authority, to be the chief Reformer aforesaid, so in the second degree of Reformation I wish that such Officers of the Navy were chosen as are perfect in their Occupation and Breeding, and have pass'd all Offices and Degrees in Ships, and namely, out of the Fraternity of the *Trinity-House*; for they are Men that know well the Practice of the Sea, being brought up in it from their Infancies; they serv'd their Apprenticeships in Ships, which no Gentleman or Clerk has done; by their painful Labour they have attain'd to good Estates; they are of that sufficient Ability, as they have the Election of the Masters that serve in the King's Ships; their Ambition will not extend higher than to his Majesty's Countenance, and to be honoured with the Title of his Servants; in their Employments they will not strive to exceed in Ostentation, or in Numbers of needless Servants and Followers; their Diet will be answerable to their accustom'd Breedings; they will not covet State in their Lodgings, nor Solemn Places in their Consultations; they will commend no Man to Office whose Sufficiency they will not undertake for; no Provision or Store can be brought in but they will be able to judge of the goodness of it; no Boatswain, Gunner, or other Officer, can exceed in their Demands, but they can controul them; or in their return from their Voyages bring in wastful Expence, but they will be able to check them, tho' it

be to a Yard of Cable, Rope, or a Pound of Powder. This is the way, and no other way, to prevent Stealth, Cozenage, and all Deceits, which the Clerks cannot devise to do: Thus would the Name of Corruption and Abuses be converted into Merit and Desert. If these Men shall offend in the Execution of their Offices, they are not People that can carry their Deceits out by Friends, as not being bred that way; or if they shall be found culpable or faulty, their Estates are not so mean, but will be able to make Restitution for the Damages they do.

But to take away all Occasion of Deceit in the inferior Officers of the Ships when they are at Sea, these Officers of the Navy may appoint in every Ship an able Man, who, besides his Labour, may have Authority to overlook the Expence of the Gunner, Carpenter, Boatswain, and the rest, and to approve it under his Hand with theirs, and with the Testimony of the Captain and Master.

And because these Men may have the better Respect above the common sort, and Profit withal to make them the more careful to perform the Trust that is committed to them, they may be entred for Drum and Fife, which will add Six Shillings a Month to their ordinary Entertainment; for the two Places are to be well spar'd, as unnecessary in Sea Service.

The next Officer or Office I will handle shall be the Victualler, whose Negligence or Covetousness, for one of the two it ^{This was writ before the Victualler came into his Place.} must be imputed unto, has brought the King's Service to a great Contempt, as all Men know, with Grief and Pity. This Officer ought to have a bitter and severe Censure if he fail of the goodness and quantity of Victuals of his Majesty's Allowance, and I wish no less than Death to be inflicted on him; for no Subject's Estate is able to countervail the Damage his Majesty must sustain in such Defects in his weighty Expeditions: The Combinations, the Abuses, and the Practice of this Office, I refer to future Examination.

The Victuals at Sea consists of Beer, Bread, Flesh, Fish, Butter, Cheese, &c. and to be bought of several Persons, according to their Professions and Trades: I will therefore put them all in one number, and set down a Course how to reform them all together, *viz.* to bind every one in a particular Bond, returnable into the *Exchequer*, that the Victuals they furnish shall be sufficient, well condition'd, able to abide good the length of the Voyage, consisting of so many Months; and if there be found defect or fault of Per-

Performance thereof, the Bond to be immediately forfeited, unless by a day appointed they put on board his Majesty's Ships the quantity of such Victuals as shall be defective: By this means the King shall be well serv'd, and the People well satisfy'd.

Moreover, the Victualler must be enjoyn'd to put on board every Ship the whole Proportion of Victuals to the quantity of Men serving in her, for in this there has been great Deceit; for whereas his Majesty allows a large and sufficient Rate for every Man's Diet, the Victualler and the Purser had wont to contract betwixt themselves, that the Purser shall have the Victualling of a certain Proportion of Men, and to allow the Victualler Three half pence or Two pence *per Diem* out of that the King allows, and justly pays.

The Gain of the Purser at Sea far exceeds all other Officers, as will appear when their buying their Places shall be examin'd: Both the Buyer and Seller of this Office knows that the Gain of it must arise by deceiving the King and Company; which, besides that it breeds a great Inconveniency, (for the Purser's unreasonable griping the Sailors of their Victuals, and plucking it as it were out of their Bellies) it makes them become weak, sick and feeble, and then follows an Infection and Inability to do their Labour, or else Uproars, Mutinies and Disorders, ensue among the Company, that a Captain must interpose himself, his Reputation and Credit, to appease them, and all for the Corruption of the Buyer and Seller of that Office; besides it gives a great Discontent to People, and discourages them to do Service in the whole Voyage.

For Reformation hereof, this Place is not corruptly to be bought with Money, but free Election to be made of an honest and careful Man, that will have no end but his Majesty's Profit, and his own Credit; he must neither Contract with the Victualler, nor take advantage of poor Men's being ashore, for him to save their Allowance of Diet to enrich himself, but such surplus of Victuals as remains at the end of the Voyage, to see it forthcoming, or to be accountable for it to the King's Officers.

And if it be found, after the Voyage, that this Purser has perform'd the Trust committed to his Charge, then to reward him according to his Service, as the Lord Admiral and the Officers of the Navy shall think fit. This consider'd, will prove

more beneficial and more safe to the Purser, than to buy his Office at a dear rate, which he must execute with danger; for his Gain must rise by Cozenage, which being discovered, a heavy Punishment will be inflicted on him.

This false Benefit thus gotten by the Officers conniving with one another, by this Reformation, will turn to the King's Profit; but I desire it may be carried with more Moderation and Pity to poor Men; for the Company have always been the Sufferers, the Purser making their Advantage of the Men's being ashore, by taking to themselves their Allowance of Victuals in their Absence.

The Second Abuse that is offer'd the Company, is in another kind, (as namely, in their Pay) wherein his Majesty is no less abus'd than the poor Men; for if at any time they fall sick, and be put ashore, such is the Charity of People where they land, that they sooner perish than find pity, unless they bring Money with them.

And seeing that his Majesty does and must pay all those that serve him, it will be better for them, and more Profit to the King, to discharge them at their first Arrival, than to continue them longer unpaid; for whilst they lie sick ashore, and not discharg'd, their Victuals and Pay amounts to Thirty and odd Shillings a Month, which may be sav'd if they are at first discharg'd.

In the Voyage of 1635. some of my Men fell sick in the *James*, whom I caus'd to be put ashore, to avoid further Infection, and commanded the Purser to make Provision for their Lodgings, and other Necessaries, to be abated in their Pay. If these Men had been discharged when they were landed, the King had sav'd so much as I have express'd before, and the poor Men had been furnish'd with Money to have defray'd their Expence, which they took upon Trust.

I confess this Abuse is ancient, which I complain'd of to Queen *Elizabeth*, who redress'd it, by sending an under Treasurer and Moneys with me to Sea in the last Voyage she liv'd, and wherein I went Admiral; but her present Death following, caus'd it to be neglected, but fit again to be reviv'd, for the good both of King and Subject. When the Purser of the *James* demanded his Money thus disburs'd, the Officers of the Navy, with great Anger, ask'd him, who made him the Queen's Treasurer? Which is a direct Proof they have a further end in it than the King's good; for I am told they have 2 s. in the Pound for the Payment of such

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Moneys as the poor Sailors go upon the Score.

I will proceed, and speak somewhat of the King's Ships, their manner of Built, and their Defects, which in my Opinion ought to be amended: I will make the *James* my Precedent, which is a Beautiful Ship to the Eye, and of mighty Force to offend; I found nothing amiss in her Hull, but in her Masts, Yards, and Bolt-sprit, which were too short, which made her Sails too narrow, and her sail the worse: But these are Faults that may be easily amended.

But in some Cases of building Ships, or rather, I may say, of making Experiment, they have left no help or hope of Amendment; tho' I am inform'd there was a Warning given of the Insufficiency of the Workman before he undertook her.

In my speaking of the difference in the Built of Ships, betwixt a flush Deck and high Carv'd, I have said sufficiently before; only I advise, that in Ships with flush Decks, a slight Forecastle may be built, and the uppermost part of the Ship be arm'd with Junks of Cables, for the Safeguard of Men against small Shot; as also to make Barricadoes and other material Defences, to place several Fowlers afore and abaft, to be the Death of so many Men as shall enter. There are many other devised Things to be practis'd, which I refer to my Fifth Book, wherein I treat of Stratagems.

Now I will speak of Foremast Men, and the Abuse us'd in Pressing them, by Example of this last Voyage in 1635. The greatest part of these Men consist of Watermen, never before at Sea, and others of the same sort, altogether unserviceable; and herein are the Officers of the Navy to blame, who, to pleasure Friends, or for other Ends of their own, appoint Taylors, Porters, and others of that Rank, unworthy of the Hatches to lie on, and yet every one of these Men stands his Majesty in 1 *l.* 11 *s.* a Month, when they will think much to pay an able Seaman, that shall be absent at a Muster: So great a Power has Partiality with these Men, that they prefer the unworthy before the well deserving, and are willing to pay 1 *l.* 11 *s.* a Month to Taylors, rather than 14 *s.* to a Sailor.

The Sea Towns in England are not far behind these Abuses in Election of such Men, as I have found in this Voyage; for that in the Northern Press, betwixt *Turmouth* and *Newcastle*, never a Man appear'd in the *James* that ever had been at Sea; insomuch that if I had not pro-

cur'd a Warrant for one of my Master's Mates to look out for good Men, never Ship had been worse provided.

For Reformation whereof, I would advise, at the next general Press, that the Charge be committed to the Masters or their Mates that go in the Voyage: They are to repair to the Towns and Corporations on the Coasts, authorizing them with the Officers of the said Towns, to call all Seafaring Men there dwelling before them, and the Masters to examine their Sufficiencies, and according to their Abilities to Press them, and enjoin them to appear before the Clerk of the Checque at *Chatham*.

There is another great Mismanagement in his Majesty's Ships, which is fit to be amended, in order hereafter to redress it: By Allowance of the King, the worst of those Loyterers I have spoken of have as good Entertainment as the ablest Sailor, that is no Officer, and neither Captain nor other Commander can reform it, because Custom has so settled it: For a Reformation whereof, I do advise, that by Consent of Captain, Master and Gunner, every such Man's Pay be proportion'd according to their Sufficiencies, *viz.* to take it from one and add it to another, but no way to charge the King more than with his ordinary Proportion.

If this Course were really taken, Seamen would be as willing to serve the King, as they are now refractory to his Service; it would be a great Cause to make them to obey and love their Commanders, and encourage them to exceed one another in their Labours, in hope to have their Pay mended. These People are to be governed by a Captain, Master, and other inferior Officers, which I have formerly treated of: And I will now describe the fitness of a Captain to be chosen to serve in the King's Ships.

The little Employment in Sea Affairs makes many Pretenders to the Place of Captain, when there is talk of Expedition; and very often there are Factions and Quarrels among such Pretenders: But to take away all Competition that may arise amongst them, and that his Majesty may distinguish of their Works, it were good, when such Captains shall be nominated and elected, to require them to present Authentick Testimonies of their Service and Fights they have been in at Sea, which will approve their Sufficiencies; for a Captain is chosen for his Warlike Part, as the Master is for the Conduction of his Ship.

A Captain of the King's Ship must be of Reputation and Government, Bountiful, and not Prodigal in his Expence; he must moderate his Expence according to his Pay, and the time it is likely to continue, that he may be the better able to maintain his Post after the Service is ended, both for the Honour of the King whom he serves, and for his own Reputation; for his After-Preferment must lie upon his former Behaviour and Demeanour: He must abandon the Beastliness of Drinking, and conniving at Drunkards, which are the general Disorders at Sea; tho' in reason no Man should more detest it; for they may know that Drinking is not the way to Preferment; for no Man was ever rais'd for his Vice, but it is made an Objection to hinder his Fortune.

As a Captain ought to be frugal in his own Expence, so ought he to be no less for the King's Profit; as first, in Victuals; there must be no conniving betwixt him and his Purser, nor betwixt the Purser and any other Officer; and what Victuals soever shall come into the Ship, that it be not imbezell'd, or secretly convey'd out of her; he must see an equal Carriage betwixt Purser and Company, without Advantage to either; for by this Reformation the King is only to receive Benefit. He must also have an Eye over the Gunner, as well to see the taking in of his Store, as the re-delivery of it; he may have a Servant to keep a private Account of the Expence of every Shot at Sea, to disprove any unlawful Account the Gunner shall unjustly charge himself withal.

I will end this Discourse with the Masters, who are the Conductors of his Majesty's Ships from their going out till their return home. There ought to be a general Election of these Men, and principally of such as have been practis'd, and serv'd in the King's Ships; for an experienc'd Commander is more to be requir'd in that case than a skilful Mariner.

The Masters that were employ'd in this last Voyage of 35. are all able Men in the Art of Navigation, which they profess, and of Sufficiency to take upon them the Conduction of a Merchant Ship to any Place or Port wheresoever they shall Trade; But for the Service in the Narrow Seas, where they have not been accustomed, or for managing the King's Ships, in which they have not been us'd, for want of Experience, they are much to seek, as will appear by what follows.

I confess, that since I serv'd in the Narrow Seas, I find so great a difference betwixt the Masters of that time and this,

that I may compare it to an ancient Art, that in long continuance of time has been forgotten, and lost for want of Practice and Use.

The Masters in those days were either ignorantly adventurous, or in this time providently cautious, which I may rather term over timorous; for we then little valu'd those Adventures, which now we properly call Dangers; tho' I am assur'd the Perils be alike, and not to be accounted Hazard.

But I impute the true cause of Security in the Masters, to that they have no other Ambition, but to carry out and bring home the Ship under their Charge, and to receive their Salary for it. I confess they are the more excusable, because their Breeding has not been to sail amongst Sands, or in Seas so narrow, that which way soever they turn themselves, they behold Land on all sides of them, which are subject to the change and shift of several Winds in every Port; for that Wind which is secure upon one Shoar, is death upon another; and Tides that sometimes are advantageous to them, at other times may prove dangerous.

This Reformation cannot be in the Masters themselves to amend, for it requires long Experience and Labour to make them perfect in our Seas, where the Service depends; and where they are Strangers in the Navigation, this Defect must be supply'd with expert and skilful Pilots, that make the Narrow Seas their daily Trade and Practice.

The King's Ships being thus provided, they have little cause to fear danger of Wind or Storms, but only Fogs, that take away the sight of the Land from them, which come not often, nor continue long upon our Coast; and in that case of dark and misty Weather, never Ships of the Kings of England were better fitted with Ground Tackle, or whole Shots of Cables, that they may ride in the midst of the Chanel: But whensoever the Fog shall vanish, and the Land appear, tho' it were in any part of the Seas, betwixt the North-Foreland in Kent and the Dudman in Cornwall, they will be able in few hours to Harbour themselves, howsoever the Wind proves that may endanger them; and therefore, in my Opinion, that which is called Care in some, may be rather term'd Fear in them.

These Masters that I term raw in the King's Ships, not being us'd to the Government of them, it is fit they be put into the right way by the Boatswain, who is best able to instruct them; tho' in these
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latter times, that Ignorance has prevail'd against Knowledge, the Boatswains, by a strict Decree of the Officers of the Navy, are prohibited from taking Charge of the King's Ships, as Masters; but the inconveniency of this Law of theirs, I desire to Argue with our late Reformers.

Another Oversight and Error in these Masters I find, That they cannot distinguish betwixt the Discipline of the King's Service, and their accustom'd Sailing and Working in Merchant's Ships; for tho' in their Instructions in this Voyage they were Commanded to keep a good distance off one another, at their coming to an Anchor, such have been the Master's carelessness to observe this Order, that they have pres'd to be at an Anchor as soon, or as near the Admiral as they could, neither giving Place or Room to the Vice-Admiral, or other Ships of greater Charge or Burthen than themselves: Let this be a Caution to succeeding Times upon the like occasion, That wheresoever a Fleet shall Anchor, either at Sea, Harbour or Road, they suffer the three Flags first to Anchor, who must be careful to take a good Berth from one another, (which done) every Ship as they are divided in Squadrons, is to Anchor a convenient distance from the Admiral of its Squadron, and to take place according to the draught of the Ships, and the depth of the Water they Anchor in.

A Master must moreover observe, after his coming to an Anchor, to examine the Defects of his Ships, and to take Order

for the present Amendment of them.

Thirdly, he must have his Boats ready to fetch Water, Wood, and Ballast, that the want of them be no cause of his stay in Harbour, if he be suddenly Commanded to Sea; or if his Abode be longer than he look'd for, then to send his Men by turns, to walk in the Fields on Shore, some one day and some another, to take the Air, and exercise themselves for their Healths; this will give great satisfaction, and be a refreshing to them and the Ships, when People shall be absent, and the Ship made clean and sweet.

Fourthly, a Master is, at his first arrival in a Port or Rode, to let fall a single Cable and Anchor, unless the Weather force him to Moor with two, which if he do, yet as he shall see an appearance of fair weather, then to weigh One of his Two, that he may be ready to set Sail, if he be Commanded; for a Man of War is like a Post, that has Horse continually Sadled for the King's Service.

Many of these Abuses I confess began to creep in, like Rust into Iron, at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, by the unableness of some Officers of the Navy, that then had the Charge of them, who did, as some now-a-days do, presume to order, and dispose of all things of the Sea, tho' they were never 20 Leagues from the Coast; as great a Presumption as for a bred Seaman to take upon him the Office of a Judge in Temporal or Spiritual Affairs.

Of the Harbours of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales; the Nature of them, their Depths, and how they bear from one another.

THE Island of Silly is from the Lands end of Cornwall 8 Leagues E. N. E. This Harbor of Silly has 20 Fathom, and there are Three goings out of it.

The next good Harbour is Hellford, little frequented, it has 6 or 7 Fathom Water.

From the Lyzard to Falmouth N. and by E. 4 Leagues; Falmouth is in an excellent Harbour, and hath 12, 13, or 14 Fathom.

From Falmouth to Dudman-point E. and by N. 4 Leagues.

From Dudman to Foy N. E. 4 Leagues.

From Foy to Rambead, 6 Leagues E. N. E.

Plymouth lies from hence N. N. E. 4 Leagues, and has 4 or 5 Fathom.

From the Rambead to the Start 8 Leagues, E. S. E. From the Start to Dartmouth 3 Leagues N. E. and has 10 or 12 Fathom.

From Dartmouth to Torbay 4 Leagues N. E. a good Road, at 8 Fathom for a South-west Wind.

From Torbay to Portland 13 Leagues E. and by N. and within that Bay lies Exmouth and Lime. Portland is a good Road for a South and a South-west Wind, at 7 or 8 Fathom.

Within Exmouth lieth Weymouth, a barr'd Haven; and going from thence to the Needles in the Isle of Wight, lies the Harbour of Pool, where you shall have 5 Fathom at half Flood.

From

From *Portland* to the *Needles* 11 Leagues, E. and by N. From thence to *St. Helens* 7 Leagues.

Within the Harbour lies the Haven of *Limington* and *Southampton*, and within that, *Water-Hamble*; and to the E. *Portsmouth*, an excellent Harbour; and in the *Ile of Wight*, *Newport* and *New-Town*.

From *St. Helens* to *Bechie* 16 Leagues, E. N. E. Betwixt them lies *Chichester*, *Arundel*, *Shoreham*, and *Newhaven*, all bad Harbours.

From *Bechie* to the *Shingle*, E. N. E. 8 Leagues. Betwixt them lies *Rye*, a dry Harbour.

From the *Shingle* to *Dover* 9 Leagues N. E.

From *Dover* to the *Downs*, and so to the N. *Foreland* 7 Leagues; there lies betwixt them *Sandwich*, a barr'd Haven.

From the *North-Foreland* to *Orford-Nefs*, leaving the Island of *Sheppey*, and the Course to *London* on the Larboard-side.

Harwich is the best Harbour upon all that Coast, and indeed the best betwixt it and the *Frisbe* in *Scotland*.

From *Orford-Nefs*, the Coast lies N. W. 29 Leagues from *Flamborough-head*. There lies betwixt them *Sole*, *Lestock*, *Tarmouth*, *Cromer*, *Blackney*, *Burnam*; from thence to *Boston*, South-East, and to *Lynn West*, you pass many dangerous Sands in going into these two Places.

From *Boston* to *Hull* and *Burlington*, you must go N. and N. and by E.

From *Flamborough-head* to *Scarborough* 6 Leagues N. W. From hence to *Whitby* 5 Leagues.

From thence to *Hartleypool* 7 Leagues W. N. W. From *Hartleypool* to *Tinmouth* N. N. E. 9 Leagues, and so up to *Newcastle*.

From *Tinmouth* to *Cockitt-Island*, N. N. W. 7 Leagues. And thus much for the Northern Coast.

Now I will return into the other parts of England and Wales.

From the Island of *Ramsay*, or the North part of *Wales*, lye the *Bishop* and the *Clerks*, Rocks of great danger; Two Leagues from thence lies the Island of *Grafhorne*.

From thence to *Milford-Haven* Three Leagues, and the going in is N. E. one of the best Harbours in the World; it hath a Rock in the middle of it at the Entrance.

From *Milford* to *St. Gore's Point* Two Leagues, and from thence to the *Nefs*, E. 17 Leagues; there lies betwixt them the Island of *Coarday*, *Tinbye*, and the Point called *Wormshead*.

From the *Nesse* to *Steepleforme*, E. S. E.

7 Leagues; from thence to *Bristol*, N. and by E. 12 Leagues; there is betwixt the *Nefs* and *Bristol* the Islands of *Barrey* and *Scilly*, *Cardiff*, *Newport* and *Chepstow*, all barr'd Havens.

Now to the English Shore.

From the *Holmes* to *Lundy*, W. S. W. 20 Leagues; there is betwixt them *Helford-Comb*, a narrow going in, but 3 or 4 Fathom within.

From thence to *Biddiford* S. S. W. 7 Leagues; it has Two Divisions, the one goes into *Barnstaple*, the other into *Biddiford*, barr'd Havens.

From thence to *Lundy*, N. N. W. 5 Leagues; here you may Anchor on both the sides of the Island, at 14 or 15 Fathom.

From *Lundy* to the Cape of *Cornwal* 28 Leagues S. W. and from thence to the *Lands-end* 5 Leagues S. there lies betwixt *Lundy* and the *Lands-end*, *Padstow*, *St. Ives*, and some other Creeks, all barr'd Havens.

The Coast of Scotland, and of the Islands.

The Island of *Sbetland* is the place where the *Hollanders* begin their great Fishing, in the Harbour call'd *Brassound*, which is an excellent Harbour, where all their Busses meet, and begin their Fishing the 23 of June. At the North Point of the Island, there is a good Harbour, call'd *Blansound*, which you may Sail through, from one side of the Harbour to the other.

There is another good Harbour call'd the *Magnus Haven*, and an Island where Ships may go, and ride about it; and behind it a Harbour called *Hamborough-Haven*.

West from *Scotland*, and North from *Ireland*, there lye many Islands, antiently call'd the *Hybrides*; in most of these Islands there are excellent Harbours.

The *Lewes* is the best of the Islands, which the *English* have now Planted, for conveniency of Fishing; it is in length 29 Leagues S. S. W. and N. N. E.

The Islands of *Orkney* are 31 in number. The Island of *Wages* lies N. N. E. from *Catness* in *Scotland*, and but 5 Leagues from it; you may Sail through these Islands in many places by *Catness*, and S. from *Sanda*, and come out again.

From *Catness* upon the main Land, and the Promontory of *Scotland* to *Buckerness*, 21 Leagues S. E. Betwixt them are many good Harbours, *Dermeche*, *Ross*, and *Lew-ernesse*.

From *Buckerness* to *Aberdine* 13 Leagues S. S. W. From thence to *Mont-Rosse*, S. W. and by S. 4 Leagues; To *Dundee* S. and after S. S. W. From

From *Dundee* to the *Isle of May* S. W. 6 Leagues. From *May* to the *Bass*, and up to *Leeb*, 9 Leagues.

From the *Bass* to the *Tape-Head*, W. 6. Leagues. From the *Tape-Head* to *Berwick* S. S. E. 5 Leagues.

The Harbours in Ireland.

The *Black Rock*, and *Cape Durlie* S. and by W. 53 Leagues; and between them the Haven of *Galloway*.

From *Galloway* to the *Island of Arran*, 6 Leagues; From thence to *Limerick* S. 9 Leagues.

From *Galloway* to *Blasques* S. S. W. 15 Leagues. From *Blasques* to *Dunfeis* S. E. 21 Leagues.

From *Cape Cleer* to the *Old Head of Kingsayle* E. and by N. 12 Leagues.

From the *Old Head* to *Cork* N. E. and by E. a great League.

From *Cork* to the East Point of *Waterford* E. N. E. 20 Leagues; the whole Southern Coast lies E. N. E. and W. S. W. and betwixt *Cork* and *Waterford* lies *Yochill* E. N. E. from *Cork* 6 Leagues.

Five Leagues from *Yochill* E. lies *Dongarvan*, lying in N. N. W.

From *Yochill* to *Waterford* E. N. E. 12 Leagues; the Haven of *Waterford* lies in N. and by W.

From *Waterford* to *Washford*, the *Island of Salires* lying in the way, you may goe betwixt it and the main Land E. from *Waterford* from *Salires* to *Washford* Five Leagues.

From *Washford* to *Wexford*, N. and by W. 5 Leagues.

From *Wexford* to *Dublin* N. and by W. 5 Leagues.

Five Leagues from *Dublin* lies the Harbour of *Drogheda*.

From *Drogheda* to *Dundalke* 7 Leagues.

An Observation I gather of the State of the Harbours aforesaid, and the advantage an Enemy may take of them to annoy us.

Of so many Harbours that *England* affords, and Towns seated upon them, as aforesaid, there are but these following of any Importance to entertain Ships of Burthen (*viz.*) On the South Coast, *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, *Hambosc*; lying within the *Island of St. Nicholas*, *Dartmouth*, *Portsmouth*, and those within the *Isle of Wight*; to the Northward, *Harwich*, *Lyn* and *Humber*; the Two last are frequented most by Ships of their own, full of Danger and Sands, little known to any others, but to themselves; I will therefore say little of them.

Over against the Harbours on the South

Coast of *England*, *France* is seated, and namely *Normandy* and *Picardy*, which we may thank God does not afford so good a Harbour upon all that Coast, as the worst of those I have named; otherwise our Forefathers had tasted the danger of them many Ages before ours; and we in this time should find it a dangerous thing to have Neighbourhood with good Harbours, now *France* labours to be great in Shipping.

The Harbours of greatest consequence, and for us most to fear, are *Brest* and *Bluett*, 40 and odd Leagues asunder, and both of them to the Eastward of *Ushant*, the Head Land of *Britany*, which must be doubled before they can come into our Channel, and that Easterly Wind which brings them about *Ushant*, will be against the Recovery of any Harbour in *England*. Or if they think by their Fleet to intercept our Trades, or to have any other Designs upon us, they will be brought betwixt *Silla* and *Caribdis*; for betwixt their Coast and ours, it is not above 23 or 26 Leagues in most places; so that if they be taken with a Storm at N. W. they are cast upon their own Shore, where they shall find neither Harbour nor Road to receive them, but that the merciless Sea will devour them: And the like Effect they will find with a Southerly Wind upon our Coast, unless they were Reliev'd with our open Roads, which their own Coasts yield not. In my Fifth Book of Projects and Stratagems, I have spoken more largely to this Point; and to conclude, Tho' *France* should be able to keep Fleets in our Channel in the Summer season, when they shall find the Weather Fair, and the Night Short; on the contrary, in Winter with a Southerly Wind, Storms and long Nights, they will find themselves destitute of Harbours on both sides to Relieve their Ships, when they are in the Channel.

And as for *Milford Haven* in *Wales*, whose Harbour for Goodness exceeds all other Harbours in *Europe*, if an Enemy should enjoy it, it would little avail him, for all Conquerors will covet to draw in to the heart of the Country they enter, and where the greatest Cities are seated, and most People resorts to them. Let us compare it with *London*, 200 Miles from it, and let us enter into the Condition of *Wales*, and the Poverty of it; where the huge Mountains will hinder the Passage, and the Transportation of their Carriages; consider likewise the time *England* will gain, to gather all its Forces together to withstand them, and the distance an Enemy

Enemy shall march from their Ships if they be forced to retire, and shall be destitute of all other supplies or helps; this will be advantage sufficient for us: Neither can an Enemy fleet so suddenly upon us, but that our Fleet will be ready speedily to bid them welcome. These Reasons consider'd, *Milford Haven* will be made as secure as any Port of *England*.

The State of Ireland.

There are many choice and good Harbours in *Ireland*, as commonly there are in most Countries where there is least Trade. The more and the better they are, the greater the Danger to *England*, because an Invasion in *Ireland* does as much concern us, as if it were attempted in *England*. Where there are so many Ports as in *Ireland*, they cannot so easily be fortify'd and made strong, as if they were fewer, whereby the Defence of that Kingdom must depend, upon the faithful Hearts of Subjects, who heretofore have been apt in all Ages to shew the contrary, as appears by their many Rebellions.

The Southern Coast of *Ireland* is in the Nature of *England*; a Southerly Wind being dangerous to both, and the greater to *Ireland*, because the Coast is more subject to Mists and Fogs, so that no Art or Skill can preserve a Ship, if she be forc'd to bear in upon a Lee Shore she has not made.

I have declar'd in my Fifth Book the Danger of an Invasion in *Ireland*, and the best Remedy to avoid it by a Fleet at Sea, to which I refer you; but the safest and securest Course I can think on to defend that Kingdom, is to draw the People, by Justice and good Usage, to Love and Obedience; for then shall their Hearts and Hands be join'd, and made to concur together, for defence of their King and Country. Both they and we see, that of late Years by Peace they are taught how to grow Rich, which before they were not: They find by his Majesty's conniving with them in Religion, it has mollify'd their Hearts, that they are not so hardned as formerly they have been, as appears by their voluntry Disbursements when his Majesty requires it of them.

I am of a contrary Opinion to an ancient Position held in former times by our Statesmen of *England*, that the safest way to Govern the People of *Ireland*, was by keeping them Under, Poor, Needy and Ignorant, like Men barbarously bred; whereas on the contrary, we see by Proof of late times, that by our good and friendly Usage they are made more tractable to Reason, and understand the difference

betwixt civil Conversation and their former Education. They are grown to that familiarity with us, and our Dispositions, that if Religion did not hinder it, they would make no more difference to marry with us than amongst themselves, and hold it for an Honour to derive themselves from *English* blood.

We must confess it for a Truth, that they made our King and both our Countries more famous of late years than in former times, by the esteem they have gain'd in our renown'd Actions of War, where they have serv'd; for those People that were wont to be call'd by the Name of *Kernes*, have obtain'd the prime Places of Honourable Employment, which I impute to Three Causes: The First is to their late Civil Breeding and Conversation, in comparison of times past. Secondly, That they are not prohibited serving any Prince or State, whereby all ancient Jealousies are taken away. Thirdly, They have that Liberty and Freedom, that they apply themselves to all Gentleman like Exercises, both of Learning and Languages, by which they insinuate into the Acquaintance of other Nations and People, from whom they learn their Customs of Civil and Mannerly Behaviour, acknowledging that Preferment comes by Virtue and not by Vice. By this Alteration, his Majesty shall regain Sober Subjects, that have been seduc'd by Evil Magistrates.

Of Scotland.

Scotland in divers parts thereof, but especially in the Islands of *Orkney* and *Hybraides*, has many large and good Harbours, and more Ships of their own to uphold Trade than *Ireland* has, much to the shame of *Ireland*, which has a more fruitful Country, and lies by many degrees more convenient for Trade than *Scotland* does, to the rich Countries of *France*, *Spain*, the States, and all Southern Parts, which afford the greatest Plenty of Wealth; for from *Ireland* they may be sooner in those Places aforesaid, than from some part of *Scotland* to *Ireland*, where they are to begin their Voyage.

We and other Nations find that *Ireland* many times proves a safety to Ships, Men and Goods, as it is seated and placed; for Ships that are to pass into our Chanel from the Southward to *England*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, or any Part of the East Country, if such Vessels be taken with an Easterly Wind before they recover *Scilly* or *Falmouth*, or sail of Victuals, or otherwise distress'd, *Ireland* lies open to entertain them, which no other Shore can do

with that Wind, and much less *Scotland*, which is so far to the Northward, and out of all manner of Trade.

It is pity *Scotland* is not placed where *Ireland* is, considering the difference of the Industry of their People; for tho' the Country of *Scotland* yields no Commodities worthy of Transportation, whereby to make them Rich, or can take off any Merchandize that is brought them, by reason of the Barrenness of their Soil, and the Coldness of their Climate, that produces nothing of value to exchange for it, yet they live not Idly and Lazily, as the *Irish* do, but maintain a number of Ships to carry out and bring back such Commodities as the Country affords, or their People stand in need of.

Another happiness to us, is, that *Scotland* can make no use of their Harbours to benefit an Enemy to our annoyance; for *Scotland* has two impregnable Defences, which are no less beneficial to *England*, viz. Hunger and Cold, that it can no way aid an Enemy to Invade *England* from thence, either with Victuals or other Provisions.

I have often marvell'd with my self, that in our Forefathers Days, who liv'd in the time of Hostility betwixt us and *Scotland*, they had not so much foreseeing Providence, as being Masters of the Sea, to en-

deavour to cut off all the Ships, Barques and Boats, that belong'd to their Kingdom, which had been easily effected, or without Resistance; for then they had left *Scotland* to it self, without help from abroad, and forc'd them to make use of their own Commodities amongst themselves; by which means they should never have tasted the deliciousness of Wines, or other delightful things of several kinds which other Countries produce: Thus would *England* have had a greater Power over them than by force of Arms, and would sooner have brought them to Uniformity and Obedience to us, than by any Course of Cruelty: The Seamen would have soon forgotten their Employment, and betaken themselves to their Trades for food. And one thing I must say in their Commendation, that their People are naturally apt to the Sea; they would soon attain to the Excellency of Pilots, which grows by their dangerous and difficult Navigations, which makes them more vigilant than otherwise they would be; and in the Places where they generally traffick, they are held worthy of the Charge they take upon them; they are no less esteem'd than trusted for their honest Contracts they make with their Merchants, and it is a Means they are sooner freighted than others that carry greater Reputation and Wealth.

A Proposition to the Parliament on all the foregoing Contents of this Book.

I Need not make a particular Repetition of what is contain'd in this Third Book, because it is open to your Eyes to behold, view and read; it tends to the State of his Majesty's Navy, and the Abuse that is crept in by unexperienc'd Carelessness, if not corrupt Officers, and such as regard their own Profit more than the King's Service: Withal, I set down a Means of Reformation, which I presented to his Majesty, part whereof was written at the request of Sir Robert Cecil, not long before the Queen died; the rest I refer to my Fifth Book.

I will apply my self to you, the Lords and Gentlemen of Parliament, for these Reasons; The First, because it concerns you more than others, who are the Mouths and Men chiefly trusted by the Multitude of the Commonwealth, that makes Election of you, above others, to speak their Cause. Secondly, in matter of Security to the State, for you have the same Interest with them, as being embarked all

in one Ship; so that, if one drowns, the rest must be Shipwreck'd. And Lastly, because you are the People elected and chosen from the rest, for your Grave and Judicious Understandings, that can Distinguish and Determine according to Reason, what shall be propos'd for the good of the Commonwealth, which makes me say the less, but refer all to your wise Considerations.

The great, and indeed the greatest, Matter of Importance to the State, is his Majesty's Navy, properly call'd the Walls and Bulwarks of *England*; for our Ships flourishing bring Safety to the Kingdom, and Terror to others; your selves may challenge an Interest in this Royal Navy, as Jewels annexed to the Crown, that cannot be separated from it; for tho' the King have the disposing of them, and the only employing them, yet they are like his Houses and Lands that are Entail'd upon the Crown, and the King can use them but for Life.

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The Kingdom of *Portugal* falling to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, who came in rather by the Sword, than Consent of the Subjects, yet they drew him to large Conditions for their Freedom: And amongst the rest, because that Kingdom stood upon Reputation of Shipping, they enjoin'd him to annex 12 Gallies by way of Entail on the Crown of *Portugal* for so many brave Ships he there found, as appear'd by the goodly Vessel call'd the *Sr. Matthew*, which I knew, and saw broke up with Age, after she had been Admiral of the Fleet, with the Marques of *Sta. Cruz*, who overthrew Monsieur *La Strauze* at the Islands of *Tercera* in 1580. and after she had been Admiral for *England* in 1588. with the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*; and lastly, in that Service and Fleet, that took Sir *Richard Greenville* and the *Revenge* in 1591.

And seeing we have Precedents of other Times, and of other Countries, to parallel with us, for the preserving the Honour of *England* by our Navy, but especially because it concerns us more than the firm Land, we being an Island that can neither defend our selves, nor offend others, without the help of Shipping, I do humbly crave your favourable Ears to encline to my Propositions following.

That besides the ordinary and yearly Expence His Majesty contributes to the Ships in Harbour, you will please to add a certain Annual Proportion, and to confirm it by Act of Parliament, to be employ'd as the Parliament shall direct, or as the ensuing Project shall seem acceptable.

I know that whatsoever I shall propose by way of Imposition, the Word is obnoxious, and you will answer me with a general Negative, by Example of the Grants of Customs, that in continuance of Time are grown Hereditary: But let the Importance of this weighty Business concerning the King's Navy move you according to Reason, and to devise the easiest way, and with the least Charge, how His Majesty's Ships may be immediately sent to Sea upon an unexpected Occasion.

The Sum that shall come from you by a voluntary Gift, not to exceed 20000 *l. per Annum*, the Moneys to be rated and rais'd at the Discretion of Justices, Knights and Gentlemen of the Shire, a Treasurer and other Officers to be nominated by the Parliament; and if any Innovation shall be attempted to alter this form of Government, the Payment to cease.

That certain Commissioners be appoint-

red for Two Years space to view and provide, that all Materials and Provisions be kept safe in Magazines, and no other than themselves to dispose of them; and every second *Michaelmas* Term to meet and settle all Things in good order, that at the next Sitting of the Parliament it may be presented to the Two Houses.

This will prove more easieful to the Country, and less burthensome to the People, by ten degrees, than has been of late years taken, (*viz.*) To call upon them for great Sums, and to be suddenly rated and rais'd by the Assessment of one private Man, that shall for that present Year be chose Sheriff, and such a one, if Complaints be true, as carries a hand of too great Partiality.

By the good Husbanding and Management of this 20000 *l. per Annum*, there will always be ready in Cash so much Money as will, with little help from the King, be able to put his Ships to Sea, without otherwise being beholding to his Subjects; for it is to be suppos'd, that Kings will not have yearly occasion to employ their Ships, by means whereof the Stock of 20000 *l.* will encrease.

Out of this 20000 *l.* there may be Provision made to allow 30 able and expert Captains, each of them 40 Marks or 40 *l. per Annum*, the time they are out of Employment, enjoining them to give their Attendance when they shall be call'd upon: Every Man shall know the Ship he is to command, and no Man will be so impudent, as to seek to put him from it when Employment is spoken of.

They shall hold their Places, their Pensions, and Employments, according to their civil Carriage and Behaviour; for by their Example, others that expect future Preferment must imitate them in their Rule of Life.

Of all Disorders, they must abandon Drinking, Quarrelling, and the Occasion that riseth out of such Vices; for if they consider it, Drunkenness is but a short Madness, and therefore unfit a Mad-man should govern others, that cannot govern himself. This will be the way to gain a brave Reputation in their Youth, and an Encouragement for Gentlemen to employ their Sons upon such Services, on hope of Preferment; and it may be a means for the King to take the Example of the King of *Portugal*, who instituted, That Gentlemen, according to their Degrees and Births, should have Employment at Sea, and Pensions of the King for Life, which they call *Fuero*. Every Gentleman takes his Place according to his Pension

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and Quality; and it is not amiss, seeing I am upon this Subject, to set down, That the occasion of the Discontent of *Ferdinand Magellaens* or *Magellan*, the Discoverer of that *Streight* which took Name of him, was upon this cause; for which, he left his King's Service, and became a Creature to *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, who employ'd him.

Magellan was a Gentleman well deserving, and on account of the Institution aforesaid, he su'd to the King of *Portugal* for a Pension of three Ducats per Month for himself, and half as much for his Son, who was a towardly young Gentleman. The King willingly granted him Two and an half, but absolutely refus'd his Son; which he took for so great an Indignity, that he left the King's Service and fled in-

to *Spain*, where he was employ'd by the King and Cardinal *Ximenes* in that noble Voyage about the World, which was perform'd by his Ship, tho' he was slain himself. This Enterprize of his was prejudicial to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and he got the Name of a Fugitive and Traytor by it.

To make out this Degree of Gentlemen, and their Employment, I have spoken of, I was acquainted with it when *Sir Richard Lewson* and I took the *Carrack* in *Zezimbra* Road; for when I went aboard her to treat about her yielding, I found 400 Gentlemen of this Fraternity with Arms to defend her, all apparell'd like Courtiers for their Reputation they held by their Employment and Place.

The beginning of our Resort to the East-Indies.

THO' the Queen was so wholly taken up with her Warlike Actions by Sea with *Spain*, which continu'd the space of 18 years, that neither she nor her Merchants had leisure nor opportunity to settle new Trades in far and remote Countries, as the *East-Indies*, and other Places, which King *James* of famous Memory did, when he enjoy'd both Crown and Peace, as shall appear when I Treat of his and King *Charles's* Actions by Sea; yet because those Ages and Kings Reigns shall be honour'd as they truly deserve, I will speak of the famous Enterprizes undertaken in the Queen's time to the *East-Indies*: The first by *Sir Francis Drake* in 1578. the second by *Mr. Cavendish* in 1586. the third by *Capt. Raymond* in 1591. and the fourth by our Merchants of *London* in 1603. to whom the Queen granted her Letters Patents for the space of 15 years, which was after continu'd and enlarg'd by King *James* in the year 1609. to remain for ever. Whereupon the *East India* Merchants built in the same year the goodliest and the greatest Ship that ever was fram'd in this Kingdom, tho' she prov'd not so fortunate to them as Ships of less burthen that I have spoke of in my Second Book.

The encrease of great Ships in *England* may be deriv'd from this beginning, and to make it the more wonderful, it is strange, if we consider the few Ships, and the small Burthen of them in the Memory of Man, to what they are now; for till of late, which perhaps few will believe, the greatest part of our Ships of Burthen was either bought or built out of

the East Country, who likewise enjoy'd the greatest Trade of our Merchants in their own Vessels.

And to bid Adien to that Trade and those Ships, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a Vessel of great Burthen and Strength in those days, was the last Ship bought by the Queen, which in the year 1564. was cast away in the Port of *St. John de Ulra* in *New Spain*, under the Command of *Sir John Hawkins*; and from that time to this, if we consider, the encrease of Ships which *England* Trades withal, but especially of later Times in the Reign of King *James* and King *Charles*, we have great cause to give God humble Thanks for his Blessing pour'd upon us, for our Strength of Ships, and Wealth of Subjects, both much increas'd by our Navigation.

I cannot say, our first Voyages to the *East-Indies* were by the way of Traffick, as our later years have produc'd: *Captain Raymond* was accompanied with the *Penelope*, a Ship of his own, with the *Merchant Royal*, and *Edward Bonadventure*, three prime Ships at that time both in Greatness and Goodness: Their Employment was to obstruct the Trade of the *Portugueses*, and to seize their Goods by way of Letters of Reprisal.

These three unfortunate Ships arriv'd at the Cape of *Good Hope*, where they resolv'd to send home the *Merchant Royal* with the sick Men, and to proceed on their pretended Voyage design'd in *England*; but *Captain Raymond* himself was unhappily swallow'd up in the Sea 50 Leagues from the Cape: The *Edward Bonadventure* per-

perform'd her Voyage, but fail'd as the rest did in the hope of Profit; for neither the Men nor the Adventurers were a Penny the better for that Voyage, and unluckily at her return, after she had pass'd many Miseries and Dangers, at last she arriv'd in the *West-Indies*, whither she went for Relief, being mightily distress'd. And arriving at the Island of *Mona*, her Company resolv'd to cut her Cables to drive ashore, choosing rather to do such an unworthy Act, than to venture into *England* with her, their Case was so desperate.

Most part of her Men were sav'd, by a *French* Pirate that hover'd about that Island, one of whom, *Henry May* by Name,

was imbarck'd in the said *French* Ship, and in her return homeward was wreck'd on the Island of *Bermuda*, who gave us the first publick Knowledge of that Island; for before it was suppos'd to be enchanted, and possess'd by Spirits, tho' I knew the contrary; for above 20 years before this happen'd, I was acquainted with a *French* Captain, called *Russell*, who was also Shipwreck'd upon the same Island, and escap'd by means of a Boat, he and his Company made out of the Materials of the said Ship, in which with great hazard they arriv'd upon the Coast of *Newfoundland*, where they were reliev'd by Fishermen of their own Country.

The Competition betwixt France and Spain by Sea, and Conclusion of the Third Book.

A *French* Man meeting a *Spaniard* or *Portuguese* beyond the Line, or in either of the two *Indies*, they hold it a thing justifiable by Law to seize upon either, especially if they make the first Shot at the *French* Man; pretending that he gave the first Offence, and that thereupon they offer'd him Violence, and that themselves are but Defendants.

The *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* answer to this; That the *French* being no Discoverers of Countries beyond the Line, or in the *Indies*, they can challenge no more Right to the Countries and Seas, than Pirates of other Nations can do; neither have they any colour to haunt those Shores and Seas but with a purpose to rob and spoil, seeing they and all Nations besides know the King of *Spain* prohibits any Traffick in those Parts, but to his own *Spanish* Subjects.

They further say, There is no Ship but will in her own Defence, being chas'd by another and ready to be assail'd and boarded, shoot first; for it is an old Rule in a Quarrel, *That he has the Advantage who gives the first Blow*: And therefore this lawful Resistance of a poor Merchant Ship, that goes not out of his way to seek others, but avoid meeting of all, cannot be reckon'd a Breach of Peace, and consequently a Forfeit of Ship and Goods; this is against the Law of Nature, for a Worm, if she be trod on, will turn.

And besides, whereas Merchant Ships go commonly Arm'd to defend themselves against Enemies; by this Law, and contrary to all Sense and Reason, their Safety must consist in going Unarm'd, that they may be unable to make Defence, lest

they be quarrell'd with, and thereby made a Prey to all Ships they shall meet at Sea.

The Assailant, whom you may properly call a Pirate, has sometimes other Pretences; as namely, the want of Victuals, or their Ship being leaky or ready to founde, to exchange Ships with them.

The *Spaniard* desires, That these deceitful Excuses, and false Pretences, may with Uprightness be consider'd To the first, they say, That a Merchant Ship that carries 10 Men, cannot afford two days Victuals to a Man of War that carries 100 Men, for ten days Victuals after that proportion is but half a day's Victuals to a Ship of War.

To the second, it is to be consider'd, that if one Ship be exchang'd for another at Sea, it must be the Stronger that compels the Weaker to it; and as a Thief that robs by Land makes the Offence much more horrible by committing Murder, so does the Ship in this case; for if 100 Men be not able to keep the Ship above Water with their Pump or Baling, what shall 10 Men do in that Ship, but sink or perish with Patience? Here is both Theft and Murder committed upon poor innocent People, that offer no Man Molestation, nor go out of their Course to seek Acquaintance: But if this stands for a Law, a Pirate will make no Conscience to bore a Leak in his own Ship to serve for an Excuse.

Therefore I conclude, it is not the first Shot that can be adjudg'd a Breach of Peace betwixt two Ships that accidentally meet at Sea, or that it shall make the Assailant's Cause the better; for in truth, the Offence is given by the Ship that chases,
and

and has no cause to do it, but only to give an occasion of Quarrel, that thereby he may rob and spoil him: He it is, I say, that deserves Punishment as a Pirate, and not the poor Defendant, that does no more than Nature and Reason oblige him to.

I would ask a *French Man*, whether if a *Spaniard* should meet him upon the Coast of *Canada*, where the *French* have a Plantation, and there chase him, and that the *French Man* for his Safety should fire at him, he would think it Reason that the *Spaniard* should take and enjoy him as lawful Prize? No, I am rather of opinion, that the *French Man* will believe as I do, that the *Spaniard* is worthy to be hang'd for a Pirate.

And yet the Comparison is not alike, for the *French* cannot account *Canada* their own, as the *Spaniards* may do the *Indies*, because *Canada* was first discover'd by the *English* in the days of *Henry the Seventh*, as all the World acknowledges, and none but the first Discoverers can pretend Title to any Land newly discover'd.

This is the Title by which the King of *Spain* holds his *Indies*, both *East* and *West*; and this is the Title by which the King of *England* holds that part of *America*, from 58 to 38 Degrees, and has held it since the Discovery of it by *Sebastian Cabor*, and not above two Years after *Columbus* found the *West-Indies*; and by this Right likewise the King holds the Islands of *Greenland* ever since the Year 1607. when discover'd by his Subjects: And moreover I say, that such Kings as are Discoverers of new or unknown Lands, are bound in Equity and Reason to defend one anothers Titles in this Point, and not to Connive or give Assistance to any other Prince or Country to break this Law and Custom, for other Nations to inroach upon them; for they had as good disclaim their own Rights, and suffer all other Dominions to usurp over them: It is the case of our Fishing, which *Holland* impugns.

When King *James* granted his Patents for the planting *America*, he would always admonish the Patentees to be sure to keep to the Northward, lest they should plant in such Places, as the *Spaniards* might challenge to be within the compass of their Discoveries; for he ever intimated, that he would defend them no farther than the Articles of Peace did warrant him, and if they did otherwise, they were to stand upon their own Legs. This I have been often told by the Secretary of State, who is acquainted therewith.

This Limitation Princes put upon their own Subjects in giving them Patents,

which Subjects duly observe. Queen *Isabel* of *Castile* would not suffer her Husband's Subjects of *Aragon* to go to the *West-Indies* many years after the Discovery of them, because she and her *Castilians* had the Honour and Fortune to find them.

The *Portugueses* to this day enjoy their ancient and accustom'd Trade to the *East-Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazile*, and the *Spaniards* are not suffer'd to go there, because the *Portugueses* were the first Discoverers of them.

Our King out of some Considerations prohibits the Trades of the *East-Indies*, *Russia*, *Greenland*, and *Tunky*, but only to some particular Subjects, to whom he grants his Patent.

The *Hollanders*, who are refractory to all good Laws and Institutions establish'd by Kings, however observe this Rule among themselves, That they will not suffer any of their People to Trade to the *East-Indies*, but those whom they incorporate, and call, *The East-India Company*. And tho' *William Cornelius Scowden* has discover'd another Passage into the South Sea, than through the Streights of *Magellan*, a Voyage of Fame to the Undertakers and Nation; yet at his arrival in the *East-Indies*, where he thought to have found Succour and Relief from his Countrymen, most ungratefully and cruelly they seiz'd him, his Ship, and all he had, and us'd him as rigorously and unnaturally as if he had been a profess'd Enemy or Pirate.

The *French* above all other Nations have always impugn'd the Right of the first Discoverers, but not without the great Punishment and just Judgment of God upon them, as appears by many of their Actions; as namely, in *Canada*, which was taken and spoil'd by us in 1628. as also in *Florida* and *Brazil*, that was destroy'd and ruin'd by the *Spaniards*; and it is worthy of Note, That they never liv'd in any of these Colonies, but Civil Dissentions, Famine, and Murders, fell upon them; a just Reward for the Injustice they did.

The King of *Spain* is so cautious not to give Offence in this case, that when *Greenland* was discover'd by the *English*, some of his *Biscay* Subjects repair'd thither to kill the Whale for Oyl, being more expert therein than any other Nation: But the K. of *Spain* considering what Wrong was done to the King of *England* by it, and that it might concern him in the like Case to have his *Indies* inroach'd upon, he prohibited his Subjects going to *Greenland* to molest or hinder the *English* in their Fish-

Fishing, and afterwards gave Assistance to the *English*, and instructed them in the manner of their Whale-killing.

Subjects that desire to plant in Countries they have not discover'd, and therefore can claim no Title to them, run many desperate and unavoidable Perils; First, because the Articles of Peace do not warrant them, for by that Law of Peace we are only to enjoy our ancient and accustom'd Trades; Secondly, they go upon their own Adventure, for the King will not breake League with *Spain* for their particular Cause; Thirdly, they live in perpetual Danger from their Neighbours near adjoining, whom they may term Enemies; but principally I would have them consider, what an excessive Charge they undergo before they can bring their Country to perfection, which affords nothing but Wood, Water, and Grass: To Instance in an Island of 10 or 12 Miles in length, and half so much in breadth, which some *English* Men have with a wonderful Charge of late years planted, and I fear with little hope of Profit to return to them: But I make account no Man can be so ignorant as not to know, that such Undertakers do it for other Ends, or have other hopes of Gain, than to reap it out of the Earth of 10 or 12 Miles.

But it is rather suspected, they do it to nourish and uphold Piracies, that by the Spoils thereof they may be the better able to maintain that Island, or to give a Distast to *Spain*, with whom they desire His Majesty should have War, not considering what the End of War is, and how difficult it is to make a Peace after such a War is once begun by two great Princes.

But now to return to my former Proposition or Argument, of the Competition betwixt *France* and *Spain*, of the *French* surprising the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* beyond the Line; I will conclude of nothing, only deliver my Opinion, what *France* had to say in its own Defence.

Sir Francis Drake returning from his famous and fortunate Voyage round the World in 1580. the Queen found, that by the Passage through the Streights of *Magellan*, which *Drake* had gone, there might be Conveniency, if ever there happen'd Hostility betwixt Her and the King of *Spain*, to annoy him in the South Sea, from whence all his Treasure and Wealth was brought, and after dispers'd through the World. In the year 1582. she employ'd two good Ships as any in the Kingdom, except her own and Committe, the Conduction thereof to Captain *Fenton*,

and *Ward* to prosecute the same Voyage that *Drake* had happily perform'd and taught them.

But as nothing is more uncertain than the Chances and Successes at Sea, being govern'd by unconstant Winds and Waves; so did this Voyage of Mr. *Fenton's* prove most unlucky, for they fail'd in all their Designs, as you may find in Mr. *Hacklitt's* Book, to which I refer you.

The King of *Spain* having Intelligence of the Design of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Preparations of the Ships aforesaid to perform her Intentions in the South Sea; and knowing it could not be brought to pass but through the Streight of *Magellan*, he directed his Letters to *Lima* in *Peru*, commanding one *Pedro Sarmiento*, a choice and perfect Navigator, to pass from *Lima* to the Streights of *Magellan*, that way by the South Sea, which was never before purposely attempted, for by reason of the forcible Westerly Winds that blow upon that Coast, which makes it a continual Lee Shore, it is not to be enterpris'd without great Peril to the Undertakers.

Pedro Sarmiento with two small Ships proceeded upon that Voyage as he was directed by the King, one of them return'd again to *Lima*, the other, in which *Sarmiento* was, recover'd the Streights, and so pass'd into *Spain*, giving the King an Account of the narrowness of the Streight, in order to fortifie it, and to endeavour to stop any Ships that should attempt to pass that way, but all was false, and the King egregiously abus'd by his Report, for there was no Place within that Streight less than 3 Miles in breadth. He likewise gave a favourable Report of the Pleasantness and Richness of the Soil, to encourage Men there to inhabit; but in the end it prov'd the most unhappy and unfortunate Expedition that ever the *Spaniards* undertook.

The King being pleas'd with this Intelligence, hoping thereby he might intercept all Ships passing that way, and secure his Coast of *Peru*, *Chile*, and other Places, which afford him all his Treasure, he sent 23 great Galeons and 3500 old Soldiers under the Command of Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, a principal Commander by Sea; he also sent the said *Pedro Sarmiento*, with Commission to erect Fortifications within the Streights, and to take upon him the Title of Governor. But as I have spoken somewhat of the Mishap of our *English* Ships, so I must say the *Spanish* Fleet succeeded ten times worse, for of the 23 Galeons and the 3500 Soldiers aforesaid, few Ships or Men return'd, which

which was a great loss to *Spain* at that time; for in 2 or 3 years after ensu'd the Wars betwixt them and us.

Those Soldiers design'd for the *Streights* being cross'd with contrary Winds, and other Vexations, at last arriv'd there with their Governor *Sarmiento*, and there seated and fortifi'd themselves in two Places; but cunningly and secretly *Sarmiento* seem'd to go from one Place to visit another, and foreseeing the Calamity his Men and he were like to fall into, (for neither the Land nor Soil, or the narrowness of the *Streight*, was answerable to his Relation) and being altogether hopeless of Relief or Succour from *Spain*, he quitted the Place, and treacherously ran away in his Bark, pretending, after his arrival in *Spain*, that he was perforce put from his Cable and Anchor, he rid by, and could not return again for Wind and Weather.

In this base manner he left his poor Country-men in 1584, and in two years after, in 1586. Mr. *Carvendish* passing the *Streights* in his Voyage round the World, found but three of those poor Creatures living, and the Place so infected with the Carcasses of those Dead, that it was not to be endur'd. He found only 6 Pieces of Ordnance, which he brought away with him.

But as GOD is just, and a Rewarder of all Men, both in their Good and Evil

Actions, he accordingly chastiz'd *Pedro Sarmiento* for his ill Usage of his Country-men; for from *Brazil*, where he first landed in his way into *Spain*, he was met and taken by an *English* Man of War, (for at that time there was Hostility betwixt the two Nations of *England* and *Spain*) and brought Prisoner into *England*, where I became acquainted with him.

But now to return to *Diego Flores de Valdes*, who ranging the Coast of *Brazil* as his Course led him, had Intelligence of a Colony of *French*, planted on a River call'd *Parya*, joining upon the Sea with *Brazil*; whereupon he steer'd for that Port, where he met and seiz'd five *French* Ships, three whereof he burnt, and two he carri'd with him: The Men fled and dispers'd themselves amongst the *Indians*, where to this day are found many Savages that resemble *French* Men in Feature of Face, and may be easily distinguish'd from others of their Country-men.

I know not whether others may be of my Opinion or no; but in all likelihood the barbarous Usage of the *French* Colony might be the occasion of the Difference betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards* for the War beyond the Line; and as the Cause began by Blood, so it is like never to end but by Blood, for nothing is like to compose this Difference, so long as those two Monarchies continue in this Greatness.

The Fourth Book.

Discoveries and Enterprizes of the Spaniards and Portugueses, and several other remarkable Passages and Observations.

To the Reader.

IN my First Dedication, I recommend the reading thereof to my dearest and most intimate Friends; in the Second, to the Captains and Commanders serving in the late Wars against Spain; in the Third, to all sorts of Seamen, from the highest to the lowest; and in this I prohibit none but the perverse Puritans, whose Stomachs are so feint and feeble, that any Praise that can be attributed to a Spaniard or Papist, will make them Sea-sick, and cast their Gorge.

I will therefore make a Turk Judge in this case betwixt the Spaniards and them, because every Christian will incline to favour one Sect more than another. Could God ever give a greater Blessing to Man, than to enable him to win and gain the Souls of them that had been led away in Infidelity and Blindness? Could he ever shew a greater Wordly Happiness to a Kingdom, than to send them, as it were out of a Cloud, a new World, that affords all Blessings and Riches? Could he ever give more Honour and Reputation, than Conquest over these People and their Land? Could he ever shew more Love to his Servants, than to discover those Countries, at the time the Moors and Turks infected and infested the Country of Spain and Hungary? Could he in any thing more shew his Wonders, than by such Miracles as are related and recorded, for the Means of the Conversion of those People? This shall suffice for the Will of God and Force of his Power; But as God chose the Spanish Nation, for some secret Judgment of his own, above all other People, to spread forth his Holy Name, so do I observe Three Things in them worthy of Reprehension; the one is, their Ingratitude; the Second, their Cruelty; and the Third, the base Condition of the Peo-

ple that were the Authors of their Prosperity.

Their Ingratitude appear'd towards Columbus, a Man of more Desert to the Christian World than any other ever God created; for all the good before-mentioned was wrought by God's Permission, and his Pain and Patience.

This Man, after his desperate and fortunate Attempt, was maliciously and innocently brought Prisoner in Irons, to answer the Calumniation of his Soldiers, which was not all, nor the worst; for this was an Offence only to his Body, the other to his Honour and Reputation.

For the Spaniards, to eclipse his Glory and Merit, for Discovery of the new World, on no other account but his being a Stranger, born in Italy, invented and devised many Fictions and idle Imaginations, to lessen his Praise: One while they say he was led to the Discovery by a Spaniard that lay in his House, upon his Return from the Indies, and taught him the way thither.

But they could never agree upon the Spaniard's Name, what Province he was of, where he arriv'd, or what befel of him; so it is evident all were false Aspersions, invented to lessen his Honour, and advance the supposed Spaniard's Praise; and God justly sent the Divisions afterwards in Peru amongst themselves, as a Punishment for their Ingratitude to Columbus; for an unthankful Man incited God to punish, and Man to abhor him.

The Second was their Cruelty to the poor Conquer'd Indians, occasion'd principally by Avarice, whilst the Revolt in Peru had almost hazarded their whole Enterprize.

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But their Tyranny being made known in Spain, the Emperor, like a merciful and pious Prince, prohibited all rigorous Courses against the silly Salvages, which so enraged the Conquering Spaniards, that doubtless, had they border'd upon any Civil Country that could have given them Assistance, they would as well have spoken any other Language as Spanish.

My Third Observation was, the Quality and Condition of the Commanders in the Conquest of Peru; the principal whereof was such as no Man would own as his Son, nor they challenge for Father; their Education like their Birth, neither being taught to write or read; and yet daily Practice brought Francisco Pizarro to a civil familiar Behaviour, and Diego de Almagro to a vain glorious and high Carriage.

What these Two wanted in Birth and Breeding, was supply'd in Valour and Industry; for to speak truly, considering what they attain'd to by their excessive Travel and Labour, the Condition of the People they were to govern, and the Multitude of Enemies they subdu'd, no History, Ancient or Modern, can yield more Honour to Conquerors than they deserv'd; and I am of Opinion, the cruel Usage of the Indians proceeded from the Debauchery and Lewdness of their Soldiers and Followers; for their Enterprize in those days was not undertaken but by desperate Persons of Estate and Life, that thought nothing well gain'd that was not unlawfully gotten.

I may the rather confirm my Opinion, because Ferdinand Cortes, who was a Gentleman by Birth, and so famous for Valour, Government and Wisdom, that he was parallel'd with Marius and Scipio in the Roman State, carried his Affairs with that Honour, Discretion and Mercy, that he left, and there still remains, the Title of a Marques to his House, when neither of the other two had ever lawful Child to descend from them to uphold their Names or Memory.

The Exploits of the Portugueses were no less Memorable and Victorious than the Spaniards; But seeing they are now both one Nation, and live but under one King, and that the ensuing Discourses will speak their Praises, I will say little more than in Pity to them, and attributing their many Crosses to the just Cause.

The Portuguese Nation had been famous ever since the Victorious Battel of Ourique, obtain'd by Don Alphonso, the first King of that Country, in the Year 1139. Since then they have held Competition with Spain, es-

pecially of late, that God made them famous in their Eastern Conquest, and so encreas'd their Wealth, that the cruel and miserable Jews, who set their whole Felicity in Worldly Riches, crept in among them, and mingled with and infected their Blood with that Cowardliness and Covetousness, that is may be justly judged, they truly deserv'd God's Ire and Wrath cast upon them, viz. Betwix 1578. and 1580. God sent them for their Punishment and Scourge Four Kings, and Five Governors that might be accounted Kings, that spent and spoil'd the Wealth of their Country, Don Sebastian by his Rashness, Henry by his want of Resolution, Anthony by Tyranny, Philip by Arms, and the Governors for their private Advantage.

Since those Years the Calamity that has befallen them is lamentable, by Spoils and Rapes committed on them by Sea in the late Wars with England, and since by the Loss of their Trade in the Indies, which was the first Cause of their Renown, and the first Enriching of their State.

They must impute their Misfortunes to God's Permission, for their joining and conniving with God's profess'd Enemies the Jews, for their own particular Ends and Gain.

It is written of Peru, That the Constellation under which it is plac'd, caus'd so many Divisions and Slaughters as were there committed, not only in the time of the Spaniards, but many years before.

The like may be said of the Molucco Islands, which, upon their first Discovery, bred such a Division betwix the Spaniards and Portugueses, that tho' the Two Kingdoms were in Peace at home, yet there happen'd continual Encounters betwix their Subjects in those Parts when they met there; but the Portugueses had always the best.

Not many Years since, the like befel the English and the Hollanders upon the like Cause, and about the same unfortunate Islands, where they had many Bickerings, notwithstanding the Two States continu'd Friends.

To conclude, I will concur with Charles the Fifth, the Emperor, who was wont to say, It had been well those Countries had never been discover'd, or at least not so much frequented; for we have Enrich'd the Infidels with the Wealth of Europe and America, and decreas'd the Trades of all the civil and known World, as we of England have Proof, by our unprofitable Traffick thither. And now to the Discovery of the several Countries.

The Discovery of several Countries and Islands.

BEfore I treat of the Discovery of either of the two *Indies*, I will take the *Canary* and *Tercera* Islands in my way, because they were known many years before the others; and in the next place, for that there is a necessity for Ships to see those Islands in their Navigations, the one in going, the other in returning, from the *Indies*.

The *Canary* Islands, which are Seven in number, were Conquer'd by the *Spaniards* in the Year 1393. in the time of King *Henry III.* of *Spain*.

The *Tercera* Islands, being as many in number, were said to be discovered by the *Netherlanders*, but by whom by Name, or by whom they were employ'd, or the Year of our Lord, is not set down.

Guinea was discover'd in the Year 1471. in the Days of *Don Alonzo*, the Fifth King of *Portugal*.

The *Cape of Good Hope*, and 150 Leagues to the Eastward of it, as far as the Haven of *Infanta*, was discover'd by *Bartholomew Dias*, in the Days of King *John II.* of *Portugal*, in 1499.

Calicut, and the other Places in the *East-Indies*, were discover'd by *Vasco de Gama*, in 1497. and in the Reign of *Don Emanuel* King of *Portugal*.

The Country of *Brazil* was discover'd in 1500. by *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, upon the second Voyage that was gone to the *East-Indies* in the time of *Don Emanuel* afore-said.

The River of *Plate* was discover'd by *Americus Vespatus*, in 1500. as he was going to find out a Passage to the *Moluccas*, and employ'd by the same King *Emanuel*; But it is rather thought that *Dies de Solis*, and not *Americus*, was the first Discoverer of it.

The *West-Indies*, and especially the Islands of *Lucayos*, were discover'd by *Christopher Columbus*, in 1592.

The Country of *Bacallaos*, alias *Newfoundland*, was discover'd by *Sebastian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, by the Directions of *Henry VII.* King of *England*, Two Years after the Discovery of the *West-Indies*.

The Country of *Florida* was discover'd on *Easter-day*, 1513. by *Ponce de Leon*, who went to find the Island of *Bayuco*, being told by the *Indians* there was a Well there, that by drinking of the Water, it would make old Men young.

The Country of *Panuco* was discover'd by *Francis de Garay*, in 1513.

The Country of *Jucatan* was discover'd by *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*, in 1517.

Nombre de Dios, the Islands of *Jamaica*, the *Honduras*, and many other Places, were discover'd by *Columbus*.

Darien was discover'd by *Hojeda* and *Nicuesa*, where they endur'd many Calamities, Hunger and Mutinies, and Hurts.

The River of *Amazons*, and the River of *Orellana*, and all that Coast, was discover'd by the *Pinzones*, in 1500.

The *South Sea*, which was the happiest Discovery of all others to the *Spaniards*, for that it led them to *Peru*, which yields them all their Treasure, was found by *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, in 1513. a Man in Disgrace at that time with *Charles* the Emperor.

The Country of *Chile* was discover'd by *Diego de Almagro*; And whether *Lyma* was in the Circuit of *Chile* or *Peru*, was the Difference betwixt *Pizaro* and *Almagro*, which cost both their Lives, and bred their Ruines.

The Country of *Maldivia*, near *Chile* and *Peru*, was discover'd and conquer'd by *Peter Maldivia*.

The *Cape of California* was discover'd by *Pedro Alvarez*, in his Voyage from *Port Navidad* to the *Moluccas*.

Consulves was sent to discover a Passage out of the *South Sea* into our Ocean, at the time when the Question was betwixt the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* about the Trade of the *Moluccas*.

The Country of *Cinaloa* and *Quitvira* was discover'd by *Francisco Vasques Coronado*, as also the Country of *Granada*.

The *Phillipine* Islands were discover'd by *Michael Lopez*, in 1564. He was employ'd by *D. Lewis de Vellasco*, Vice-Roy of *New Spain*.

The Islands of *Solomon*, in the *South Sea*, were discover'd from *Lyma* in *Peru*, by *Alvar de Mendolia*, in 1568. and *Pedro de Sarmiento* his Lieutenant, whom I knew.

The *Streights of Magellan* were discover'd by *Ferdinand Magallans*, a *Portuguese*, in 1520. employ'd by *Charles V.* then King of *Spain*.

The Island of *Madera*, short of the *Canaries*, was discover'd by *Machan*, an *Englishman*, in 1344.

Russia, or *Muscovy*, was discover'd in the Year 1553. in the Reign of *Edward VI.* King of *England*. *Sir Hugh Willoughby* was sent upon the Discovery, but he and his Company perish'd in the Harbour of *Ursen*.

sena in Lapland. Richard Chaudler, being Captain of another Ship, proceeded upon that Discovery. Chery Island in Greenland was discover'd by Marmaduke of Hull.

Julius Agricola was the first that sail'd about England and Scotland, and was the first that discover'd the Islands of Orkney, which he subdu'd.

The Portuguese Discoveries on the Coast of Guinea, Castle de la mina, and in the East-Indies.

Guinea was discover'd, as you have heard, in the Year 1471. and in the Reign of Don *Allonso I.* who pretended Title to *Spain* by his Wife *Joan*, call'd the *Excellent.* King *John II.* of *Portugal*, and the 13th in Descent, imagin'd that the Spices that came into *Europe* might be brought by Sea, and hearing there were Christians in those Parts of the World, both these things encourag'd him to undertake the Discovery.

Bartholomew Dias, an Officer in the Storehouse in *Lisbon*, was sent from *Castle de la mina* to discover the Length of the Land of *Africk*, and found out the Cape of *Good Hope*; from thence he sail'd to the Eastward 150 Leagues, to a Port which he nam'd *la Infanta*, and gave Names to all Places where he pass'd.

The King would not only rely upon his Relation, but sent a *Franciscan* Frier to find out the *Indies* by Land, but the Frier, for want of Language, return'd from *Jerusalem*; after that he sent two of his Servants, that were skilful in the *Arabick* Language, the one call'd *Peter de Covillao*, the other *Alphonso de Pairva*: They departed from *Cintra* the 7th of *May*, 1487. and coming to the *Red Sea*, they parted Company; *Pairva* went to *Prester John's* Country, where he dy'd; *Covillao* travell'd to *Calicut*, and other Places of the *Indies*, where he inform'd himself fully and substantially of the whole Country: In his Return home he met with Two Jews, that were sent from the King of *Portugal* to meet him, and to wish him to inform himself of the State of *Prester John*.

One of the Two Jews he sent back, with a Relation of the State of the *Indies*, the other he carry'd with him to *Ormuz*, from whence he likewise sent him to the King, to give an Account of his Voyage, and himself went to *Prester John*, where the King, whose Name was *Alexander*, us'd him courteously; but he dying, the other that succeeded him detain'd him Prisoner, so that he never liv'd to return to *Portugal*, or to send more Information to the King his Master.

The King having Information sufficient, by Letters the Jew brought him, he im-

mediately cut down Timber, and built Two new Ships for that Discovery in 1495. and the 25th of *October*.

King *John* in the mean time dy'd, and Don *Emanuel* succeeded, who added great Fame to the Kingdom of *Portugal*: He furnished the Two Ships afore said, the one of 120 Tuns, and call'd her the *Angel Gabriel*, the other of 100 Tuns, and nam'd her the *Raphael*, with one Carvel he bought, and one other to carry Victuals.

He appointed for General a Servant of his, call'd *Vasco de Gama*, well experienc'd in Sea Affairs: *Paul de Gama*, his Brother, went Captain of one Ship, and *Nicholas Coello* of another, both of them being the King's Servants. *Bartholomew Dias* was to accompany them to *Mina in Guinea*.

The 8th of *July*, 1497. he embark'd at *Belem* with 148 Men; the Pilot was *Pedro de Alanquer*, who had been Pilot with *Bartholomew Dias* in his former Voyage; and if they lost Company, the Place of meeting was in the Island of *Cabo Verde*. They pass'd by the *Canaries*; and off the River of *Oro* they lost Company for 8 days in a Storm, but met again at the Island of *St. Augustin*, where they refresh'd themselves for 7 days.

The 3d of *August* *Vasco de Gama* went from thence, and left *Bartholomew Dias* behind; the 4th of *November* he spy'd Land, and call'd it *St. Hellena*, supposing it had been 30 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*: The People in this Place would have betray'd him.

The 20th, being *Wednesday*, he doubled the Cape; on *Sunday* he came to *St. Blase*, being a Watering-place, 60 Leagues from the Cape: Here he stay'd 10 days, and departed the 8th of *December*; and in going to the River of *Infanta*, he endur'd a great Storm: Here he found gentle and civil *Negroes*; one of his Company could speak the Language of the *Negroes*; he nam'd it *Terra da boa gente*, and the River *Cobro*.

The 15th of *January* he sail'd along the Coast, and met with *Negroes* of great Civility in their Boats, who gave him light of the *East-Indies*, and he call'd this River *Bons Sinais*: Here he stay'd 32 days to trim

trim his Ships, and erected a Mark, which he call'd *St. Raphael*: The Place was Infectious, and his Men began to be sick.

The first of *March* he came in sight of *Mosambique*, where they were taken to be *Moors*, and at first well us'd, but finding them to be Christians, they would have betray'd them: Here they had News that *Calicut* was 900 Leagues from thence, and took in a Pilot that had been there, which comforted them much.

The first of *April* they came to certain Islands which they call'd *Acoutada's*, because finding the Pilot in a Lie, here they whipp'd him, and he confess'd he brought them thither to have cast them away, as also that he would have entic'd them to *Quiloa*, making them believe that Christians dwell'd there. In this Course the *St. Raphael* struck upon a Shole, and was miraculously preserved, and this Shelve they call'd *St. Raphael*.

The 7th of *May* they came to *Mombasca*, where the People knowing them to be Christians, and what had pass'd with them in *Mosambique*, they practis'd to betray them.

They came to *Melinde*, 18 Miles from *Mombasca*, a City built like the Houses of *Portugal*, the King a *Moor*, but courteous, and glad of the *Portugueses* coming thither; He furnished them with Pilots to *Calicut*; and here he met with Four Ships of Christians of the *Indies*, who were wonderful glad to see them: Those Christians gave them warning not to trust the *Moors* of *Melinde*. The King entred into Friendship with the King of *Portugal*.

The 22d they departed from *Melinde*, and cross'd over the Gulph, being 700 Leagues, which they sail'd in 32 days, and never saw Land.

The 24th of *May* they discover'd Land near *Calicut*, and there they found a *Moor* of *Tunis* in *Barbary*, who knew the *Portuguese* Nation, and ask'd them in the Devil's Name how they came thither. The *Moors* of *Calicut* contriv'd all Treasonable Practices they could against the *Portugueses*, and so prevail'd with the King, that Wars ensu'd betwixt them, and so continu'd a long time after.

They return'd from *Calicut*, where they escap'd great danger of Treason, and in their way fell with divers Islands, where the People were willing they should erect a Cross with the Arms of *Portugal*: This Place he call'd *Porto de Sancta Maria*. He came to the Island of *Anchedivi*, where he trim'd the Ship, and water'd: Here was a Spy sent to discover his Forces, which

Spy counterfeited to be a Christian, and born in *Italy*, but he was suspected to be as he was, and they rack'd him three times, and then he confess'd his Villany. The General carry'd this Spy into *Portugal*, where he became a good Christian, and gave great light of the Affairs of the *East-Indies*, which stood the *Portugueses* in great stead.

Before they arriv'd at *Melinde* they endur'd great Misery, and if God had not instantly miraculously succour'd them, the General's Brother and *Nicholas Coello* were resolv'd to have return'd to *Calicut*, and put themselves to the Mercy of the King, but at last they spy'd Land, which prov'd the City of *Magadoxa*, fairly built, and inhabited with *Moors*, 117 Leagues from *Melinde*.

The first of *February* they came to *Melinde*, where they were well entertain'd, and the King accepted of a Pillar, to be set up in Sign of Friendship with the King of *Portugal*, and sent an Ambassador thither.

The 17th of *February* they departed, and the 20th following they burnt the *St. Raphael*, for want of Men, and took the General's Brother out of her.

The 20th they came to the Island of *Zanguebar*, where the King us'd them courteously, and from thence to *Mosambique*.

The 3d of *March* to the Islands of *St. Blase*; the 20th they doubl'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, and then sail'd to the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, where the General's Brother fell sick, and hir'd a Caravel to carry him to *Portugal*, because his own Ship was weak and leaky.

Before his Arrival at *Cabo Verde*, *Nicholas Coello* willingly lost his Company, that he might carry the first News to the King of his Discovery of the *Indies*, and came to *Cascais* on the 10th of *July*, 1499.

The General came to the *Tercera's*, where his Brother died, and in *September* to *Belline*, where the King did him great Honour, and made him Earl of *Vidigueira*: He gave him the Royal Arms of *Portugal* for his Scutcheon, at the foot whereof were Two Doves, alluding to his Name *Gama*.

In his Second Voyage he went General of 13 Ships and two Caravels; He was most fortunate in that Voyage, and discover'd many Lands and People, that afterwards prov'd both wealthy and profitable to the *Portugueses* by their Trade.

Betwixt his first Voyage and this second, there were two others; the General of the one was *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, who departed

parted *Lisbon* the 7th of *March* 1500. In his way to the *Indies* he discover'd the Country of *Brazill* in 10 Degrees, and Sailing to the Southward in 17 Degrees and a half, he came to a Harbour, which he call'd *Porto Siguro*.

Cabral, upon this Discovery, sent a Pinace to the King to inform him of it, which at this day is more profitable to *Portugal* than the Trade of the *East-Indies*.

Cabral, the 29th of *May*, setting out from the Coast of *Brazill*, was taken with the most violent Storm that ever was read of; the Day seem'd to be as Black as Night, the Sea to burn like Fire; Four of his Ships were swallow'd up in the Sea, and *Bartholomew Dias* the Discoverer of the *Cape of Good Hope* in one of them.

The unlucky Entertainment in *Brazill*, made after amends to the *Portugueses*; for at this day their Sugars, and the Wood of *Brazill* yields them more profit than the Precious Stones, Spices, or other Merchandizes of the *East-Indies*.

The First Inhabiting of *Brazill* was with small Charge and Adventure, the People that went were desperate, and of the worst kind, rather to be banish'd for Offenders, than any hope of Profit that should acrew unto them; but the Country proved so Plentiful and Rich, that altho' they have receiv'd great Detriments by the *Hollanders* in *Baya* and *Fernanbuco*, yet it will quickly be redeem'd again by Peace.

Some other Particulars concerning the East-Indies.

1. **B**Efore I Treat of any particulars of the *East-Indies*, give me leave to put you in mind of some Observations of mine, which will not be unworthy your perusal, seeing they are to be attributed only to God, who is the searcher of all Hearts, and the discoverer of hidden Secrets.

2. It is strange and surprizing, That out of so many flourishing Nations as God hath Created and Civiliz'd, he should Elect and Chuse the Kingdom of *Portugal* to perform this great Work of his; a Country in those Days of less Esteem and Reputation, of less Renown and Fame, and of less Ability and Valour than any other Christian Monarchy, we can call to mind; and to assign them such a time to effect it, when they enjoy'd a happy Peace with their Neighbours, and had no Enemy to oppose or hinder their Designs.

3. The first Discovery, as you have heard, was to *Guinea* in 1471. where nothing appear'd to the *Portugueses* but Barbarous Blacks; a strange and unseen Sight to them, and not to be believ'd at their Return, if process of time had not made it familiar to them, by after Traffique to confirm their Report.

4. This Discovery gave the Light and Way to all others that ensu'd upon it, as shall appear; like an Art begun, that others take from one to another; but we must confess, the *Portugueses*, to their Honour, were the first Breakers of the Ice, to give passage to all other strange Countries; and as *Guinea* yielded a Complexion to their People, that differ'd from us, as much as

Black from White; so did *America*, which was not long after made known to us, produce a sort of People, differing from the *Europeans* in Whiteness, and the *Africans* in Blackness; but a Mean betwixt both, and a Colour like an Olive; which to as many as have seen it, seems strange, considering that *Guinea* and *America* lie East and West, all in one paralell; so that in reason there should be no such difference.

5. This change in Complexion, and the plentiful increase of Gold in those Climates, is attributed both to one Cause, which is the heat and operation of the Sun, and in my Opinion not improperly as may be gather'd out of the ensuing Reasons.

6. The Sun rising to the Eastward, betwixt the Two Tropicks, runs its course Westward, over *Asia* and *Africa*, till it come to the *Ocean Sea*, in which Circuit its extream heat ingenders the rich Metal of Gold and changes the Complexions of Creatures to a Black hue, which the Heat reflects from the Earth.

7. Coming to the Ocean aforesaid, it passes the distance of 8 or 900 Leagues over the Air of the Sea, and is cooled by it, as it was formerly heated by the Land; that by the time it draws near the Continent of *America*, it has lost great part of its Vigor and Force, and not able to produce that Effect, as in *Africa*; and therefore is not able as it were to mellow the Earth, and make it become Gold, as after it does when it has run its course, the breadth of *America*; where its heat again ripens that Matter and Substance of Gold: For we see by Experience, that the greatest quantity

tity of Gold is sent out of *Peru* into *Spain*, it being the Westermost Part of *America*; when to the Eastward most part thereof, as *Guiana* and other places nearest us, never afford Gold, and this for the Reasons aforesaid, as I conceive.

8. But to return to the Discovery of the *East-Indies*, I will recite some particular Blessings and Benefits, that God hath poured upon the World in general; upon *Europe* in particular, and upon the *Portugal* Nation especially; for as they were the first Discoverers, to their Immortal Honour, so all Attempts by other Nations, in other Countries, must be attributed to them, as a People that trod out the first Path for others to walk in, as I will shew by Reason hereafter in this Book, when I come to Treat of it.

9. This Eastern Discovery has Resolv'd one Doubt that no Ecclesiastical or Modern History could do before, which was the Life and Martyrdom of that Holy Apostle *St. Thomas*, as the Monuments there make it manifest; and as a Remnant of some Christians in those desolate places, gave an infallible Testimony.

10. And whereas in continuance of Time, many Errors were crept in amongst those silly Christians, inclining to the *Greek* Church; yet by the Pains, Travel and danger of Life, the *Portuguese* have brought them to the light of the Truth, and have since encreas'd the Flock so abundantly, that the Name and true Worship of Christ is propagated in the uttermost parts of the World; yea, as far as *Cbina* and *Japan*.

11. By the Eastern Discovery the length of *Africk* is butted out as far to the Southward, as the *Cape of Good Hope*; and from thence to the Eastward as far as the *Cape of Guarda Fu*; in which Course we have found the *Red Sea* to fall into the Eastern Ocean, which before was not known to us in *Europe*.

12. By the Eastern Discovery, and our Access to *China*, we have found out that Guns, Powder and Printing, were in use with them many hundreds of Years before they were known to us Western People; we may likewise add many other curious Works, which to this day we cannot equal or imitate them in.

13. By this Discovery we have prov'd that Opinion of the Philosophers, and other Learned Writers, who maintain'd the impossibility of inhabiting under the *Torrid Zone*, for the excessive Heat, which our daily Voyages beyond the Line have made familiar with us.

14. By this Discovery we have Authentically proved by Fact, Antipodes, a

thing before held ridiculous by many (*viz.*) that one Peoples Feet are opposite to anothers, which till *Magellan* Sail'd round the World, could not be made plain.

15. By this Discovery we found the Two Poles equal in their Nature; and that the same Effect the North Star produces unto us on this side the Line, the South does the like on the other side; but with this difference, that when it is Summer with them, it is Winter with us; and when it is Summer with us it is Winter with them.

16. By this Discovery we have found the strangeness of Winds, to blow contrary to our Climate, and should not have believ'd it, if Experience had not shew'd it; as namely, the certain constancy of a Wind to blow from the *Canaries* to the *West-Indies*, betwixt the North and the East, and never to change; and then again, from the Coast of *Brazill*, towards the *East-Indies*, as far as *Cbina*, we find a limited Wind, certain in some places for Three Months, and in others for Six; the Day of their Entrance and Change being known to all People: And these are called the *Monsons*; but from whence the name is derived, whether before the *Christians* Access into those parts, I cannot find.

17. By this Discovery we have found out strange and unheard of Fishes; amongst the rest, and of most wonder, is the *Remora*, whose nature is to stop the way of a Ship, and to bring her A-Stern, tho' the Wind be strong and large to carry her forward.

18. This Fish has been heretofore writ of, and look'd upon as a Poetical Fiction, till a Voyage in a Carrack to the *East-Indies*, put all Men to silence; for the Beak Head of that Ship was clasp'd about with a *Remora*, to the Fear and Wonder of the Mariners; for they found themselves by the height, to be 100 Leagues A-Stern of their ordinary course; and at last finding the Cause with Labour and Pains, they got this Monster unglu'd; and at last the Carrack arriv'd at the Port of *Goa*, where for the memorableness and strangeness of it, this Ship, her Captain, the Day it happen'd, and her arrival is publickly Pictur'd, and to be seen to this day.

19. By this Discovery we are come to the knowledge of many Islands and Rocks, not known before; and some of them not above a Quarter of a Mile in compass; as namely *La Peana de St. Pedro*, in Four Degrees to the Northward of the Line; all

all White, and like a Sugarloaf. The Island of *St. Helena*, Two Miles in compass, Healthfully seated, that yields plenty of Water, Fish, Goats and Fruits, as well to us in our Navigations from the *East-Indies*, as to the *Portugueses* in times past. The Island of *Ascension*, wholly barren, not affording so much as Water. But the strangeness of these Rocks and Islands, is, That they are plac'd in the midst of the Ocean; the nearest of them not being within 1300 Miles of any main Continent.

20. We are come to know the Goodness and Operation of the Bezoard Stone, and of the Beast it self that yields it. The Cocoa of *Maldivia*, and the strange growth of it, upon Trees 5 or 6 Fathom deep in the Sea; the Vertue whereof far exceeds the Bezoard Stone.

21. By this Discovery we have learnt many means for Health, by Druggs, and choice things of Nature for Man's Body; the place of their growth, and the strangeness of them. We know the Abada or Rhinoceros, a Beast that has a Horn in its Forehead, and is thought to be the Unicorn; but it is not so, tho' it had the same Vertue, for Unicorn there is none.

22. By this Discovery, we are now serv'd with our Spices, Drugs, Precious Stones, and all other *India* Commodities, immediately from thence, by the Shipping of *Europe*, which was wont to be receiv'd by the way of *Turkey*, at unreasonable Prices, and at the Will of the *Turk*.

23. By this Discovery the *Portugueses* have brought in, and settled the *Portuguese* Language, which is now grown familiar and frequent in those parts of the World; they have built many Famous Cities and Towns; erected Bishopricks, Churches and Monasteries; they have establish'd Temporal and Spiritual Laws, and the same Form of Government they enjoy and live under in their own Country.

24. By this Discovery, they have found many strange Kings, who Govern their People with much Civility, their Towns and Cities anciently built, their Pallaces of great Majesty and Pomp, and all things else answerable to their excellent Policy, Rule and Government.

The Names of the Towns the Portugueses have in the East-Indies; with their Form of Government.

<i>Soffala.</i>	<i>Daman.</i>
The Island of <i>Mo.</i>	<i>Boçain.</i>
<i>Sambyque.</i>	<i>Chaul.</i>
The Island of <i>Ormuz.</i>	<i>Goa.</i>
<i>Diu.</i>	<i>Onor.</i>

<i>Barçalor.</i>	<i>Negapatam.</i>
<i>Mangalor.</i>	<i>St. Thomas.</i>
<i>Cananor.</i>	<i>Molacca.</i>
<i>Cranganor.</i>	<i>Molucco's Islands.</i>
<i>Cochim.</i>	<i>Ternate.</i>
<i>Cortlan.</i>	<i>Tydore.</i>
<i>Columbo in the Island</i>	<i>Banda.</i>
<i>of Ceylon.</i>	<i>Boyna.</i>

Goa is the Metropolitan City of all the *East-Indies*; lies in the Kingdom of *Decan*, and is an Island 20 or 30 Miles in compass, both pleasant and fruitful: The Vice-Roy resides in this Town, as does the Metropolitan Bishop of the whole *Indies*.

The Carracks arrive from *Portugal* in this Port of *Goa*, unless they be forc'd about the Island of *St. Laurence*, which if they be, they can fetch no Harbour nearer than *Cochin*, which is the place the Carracks use to take in their Lading in their return to *Portugal*.

The Winter in *Goa* begins the 15th. of *May*, with very much Rain, and so continues till the 15th. of *August*; and during that space no Ship can pass over the Bar of *Goa*, because the continual Showers of Rain drive all the Sands together near a Mountain call'd *Oghana*; whence they spread themselves over the Shoals of the Barr, and into the Port of *Goa*, whence they can find no way out, but continue there till the 10th. of *August*, when the Rain ceases, and the Sea drives the Sands away again.

How a new Viceroy is Declar'd, in case the old one dies, and of the several Titles given to Persons serving in the East-Indies.

If a Viceroy die in the *East-Indies*, there are always Five *Via's*, as they call them, which are Letters under the King's Seal, Figur'd 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. which they open according to their Figures, beginning with Number 1, and so on, in case those nam'd in the first be dead, till they light of one whom the King has appointed Viceroy, These Letters are kept by the Jesuits, and open'd at Mass, in the presence of all the Nobility and others, with great Solemnity and State.

Fidalgo da casa del Roy nosso senbor; This is a Gentleman of the King's House, and the chief Title.

Moscos Fidalgos; an Honourable Title, and are commonly Gentlemens Sons, or advanc'd by the King's Favour.

Cavalleiros Fidalgos; This is a Title of a Knight, and much abus'd by base People that are made so.

Masos de Camara; These are the King's Servants, some of his Chamber, some of his Accounts, and some for other Service, and this is the first degree of Credit; and as they deserve, so they are advanc'd to better.

Esfudeiros Fidalgos; These are Esquires.

Homes Honrados; This is the meanest Rank amongst them; every Man that serves the King in the *Indies*, is paid according to those Titles; and when they return with their Certificates into *Portugal*, under the Hand of the Vic-roy and *Matri-cola-General*, the King prefers them according to their Titles and Places

For several Countries from whence East-India Commodities are brought.

Cloves from the *Molucco-Island*; Mace and Nutmegs from *Banda, Java and Malacca*; Pepper from *Malabar*; Cinamon from *Ceylon*; Pearls taken at a place call'd *Baharem* in the *Persian Gulph*, in *June, July, August and September*; Sandel from *Cochin and Malacca*; all *China* Commodities from thence, as Quick-silver, white Suckett, Camplir, Lignum Alloes, *China* Roots, fine Silk and Lattin; Galls from *Cambaya, Bengala and Siria*; Ginger from *Cambaya*, and many other parts: Wax and long Pepper from *Bengala*; Musk from *Tartary* by the way of *China*; Coco de *Maldivia* from the Shores of *Maldivia*; Indico from *Zindi and Cambaya*; Long Pepper from *Bengala and Malacca*; Opium from *Pegu and Cambaya*; Alloes Soccatrina from the Island of *Soccatora*, where *St. Thomas* was Shipwrack'd; Manna and Wormseed from *Persia*; Rubarb from *Persia*, and *China*; Callicoe from *Callicut*.

Some particulars of the Carracks Navigation to the East Indies.

Every Man that goes, puts in Security to perform the Voyage; and if he goes not, pays dearly for it.

The Master and Pilot have for their Pay Outward and Homeward, 75 £ . each, but the room allow'd them to carry Commodities, they commonly Let out for 5000 Ducats; no Officer that goes, but buys his Place of the Provisor.

The Boatwain has for his Wages 125 Ducats, and 3000 Ducats Freight; the Quartermaster has for his Wages 17 s. 6 d. per Month, and 2600 Ducats Freight; and every other Officer according to his Rate and Proportion. The Factors and the Purfers have no Pay, only their Cabins allow'd, which will Stow 20 Pipes of Wine apiece, and a Cabin aloft to lye in.

There is no difference in their Allowance of Victuals, every Man has 32 pound

of Flesh a Month, Onions, Garlick, dried Fish eaten at the beginning of the Voyage. Sugar, Raisons, Honey, Prunes, Rice, and such things are kept for Sick Men.

Every Man makes his own Provision to Dress his Meat, as Wood, Pans, Pots, &c.

There are Officers for the King that give the same Allowance to the Soldiers; for the Soldiers and Sailors are serv'd apart.

In their Return the King pays no Soldiers; and such Soldiers as come home are Passengers, and have no Allowance, either of Meat or Wages.

The Sailors in their Return have no Allowance of Meat, only Bread and Water, till they come to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and then they make Provision themselves; they are only allow'd the Stowage of their Chest below, which if they will Sell, they may have 80 Ducats for it.

No Soldier that comes home, as aforesaid, can depart the *Indies* without a Pass from the Viceroy, and they must serve there Five years before they can have it.

In Sailing to the *Indies*, sometimes they keep too much to the Coast of *Brazill*, and are forc'd home again, because they cannot double the Shores of *Abrolhos*.

The Ship that goes from *Mosambique* to *Goa*, no Man can adventure in, but the Captain of *Mosambique*, and such Persons as are Marry'd in the Town; for none but Marry'd Men are suffer'd to live there, because of Peopling the Place, which is very unwholsome, and infectious.

The Government of *Mosambique* is worth to the Captain for his Three Years, 300000 Duckets; but after his Three Years, he is bound to Serve at the Command of the Viceroy Three Years more, unless he have a special Patent from the King to the contrary.

The brave Exploits of the Portugueses at Adem and other Places.

The great Success of the Portugueses purchas'd them both Fame and Envy, as well from Christian Princes as Turks; and *Soliman the Magnificent* in the Year 1537. attempted by his Bassa *Soliman* in *Egypt*, a Voyage against the Portugueses at *Adem*, upon the mouth of the *Red Sea*.

He furnish'd himself with 80 brave Ships, 25 Foists, 4 Galeasses, 20 Gallies, and 7 other Vessels; all which he carried from *Cairo* to *Suze* in pieces, being 80 Miles by Land.

With these Forces he resolutely Besieg'd *Adem*, which was defended by greater Valour by the Portugueses and their Governor *Francisco de Almada*

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The *Turks* were forc'd to retire with great shame; carrying some few *Portugueses* they had taken Prisoners to *Constantinople*, and committing most barbarous Cruelty upon them.

Don *Alonso de Albuquerque* with 30 Ships won *Calicut*: With 21 he took *Goa*: With 23 *Malaca*: With 26 he entred the *Red Sea*; With 22 he recover'd *Ormuz*:

Lopes made a Voyage into the *Red Sea* with 37 Gallies: *Lopes de Sequeira* with 24 Ships laid Siege to *Guida*.

Henry de Meneses waisted *Paitan* with 50 Ships: *Lopes Vas* left in the Arsenal 136 Ships of War, very well furnish'd: *Nuno d'Acuna* undertook the Expedition to *Diu* with 36 Ships.

The Famous Exploit of Ferdinand Magallaens, who first Sail'd round the World.

THE Honourable Exploits and Enterprizes of the *Portuguese* Nation ceased not, but still one or other of them was in Action, and would not be satisfy'd till they had brought to light the Western parts of the World, as by their Endeavour and Labours they had done the Eastern; for it seems they had an Opinion of the World's Roundness, and that by a Ship Sailing Westward, and another Eastward, they might meet together by consent, if the Western Sea could be discover'd.

The Man that first undertook to resolve this Doubt, was *Ferdinand Magallaens*, a *Portuguese* by Nation, and a Gentleman by Birth, who having liv'd Seven Years in the *East-Indies*, and pondering with himself, that the World was round, thought there might be another way to the *Molucco Islands*, besides the common known Course by the *Cape of Good Hope*; and was the more embold'ned to it by a Kinsman of his own, *Juan Serrano*, who dwelt in the *Molucco's*.

Upon his return to *Portugal*, what the occasion was, is unknown; but he and another Gentleman, call'd *Rui Falero*, left the Service of their King in 1516. and offer'd it to Cardinal *Ximenes*, then Archbishop of *Toledo*, and Governor of Spain upon the death of King *Ferdinando*.

Don *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* hearing of the flight of these Two Servants of his, sent to exostulate their Departure; accusing them as Fugitives, and his Subjects, and unfit for any Prince to entertain, and sought to divert their Proposition of a new Discovery, but could not prevail with the Cardinal.

Rui Falero was so highly concern'd for leaving the King's Service, and the Dishonour that would Redound to him by it, that for very Grief he run Mad, and Dy'd. But *Magallaens* being Honour'd with the Order of Knighthood of *St. James*, proceeded upon his Voyage, and set Sail the 20th of September from *St. Lucar*, and in the Year 1519. he arriv'd at *Teneriff*, one of the *Canary Islands*, on the 26th of the same year.

Then coming into 22 Degrees, on the Coast of *Brazill* he found a Harbour, and call'd it the River of *Serrano*, after the name of his Pilot; from thence he went to Port *St. Julian*, where he Winter'd, and there his Death was conspir'd by some Captains, and others of his company, who were executed for it in the said Port of *St. Julian*.

Mr. *Douty*, that conspir'd the death of Sir *Francis Drake* (as Sir *Francis* seem'd to pretend) was there executed; and in this Island they found a part of the *Magallaens* Gallows, on which his Men were hang'd; from hence *Magallbaen* came to the River of *Santa Cruz*, where one of his Ships was lost, but the Men sav'd. Sailing 30 Leagues further, he came to a Cape, which he call'd by the name of *Ursula*, because it was upon *St. Ursula's* Day he there entred the *Streights*, and one of his Ships forsook him, and return'd home, whereof *Stephen Gomes* was Pilot.

He found the *Streights* 130 Leagues in length, and 2 in breadth, the Shore deep, and Land full of Snow, tho' it lay but in 52 Degrees; the Point from whence she discover'd the South Sea, he call'd *Cape Descado*, and plac'd a Cross on it, as a Token for his Ship, which he did not think was returned; now did he conjecture the *Moluccos* were not far from him, but therein he was deceiv'd.

From the *Streights* he Sail'd Three Months and never saw Land, and was put to wonderful Extremity for want of Victuals, and many of his Men dyd with Hunger. The First Island he fell in withal, he found uninhabited; and being 200 Leagues one from another, he call'd them *Unfortunate Islands*; then came he to other Islands which he called *Ladrones*, because they were all Thieves and like Gipsies.

The 18th. of March 1521. he Landed upon an Island call'd *Zamal*, 30 Leagues from the *Ladrones*, uninhabited; yet he staid there to refresh his Men upon it; and after arriv'd at an Island, call'd *Zaluan*,

loan, where he found Civil Usage; and so many Islands there together, that they call'd the Sea *Archipelago de Lazaro*.

He pass'd by the Islands *Cenalo*, *Huynan*, and many others, till he came to the Island of *Botman*, where he was civilly Entertain'd, and at *Catagan*.

He went, by the help of Pilots from one Island to another, till he came to *Cebu*, which is the best Island of the rest. The 7th. of *April*, he sent to visit the King of *Cebu*, who us'd him courteously; and here he met with some *Moors*, who told the King of their Countrymen the *Portugueses* being at *Malaca*, and in the *Indies*; the King of *Cebu*, with his Queen, and all the whole Island was Baptiz'd, the King call'd *Charles*, after the Emperor, his Son *Ferdinand* after his Brother; and here they destroy'd all their Idols.

Not far from *Cebu* there is another Island call'd *Matan*, where the King refus'd to pay Tribute to *Magellan* in the Emperor's behalf; whereupon he made War with him, and was unfortunately slain, with eight of his company, which in my Opinion was great Folly in *Magellan* to adventure his Life against a People and Island, that never Christian was likely to come to more.

After his Death his Company chose *John Serano* and *Barbosa*, *Portugueses*, for their Commanders: *Serano* was after betray'd by his Interpreter, and himself and 30 of his Men slain, and as many taken prisoners: Upon this Disaster the King of *Cebu* Renounc'd his Religion, beat down the Churches and Crosses, and return'd to his Ancient Idolatry; Eight of the Thirty that were taken prisoners were Sold into *China*; and within few days after *Magellan's* Death, they had news of the *Molucco-Islands*. Going from *Matan* they found an Island call'd *Bobolli*, where they burnt one of their three Ships to furnish the other two.

They came to the Island call'd *Ponay-otton*, the People being most black; from thence they went to *Chippit*, to *Cagayan*, and to *Pulon*; to the Island of *Barneo*, where the King entertain'd them with great Magnificence.

They arriv'd at the Island *Ciumbabon*, where they staid 40 Days to trim their Ships, to take in Water, Wood, and other necessaries: Some of the Men by this time were altogether without Cloaths, and there they found Leaves, which when they fell from the Trees, would move and stir as tho' they were alive; and being cut, Blood would come out of them.

In Sailing to *Tugimner* and *Solo*, they

passed the Sea of *Weeds*, and in those Islands found great Pearls; and then they went to the Island of *Baytan* and *Callagan*, where they took a Canoe, that inform'd them of the *Molucco-Islands*, and passing by many other Islands, on the 8th. of *November* 1581. they arriv'd at the *Molucco's*, and the Island of *Tydore*, where they were Honourably Entertain'd by the King: he told them, he had seen in the Heavens certain Signs, that such Ships, and such Men as they were should come to that Island; and for the more Friendship with the Emperor, he would have his Island call'd no more *Tydore* but *Castille*; this King was a *Moor* by Religion.

The King of the Island of *Gilolo* was a *Pagan*, but came to them with great Friendship; both these Kings accompany'd them to the Island of *Marc*; and when they parted it was with Tears. From thence they came to the Islands of *Obacovan*, *Lagima*, *Sicho*, *Grocke*, *Cniphe*, *Cbulacco*, *Lumittola*, *Terenton*, *Ambison*, *Badia*, and many others, till they came to *Gallion* and *Moula*, where they staid 15 Days to mend their Ship.

They arrived from *Moula* to *Tymor* on the 15th. of *January* 1522. and here the Men Mutiny'd. In this Island they found great store of White Sanders, and in it the *French Pox* is very rife and common; and coming to *Tuida*, they had plenty of *Cinamon*; from hence they directed their course to the *Cape of Good Hope*, shunning the sight of the Island of *Sumatra*, or any other Land.

After many days Sailing with contrary Winds, at last they came to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and finding their Want and Extremity so great, many of them mov'd to return to *Mosambique*, and to submit themselves to the mercy of the *Portuguese*; but most Voices withstood it; tho' half the Men were dead.

After a long Navigation they came to the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, and set their Boat on Shore, where 14 of them were betray'd by the *Portuguese* of that Island; and *John Sebastian Cano*, then Captain, who had out-liv'd all the other Commanders, perceiving the Falshood of the *Portuguese*, he hoisted Sail, and directed his Course to *St. Lucar* in *Andaluzia*, where he arriv'd on the 6th of *September* 1522. with only 18 *Spaniards* of all those he carry'd with him, having been upon the Voyage Three Years wanting Fourteen Days, and celebrated Monday for Sunday (that is to say) one Days difference in computation.

The other Ship turn'd back, by reason of her weakness, towards *New Spain*; and being cross'd Five Months with contrary Winds, was forced back again to the *Molucco Islands*, where she met a Fleet of Five Ships of the King of Portugal's, Commanded by one *Brito*, who took both Ship and Goods, and sent the Men prisoners to *Malaca*; this afterwards bred great Contention between the two Kings of Spain and Portugal.

An Addition of the Authors, concerning this Voyage of Magellan.

This Voyage of *Magellan* decided a long and difficult Controversie amongst the Learned, as well Divines as others; some being of Opinion that the World was round, others not; and amongst the rest, that Famous Father of the Church, *St. Augustin* held that the World was not round, as is apparent by his Works.

But *Magellan's* Ship having Sail'd about it, as by his Voyage is manifest, has quash'd the erroneous Opinions of those that deny'd the roundness of it.

In my Opinion, if the World had been certainly known to be round, as no doubt but it was imagin'd by *Columbus*, it might be a great motive, and indeed an unanswerable Reason to animate and encourage him to the discovery of a new Land, after the open Sea of the *Cape of Good Hope* was known, and the *East-Indies* found out by the *Portugueses*.

For he could not be so ignorant, but understand, that by running a Westerly Course from the *Canary Islands*, if he were not interrupted by a Land, the Sea would conduct him to a Place discover'd by the *Portugueses* in the *East-Indies*; and then, if the worst befell him that could, yet he should be able to shake Hands with the *Portugueses* his Neighbours in the most remote Regions of the World.

A difference betwixt the Spaniards and the Portugueses about the East-Indies.

The *Streights* being newly discover'd, which took the name of *Magellan*, and gave an entrance in the *South Sea*, and by consequence unto the *Molucco Islands*, added Fuel to the Fire before kindled between *Charles* the 1st. Emperor and King of Spain, and *Don John* the 2d. of Portugal, about the Right of those Islands, to whom they should belong, upon the division of the new World.

This bred a long Question between the two Princes, till it was accommodated, as shall appear in my Discourse of the Northern Passage.

As all good Successes encourage Men to follow the steps of the Treaders out of the way; even so did this Discovery the more animate them, because it brought with it both Honour and Profit, not only by the places Discover'd, but by the known Wealth they yielded; and out of hope that other Enterprizes might prove as Famous and Commodious, the *Spaniards* neglected no occasion to second this late Discovery; and therefore in the year 1525. this Tract and Passage was attempted by *Gracia de Loaiza* a Knight of *Malta* with 7 Ships and 450 Men.

He departed from the *Groyn* with unfortunate Success, himself pass'd the *Streights*, but Dy'd in the Voyage; some of his Ships were lost, others put into *New Spain*, his own Ship arriv'd at the Island of *Tydor* in the *Molucco's*; another came to the Island of *Bachian*, where the King thereof Entred his Ship under colour of Friendship, slew the Captain, his Brother, and took all the Men Prisoners: Another was lost in *Candiga*; and to conclude, they all fell into the hands of their Enemies, either *Portugueses* or Islanders.

Vargas Bishop of *Placentia* sent Seven Ships out of *Bilboa* to the *Molucco's*, only one of them pass'd the *Streights*, and arrived at *Arequipa*, a Port in the *Scuth Sea*, and went no further; this Ship was the first that Discover'd the lying of the Coast of *Peru*.

Notwithstanding the many Disgraces and Losses the *Spaniard* received by this new found *Streight*; yet it did nothing dishearten them; but they tried by all ways and means how they might have access to the *Molucco Islands*, by another way than by the *Cape of Good Hope*; and *Ferdinand Cortes* the Conqueror of *New Spain*, by Order of the Emperor, sent two Ships with 400 Men, in the Year 1528. the General *Alvaro Serou*, to seek the *Moluccos* from *New Spain*, which succeeded no better than the rest had done; neither was the *Streights* left off, but often attempted by these that follow.

The Second Enterprize after *Magellan*, was by two Ships of *Genoa*, which arriv'd at the Mouth of it, and one of them with a Storm was cast away at the River of *Plate*, the Captain call'd *Pancalon*; the other in 1526. return'd home.

Sebastian Cabot, a *Venetian*, would have pass'd the *Streights*, but could not; he return'd to the River of *Plate*, being then employ'd by *Don Emanuel* King of Portugal.

Americus Vesputius was sent likewise by *Don Emanuel*, to find the *Streights*, but neither

neither could find the *Streight*, nor yet the River of Plate.

Simon de Alcasara went with divers Ships and 440 Spaniards, but before they came to the *Streights*, they Mutiny'd, and 10 or 12 being slain, return'd.

From this Year, till the Year 1577. the attempt of the *Streights* lay dead, not any one seeking to Enterprize it, till Sir *Francis Drake* had it in agitation, and perform'd it with as great a Resolution, to the

general Honour of our Nation.

It was after this, and in the Year 1586. begun and perform'd by Mr. *Candish*. The time of his Departure from England, his Days of Sailing, the space he was abroad, and the time of his Return, shall appear in a brief Repetition I have made by way of Journal, with some Addition of Sir *Francis Drake* himself, which is the next that follows.

An Introduction to Sir Francis Drake's Voyage about the World.

I Have labour'd in all my Relations to walk uprightly, and with Integrity, neither swaying to the one hand, or bending to the other; I have endeavour'd to carry my Intentions so equally, as not to deserve Blame for too much commending, nor Reproof for detracting, more than Truth leads me; and as I have begun so Indifferently, so will I continue as sincerely, and say somewhat of this Noble Gentleman Sir *Francis Drake*, who is to enter into the next Rank of my Discourse.

There is no Man so perfect, but is fit to be amended, nor none so evil, but he has something in him to be prais'd: And comparing the Imperfections of Sir *Francis Drake*, with his Perfections; the World and not I shall truly judge of his Merits.

His Detractors lay to his Charge the baseness of his Birth and Education, his Ostentation, and Vain-glorious Boasting; his High, Haughty and Insolent Carriage; and except against his sufficiency for a General, tho' they allow him to be an able Captain.

His Friends and Favourers answer in his behalf, That the Meanness of his Birth was an Argument of his Worth; for what he attain'd to was by no other means than Merit: They say, that every Man is Son to his Works, and what one has by his Ancestors can scarcely be called his own; That Vertue is the Cause of Preferment, and Honour but the Effect; That a Man is more to be esteem'd for being Virtuous, than being call'd Worshipful; the one is a Title of Honour, the other of Desert.

Marius being upbraided by *Sylla* in the like manner, for the Baseness of his Birth, and Haughtiness of Courage, answer'd, That he was not of so great a Family as *Sylla*, yet *Sylla* could not deny but that he was the better Man; for in *Sylla's* House were Painted the Acts of his Forefathers; but in his were hung up the Banners that he himself had won from his Enemy.

In vindication of Sir *Francis Drake's* Ostentation and Vain Glory, they say it was not inherent to him alone, but to most Men of his Profession and Rank: It is true, he would speak much and Arrogantly, but Eloquently, which bred a wonder in many, that his Education could yield him those helps of Nature. Indeed he had four Properties to further his Gift of Speaking (*viz.*) His Boldness of Speech; his Understanding in what he spoke; his Inclination to Speak; and his use in Speaking; and tho' Vain Glory is a Vice not to be excus'd, yet he obtain'd that Fame by his Actions, that Facility in speaking, and that Wisdom by his Experience, that I can say no more, but that we are all the Children of Adam.

His Friends further say, That his haughty and high Carriage is somewhat excusable, when it appears not but in his Command; for a General ought to be Stern towards his Soldiers, Courageous in his Person, Valiant in Fight, Generous in Giving, Patient in Suffering, and Merciful in Pardoning: And if Sir *Francis Drake* was to be prais'd for most of these Vertues, let him not be blam'd or condemn'd for one only Vice. Many times where a Man seeks Obedience, it is imputed to his Pride and high Carriage; but if Peoples Hate grew upon Envy, (as it is likely) it appear'd greater than if it had been grounded upon Injury.

The Exceptions against him by those that Condemn him as an ill General, are his neglect of furnishing his Fleet to the *Indies* in 85. His not keeping *Sancto Domingo*, and *Carthagena* when he was possess'd of them in that Voyage; his weak Preparation for such an Expedition as that of *Portugal*; his Promise to go up to *Lisbon* that Voyage, and non-performance; the taking of the Pinnace in his way to the *Indies*, which discover'd his Directions in 95. All these I formerly handled, and

refer

refer the Reader to the Place where they treated of; tho' something I will say of him as he was a private Captain, and especially of his renown'd Voyage about the World, being the first Attempt of that nature that ever was perform'd by any Nation, except the *Spaniards* themselves: And it was the more Honour to him, in that the *Streights of Magellan* were counted so terrible in those days, that the very thoughts of attempting it were dreadful; Secondly, in that it had been but once pass'd, and but by one Ship that ever return'd into *Europe*, and that above 69 Years before his Enterprize. His Praise was, That he could carry a voluntary Action so discreetly, so patiently, and so resolutely, in so tedious and unknown a Navigation, the condition of Seamen being apt to repine, and murmur. But lastly, and principally, that after so many Miseries and Extremities he endur'd, and almost two Years spent in unpractis'd Seas, when reason would have bid him sought home for his Rest, he left his known Course, and ventur'd upon an unknown Sea in 48 Degrees, which Sea or Passage we know had been often attempted by our Seas, but never discover'd.

This Attempt alone must silence all his Detractors; for it shew'd an extraordinary Resolution in his Person, a special De-

fire to enrich and benefit his Country, and a singular Patience to endure the Disasters and Mishaps that befell them.

And yet he must not go so clear without Stain or Blemish: For you must know, that tho' he deserv'd well in the Direction and Carriage of his Journey, yet the Ground of his Enterprize was Unjust, Wicked, and Unlawful; his Design being to steal and thereby to disturb the Peace of Princes, to rob the poor Traveller, to shed the Blood of the Innocent, and to make Wives Widows, and Children fatherless.

No Man had more Experience of the Inconstancy of Fortune than he, for the nature of Fortune is to bite when she flatters, and to strike when she is angry.

What his Birth and other Deserts were, needs no Reiteration. Fortune did much for him, but at his Death she was angry with him: First, in that there was a Doubt whether it was Natural: Secondly, and the best his Friends can say, That it was caus'd by Grief, for failing of his Expectation in that Voyage: Thirdly, after his Meritorious Services, his Heir was prosecuted and perplex'd for Debts and Accounts to the Crown: And lastly, dy'd like *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, without a Child to succeed him, and perpetuate his Memory.

Sir Francis Drake's Voyage round the World.

Sir Francis Drake departed from *Plimouth* with 5 Ships and a Pinnace on the 13th of *December*, 1577. The 25th he fell in with the Coast of *Barbary*; the 29th of *December* with the Isle of *Mayo* and *Cape Verd*; the 13th of *March* he pass'd the Equinoctian Line; the 5th of *April* he fell in with *Brazil*, and in 30 Degrees, and so to the River of *Plate*, where he lost the Company of two of his Ships, but meeting them again, took out their Provisions and cast them off.

The 29th of *May* they came to *St. Julian's Port*, where the People were extraordinary tall of Stature, and *Magellan* term'd them Giants; this was the Place where Mr. *Doury* was executed the 7th of *July*, 1578. and in the same Island where *Magellan* executed his Mutiniers, as I have shew'd before.

The 20th of *August* he fell in with the *Streights of Magellan*; the 25th of *September* he pass'd them; the 25th of *November* he came to *Macho*, a Port in *Peru*, in 30 Degrees, where he had appointed a Meeting if the Ships had lost Company, but

Captain *Winter* was return'd home after he had pass'd the *Streights*. The 25th of *December* he came to *St. Jacob*; the 29th to *Cippo*, where the *Spaniards* arm'd 300 Men against them.

In *February* he arriv'd in *Chile*; the 15th at *Lima*; the 16th of *March* at *Acaulco*, where he felt a terrible Earthquake in his Ship. From the 16th of *April* till the 5th of *June*, he sail'd without seeing Land, and arriv'd in 48 Degrees, thinking to find a Passage into our Seas, which Land he nam'd *Albion*; the People were courteous, and took his Men for Gods; they live in great extremity of Cold and Want: Here they trim'd their Ship, and departed the 25th of *July*, 1579. standing his Course for the *Molucco's*.

The 29th of *September* he fell in with certain Islands, where he met with the worst-condition'd People of all his Voyage; the 19th of *October* he came to *Mindana*, where he Water'd; then to the Islands *Tagolada* and *Saron* the first of *November*; the 4th he had sight of the *Molucco's*, and coming to *Ternate*, was kindly
and

and civilly us'd by the King : The 10th of *December* to *Celebes*, and here his Ship struck upon a Rock, but was most miraculously preserv'd; he came near to *Beratin*, where he was refresh'd, but found the People cruel. The 16th of *March* he came to *Java Major*, thinking to go from thence to *Malaca*, but Necessity forc'd him to direct his Course homeward. The 25th of *March*, 1580. he departed from *Java*. The 15th of *June* he pass'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, having 57 Men, and but three

Buts of Water. The 12th of *July* he came under the Line; the 16th he fell in with the Coast of *Guinea*, and there Water'd; the 22d of *August* into the height of the *Canaries*; the 17th of *September* into the height of *Tercera*; the 24th in sight of *Silly*; the 25th to *Plimouth*, where we was well welcom'd, and his Ship afterwards carri'd to *Depiford*, where she lies to this day for a Monument, and himself Knighted in her, as he worthily deserv'd.

A Short Account of Mr. Cavendish's Voyage round the World in the Year 1586.

THIS Voyage into the South Sea was often attempted by sundry English Men after Sir Francis Drake had led the way, but never any of them had the Fortune or Happiness to perform it, but only Mr. Cavendish, whose Voyages I briefly Treat of next.

Mr. Cavendish having spent his best Means at Court, thought to recover himself again by a Voyage into the South Sea, for then the Wars with Spain began, and it was lawful to make any Spoil upon the Spaniards: According to his hope, he enrich'd himself with a greater Fortune than was left him at first, if Discretion had taught him how to manage it.

He built two Ships from the Stocks for this Voyage, and departed from *Plimouth* on the 21st of *July*, 1586. the 5th of *August* he fell into the *Canaries*; the 27th of *September* he departed from *Sera Leona* in *Guinea*; the 25th of *October* he fell in with the Coast of *Brazil*; the 6th of *January* he put into the *Streights* of *Magellan*, where he found but 22 Spaniards alive of 300, which *Diego Flores de Valdes* left there in his unfortunate Voyage he undertook to intercept the English in their Passage that way.

The 27th of *February* they were out of the *Streights*; the 14th of *March* came to the Island of *St. Maria* and *Chile*, after to *Marmorano*, and the Town of *Irica*; the 4th of *May*, 1587. he came to *Pisra*, from thence to *Cheripa*, to *Paica*, and to the Island of *Puna*.

The 12th of *July* he pass'd the *Equinoctial*; the 28th he came to *Acapuleo*, which he burnt; the 13th of *August* to the Port of *Navidad*, and then to *St. Jago*; the 3d of *September* to the Bay of *Compostella*, the 12th to the Island of *St. Andrew*; the 26th to the Bay of *Massedan*, and so to the Port of *Aquacara*, near the Cape of

California, where he lay till the 4th of *November*, and took his great and rich Prize that came from the *Philippine* Islands.

In 44 days he went to the Islands of *Ladrones*, being nigh 2000 Leagues from thence; the Island he fell in withal was call'd *Guana*: The 14th of *January* to the *Philippines*, he fell in with *Tandaya*, then to *Manila*, and so to the *Molucco's*; he pass'd by the Islands of *Mindanao*, *Sibolla*, and *Borneo*; the 28th to *Java Major*; the 29th of *May* he fell in with the Cape of *Good Hope*; the 7th of *June* with the Island of *St. Hellena*; the 4th of *July*, 1588. he pass'd the Line, being the 4th time he had pass'd it.

The 24th of *August* he saw *Flores* and *Corvo*; the 3d of *September* he met a *Flemish* Hulk, that told him the good Success of our Navy against the Spaniards in 1588. the 5th he met with Captain *Clarke* of *Southampton*, who had taken a *Brazil* Man, and entering into our Chanel, he was in a more violent Storm and imminent Danger than in his whole Voyage, as he told me himself; the 9th he came with great Joy to *Plimouth*, and was receiv'd with much Applause for his honourable Enterprize, as he well deserv'd.

As there were divers English Men that attempted this Voyage to the South Sea, and only two perform'd it, as you have heard; so there were two others that pass'd the *Streights*, but not with the like Success, (*viz.*) Sir *Richard Hawkins* in 1593. who found the Spaniards better provided than when *Drake* and *Cavendish* were there; the Spaniards having Intelligence of his coming, after a long and cruel Fight, took and carri'd him and his Ship to *Lyma*, where he remain'd Prisoner till 1597. and was then brought for Spain, in that Fleet I met and fought at the *Tercera* Islands.

The

The other that pass'd the *Streights* was Mr. *John Davies*, the Discoverer to the North-West, who being Captain of the *Desire* with Mr. *Cavendish* in his Second Voyage, and the same Ship he had perform'd his Voyage about the World in, repass'd the *Streights* when Mr. *Cavendish* could not, but by contrary Winds and foul Weather was forc'd to return back again.

Captain *Davies* was after slain in his Second Voyage to the *East-Indies*. These two Voyages of *Drake* and *Cavendish* prov'd so happy, that they encourag'd not only *English* Men, but *Hollanders* to Enterprize it, hoping to annoy the *Spaniards*, those *Streights* giving a Passage to *Peru*, which afforded the greatest Wealth in the World.

Of such English Men as attempted the Passage of the Streights, and fail'd.

IN the year 1582. and two years after *Drake's* return, Her Majesty sent two Ships and two Pinaces, under the Command of Mr. *Edward Fenton*, to try his Fortune in the South Sea; which the King of *Spain* hearing, he employ'd *Diego Flores de Valdes*, (who was after General of the *Castile* Squadron for *England* in 1588.) to way lay *Fenton* as he pass'd the *Streights* of *Magellan*: Which Mr. *Fenton* being inform'd of when he arriv'd at *Brazil*, and in the same Port where two of *Flores* his Ships had stay'd, and with whom he had a small Encounter, and perceiving it was in vain to proceed any farther, he return'd home without seeing the *Streights*.

1582. This Voyage of *Flores*, from the beginning to the latter end, prov'd most miserable and unfortunate; for besides the loss of the greatest part of his Fleet and Men in going and coming, he built a Fort within the *Streights*, and plac'd in it for Governor *Pedro Sarmiento* with 500 *Spaniards*, who perish'd, as before I have express'd.

1586. The Earl of *Cumberland*, on the 26th of *June*, sent two Ships and two Pinnaces to pass the *Streights* in the year after the War broke out betwixt *England* and *Spain*. These Ships arriv'd in 44 Degrees upon the

Coast of *Brazil* to the Southward of *Line*, intending to prosecute their Design for the South Sea; but being in want of all things necessary for such a Voyage, they proceeded no farther.

Mr. *Chidley* being encourag'd by the good Success of Mr. *Cavendish*, who the 9th of *September* before arriv'd from his prosperous Voyage, sold the better part of his Estate to furnish him in this Expedition for the South Sea; but his Success prov'd most lamentable, himself and most of his Men dying without seeing the *Streights*, or returning a Penny Profit towards his Expende.

Mr. *Cavendish* having spent what he got in his former Voyage, attempted a Second, but with the like Success as Mr. *Chidley*, both as to Death, and failing of the sight of the *Streights*, except in his Ship the *Desire*, which I have spoken of.

Mr. *Benjamin Wood*, a Mariner by Profession, but more Understanding than ordinary Mariners, undertook this Voyage with one Ship and a Pinnace belonging to Sir *Robert Dudley*, but there was never any News of Ship or Man, being suppos'd to be cast away upon the Shoals of *Abrolhos*, which lie in 17 Degrees to the Southward upon the Coast of *Brazil*.

Of such Holland Ships as have pass'd the Streights, but to little Purpose or Profit.

1597. FIVE Ships went from *Holland*, and pass'd the *Streights* of *Magellan*, only one of them return'd by the Cape of Good Hope: In those Ships there went several *English* Men, and particularly one call'd Mr. *Adams* of *Lymebouse*. This Man afterwards arriv'd at the Island of *Japan*, where he was much esteem'd by the People of that Country, and found means from thence to give advertisement into

England of his being there, and the State of that Country, with desire that our Merchants would undertake the Trade of *Japan*: He was so industrious and careful to benefit his Country, that if he had liv'd, he intended to have attempted a Passage from thence to *England* by the North-East, which has been often enterpriz'd from hence, but still fail'd. But I do not approve of his Opinion herein, for that in

Win-

Winter the *Monsons* always blow Southerly, a Season of continual Night; and in Summer Northerly, full in their Teeth as they should pass.

1614. Five other Ships of *Holland* pass'd the *Streights*, only their Pinnace was cast away before she enter'd the *Streights*, which Ships and Captains I well knew.

1623. The *Nassaw* Fleet departed from *Holland* with the greatest Pride and Assurance of Profit that Men could do: They were term'd the *Nassaw* Fleet, because the Prince of *Orange* was the greatest Adventurer in them; they were furnish'd with an extraordinary Expence, and choice Men both of Soldiers and Sailors; but passing the *Streights*, and coming into the South Sea, they found the World much alter'd in those Parts since *Drake's* and *Cavendish's* being there, for wheresoever they offer'd to land, they were repuls'd with Loss and Shame; so that in conclusion, they could not perform so much with 14

or 15 choice and brave Ships, and 2 or 3000 Men, as Mr. *Cavendish* had done with one Ship alone of 120 Tunn and 30 Men, he having landed in several Places.

1615. *Cornelius van Scowton* discover'd a new Passage into the South Sea, 3 Degrees to the Southward of the *Streights* of *Magellan*, in which Voyage he arriv'd at many Islands, in his Course to the *East-Indies*, that were never discover'd or known before, where he found People of several Complexions; but none of those Places where he arriv'd gave any great hope or promise of Profit, if the Navigation thither had been easy.

This shall suffice touching Matters of the *East-Indies*, and the *Streights* of *Magellan*, until I have occasion hereafter to mention them: And another while I will direct my Course unto *America* and the *West-Indies*, which was discover'd within few Years after the *East*.

The Discovery of America by Columbus.

America was so call'd, after *Americus Vesputius* a Florentine; but in my opinion, there was least Reason to do him that Honour, of all those that took upon them to discover in his time. I could never hear of any thing he did of Fame, no not so much as the finding the River of *Plate*, when he went upon the Discovery of it.

No Man deserv'd to have that Country call'd after his Name, but *Columbus*, the first Discoverer of it, who was unworthily and unthankfully dealt withal by the *Spaniards* in *Hispaniola*, where he was Governor; for they sent him Prisoner into *Spain* in Chains: But King *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* his Wife are to be excus'd from any Hand in this unworthy Act; for they hearing of his Usage, caus'd him to be releas'd; and before this happen'd, they did him the greatest Honour that ever was done to Subjects, for they made him sit in their Presence.

The *Spaniards* cannot be excus'd for their Ingratitude to *Columbus* on another account; for they write, tho' few give Credit to their Relation, that a Pilot in a Carvel that was forc'd with an Easterly Wind upon the Coast of *America*, and return'd but with three Men alive, died in *Columbus's* House, from whom he had the Light of his Discovery.

But no Author either names the Pilot's or the Carvel's Name, or where he ar-

riv'd, or to what Province in *Spain* she belong'd; but confusedly one saith, she was a *Portuguese*, another a *Spaniard*, another a *Biscayner*, another that she belong'd to the Island of *Madera*, another to *Tercera*, and they differ as much in the Place where she arriv'd. This was foully done of the *Spaniards* to detract from *Columbus*, for no other reason but that he was a Stranger.

Christopher Colon or *Columbus*, as we call him, was born in *Genoua* in *Italy*, his Original a Mariner; afterwards he betook himself to make Sea-Cards, and had this Voyage in his Thoughts a long time, but was much troubled how to undertake it for want of Means; for he saw the King of *Portugal* busy in his Conquest of *Africk*, and in his Enterprize in the *East-Indies*; the King of *Spain* was as much taken up in his Wars of *Granada*: Whereupon he sent his Brother *Bartholomew Colon* to *Henry* the Seventh, King of *England*, who was both rich, and free from War, but the King gave little Credit to him; and indeed the three Kings did rather deride him, than accept of his Offers, looking upon him as a Cheat, and as an Impostor.

Columbus being at *Lisbon*, embark'd for *Palos de Moguer* in *Spain*, where he spake with one *Alonso Pinson*, a skilful Pilot, and a *Franciscan* Frier call'd *Perez Machina*, a learn'd Cosmographer: The Frier desir'd him to recommend his Design to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and the Duke of *Medina*

dina Celi, who had Ships at that time in *St. Mary Port*; but they rejected him as the Kings had done, and look'd upon his Proposal no better than a Dream. Then the Frier advis'd him to go to the King and Queen, who were at the Siege of *Granada*, and writ to another Frier in his behalf call'd *Ferdinand de Talavera*, the Queen's Confessor: He came to the Court in 1480. and deliver'd his Petition to the King and Queen; but being a poor Man, a Stranger, and evil Apparel'd, was scorn'd, only *Alphonso de Avila*, Contador Mayor, gave him his Diet. This Contador one day carri'd him to *Pedro Gonfales de Mendoza*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, who brought him to the King and Queen, and promis'd to furnish him for his Voyage when the War of *Granada* was at an end, which happen'd not long after; and because the King wanted Money, an Officer of his, call'd *Lewis de St. Angel*, lent him 16000 Ducats.

The Discovery of the *Indies*, and beating the *Moors* out of *Spain*, after they had been there 770 Years, fell out both in one Year.

Columbus was furnish'd with 3 Caravels and 120 Men at *Palos de Moguer*. *Martin Pinson* was Pilot of one, *Francis Pinson* of another, and *Detms Pinson* of the third, all three Brothers, and departed the 3d of *August*, 1492. They came to the Island of *Gomera*, one of the *Canaries*, where they refresh'd; from thence he sail'd 34 days West without seeing Land, insomuch that his Company murmur'd, and contriv'd his Death, but he satisfi'd them with good Words and Promises; at last he spy'd a thick Cloud, which prov'd Land, on the 11th of *October*, whereat they all rejoic'd, thank'd God, and kiss'd *Columbus* his Hands.

The first Land they fell in with, was call'd *Guinaya*, one of the Islands of *Lucayos*: From thence he went to *Hispaniola*, then call'd *Haitu*, where the Admiral's ship was lost, but all the Men and Furniture sav'd.

The *Indians* fled from them, all but one Woman, whom they took and cloath'd, and us'd courteously, and let her go again; which did so much embolden the *Indians*, that they resorted to the *Spaniards*, and help'd them to unlade their Ship that was lost, and do them other Services, and with the good Will of the King they built a Castle of Wood, and left 38 *Spaniards* at it under a Captain; and this was the

first Footing the *Spaniards* had in the *Indies*. *Columbus* took ten Parrots, some Turkies, and other Things the Land afforded, and return'd to *Palos* in *Spain* in 50 days.

The King and Queen were at *Barcelona* when *Columbus* arriv'd, whither he went with his *Indians* and other Rarities the 3d of *April*, a Year after he departed from thence.

At his coming to the King the *Indians* were baptiz'd, the King, Queen, and Prince being present, who were their God-fathers and Godmother: They caus'd *Columbus* to sit by them, which was never done to any Subject. They confirm'd the Privilege of the Tenth, and gave him the Title of Admiral of the *Indies*, and to his Brother *Bartholomew* that of *Adalantado*.

The Queen favour'd this Discovery more than the King, and would not for a while let any *Aragonians* go to the *Indies* without Licence. The King rewarded many of *Columbus's* Company; but the Mariner, who first discover'd the Land, not being recompens'd to his Content, fled into *Barbary*, where he turn'd Turk.

The *Indians* confess'd to *Columbus*, that there were many Prophecies amongst them, That they should be subdu'd with white Men with Beards, with Apparel on their Backs, with bright Swords that should cleave a Man in sunder, and should girt their Swords to their Sides.

Columbus in his second Voyage had 17 Ships and 1200 Men, Mares, Sheep, Cows, and Corn to sow. The first Land he fell in with was the Island of *Descada*, and coming to *Hispaniola* he found his 38 *Spaniards* slain, through their own Fault, for injuring the *Indians*: He built a Town, and in honour of the Queen call'd it *Isabella*. And now began the *Spaniards* and *Columbus* to disagree, as I have shew'd before.

What afterwards befel the *Spaniards* in their Discoveries, and Conquests of the *Indies*, has been sufficiently handled by several Authors.

I will only treat of the famous Exploits of *Francis Pizarro*, and *Ferdinando Cortes*; the one, Conqueror of the rich Countries and Mines of *Peru*; the other, of the famous Countries of *New Spain* and *Mexico*. Their Births, Originals, and Adventures, are such, and so strange, that former times cannot shew the like, and perhaps in future Ages they will scarce be believ'd.

Of the first Discovery of the South Sea by Vasco Nunez de Balboa, which was the first step to the Discovery and Conquest of Peru.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa, an Industrious Man, but in Disgrace with his King, undertook the Discovery of the South Sea, with but a few Spaniards, and performed it with prodigious Labour, Sufferings, and Danger from the Indians, with whom he often fought, but still came off Victorious. On the 25th of September 1513. from the top of a high Mountain he spy'd the Sea to the Southward of him, which so much rejoyc'd him and his Men, that it amaz'd the Indian King.

An Indian King on the South side Treated him with much Courtesie, carrying him in his Canoes to the Island of Pearls; and on this side Vasco built the Town of St. Michael, the first the Spaniards had there.

Vasco having discover'd the Sea and Coast, settling Friendship wheresoever he came, and gathering much Wealth, return'd to Darien, whence he first set out, and was receiv'd with much Joy and Triumph; thence he sent away a Messenger to give the King of Spain an account of his Success, who pardon'd his past Offences, and made him *Adelantado* of the South Sea.

Vasco Nunez de Balboa continuing at Darien, Pedrarias d'Avila arriv'd there, being sent from Spain to take upon him that Government, and receiv'd by Vasco with extraordinary Honour; but had Vasco's Messenger arriv'd in time, Vasco had been appointed Governor. Pedrarias carry'd 1500 Men, but he and they behaved themselves so cruelly in all parts, that they brought much Destruction upon the Spaniards.

Vasco and he fell out, but were reconcil'd by the Bishop, and Vasco Marry'd his Daughter. Vasco being upon the South Sea, the place of his Command, Pedrarias sent for and got false Witneses to accuse him, That he should say he would not Obey him, but would be upon his Guard with his 300 Men he had with him, if any body offer'd to wrong him: Upon this false Suggestion Pedrarias put him to death; at which the King of Spain was much offended, and Pedrarias gain'd the Ill Will of all Men; for Vasco was generally Belov'd and Respected, and the Sentence given against him was unjust, being procur'd by false Witneses, and out of a private Grudge.

The Actions of Francis Pizarro, Conqueror of Peru.

Before I speak of Francisco Pizarro, his Deeds and Exploits, I will set down his Birth and Education, that his Actions may seem the more strange and admirable: He was Bastard to Captain Pizarro, serving in Navarr, and was left an Infant at the Church Door, where no body would own or take compassion of him; till at last his Father for shame took him home, and brought him to do all kind of Drudgery; and one day sending him to keep his Hogs in the Field, he gave them a sort of Poison, which kll'd several of them. The Boy not daring to return home, ran away and went to Seville, and from thence shipped himself for the Indies, and by degrees came to be Ensign, and afterwards Captain.

Pizarro and Diego de Almagro being at Panama, were desirous, like other Undertakers, to try their Fortunes in Discoveries. Almagro being rich, drew to him one Ferdinand Luque, a Schoolmaster and Priest of that Town, who was likewise

Wealthy; and all three undertook a Discovery, with a Vow one to another, equally to divide the Profit that should accrue. It was determin'd amongst them, That Pizarro should undertake the Conquest; Almagro go and come with all necessities to relieve them; and Luque to make Provision for Supplies. This happen'd in the Year 1525.

The first Voyage that Pizarro made, was with one Ship, and 114 Men; he Sail'd 100 Leagues, and went ashore several times, where he found sharp Encounters, lost some of his Men, and was himself hurt in several places, which forc'd him to return to Chincama, not far from Panama; repenting of his Enterprize.

Almagro who staid behind Pizarro, to supply him, as you have heard, went after him with 70 Men, and came to the River of St. John, and finding no sign of Pizarro's being there, return'd; but at his going back he landed at some places where he found Pizarro had been, and where he was hurt.

Almagro

Almagro slew and hurt several Men, and return'd to *Panama*, thinking *Pizarro* had done the like; but understanding that he was at *Chincama*, he went to him, and by consent furnish'd two Ships, and carry'd 200 *Spaniards* and some *Indians*. They arriv'd at a Marshy and Waterish place, where the People live in Trees; they are Warlike, and kill'd many *Spaniards*, and call'd them the *Scum of the Sea*, having no Fathers; and said they would have none in their Country that had Beards, or that would break their Customs.

Pizarro and *Almagro* had a great desire to Conquer that Country, because of the show of Gold and Stones, but could not do it with that small Force, because many of them were dead. *Almagro* return'd to *Panama* for Fourscore Men more, but before his coming back, *Pizarro* endur'd great want of Victuals.

Upon *Almagro's* Return, they found their Forces so small, the Country so barren, and unhealthful, that they left it, and went to *Chicama*, where they found plenty of all things, and thought to make themselves so Rich, that they needed not to proceed further; but they were deceiv'd, for the *Indians* were their Enemies, and so many that they durst not Fight them. *Almagro* was to go back for more Men to *Panama*, and *Pizarro* to stay in the Island of *Guara*.

The *Spaniards* were so weak and tir'd, and so discontented, that they desir'd to retire with *Almagro*, and to leave their hopes of Gold; but *Pizarro* would not suffer them, either to Go or Write, lest they should have discredited the Country; and so *Almagro* would have got no Soldiers: But notwithstanding this Prohibition, the Soldiers Writ, and hid their Letters in Bottoms of Thread, by which means their Miseries came to be known, and complain'd of to the Governor, who Commanded, That no Man should stay with *Pizarro* against his Will.

At *Almagro's* coming to *Panama*, one *Pedro de la Rios* was arriv'd for Governor, who Proclaim'd, That no Man should stay with *Pizarro* against his liking; and sent a Messenger to *Pizarro* to let him know so much; whereupon most of his Men left him, and those that *Almagro* took up, run away from him; so that *Pizarro* had but 12 Men left with him, whereof one was a *Grecian*: He went to an Island called *Gorgena*, where he liv'd upon Snakes, Herbs, and Crab-fishes, till *Almagro* his return from *Panama*, and then he went over to the Main Land, and put the *Greek* ashore, who brought him news of the Riches of

that Country, and the Plenty of Victuals, with the state of their King *Atabaliba*, which was great Joy to them all; for the South Sea was the Fountain and Happiness of all their Discoveries.

Pizarro hereupon return'd to *Panama*, and from thence into *Spain*, to carry the Emperor news of this rich Country, which he desir'd the Government of. He left two *Spaniards* behind him to learn the Language, Customs and Riches of the Country; but they were afterwards slain by the *Indians*. *Pizarro* was above Three Years upon this Discovery of *Peru*, and endur'd as much Hunger and other Miseries as Man could do.

Pizarro's return to *Panama*, thence into *Spain*, and thence back again to *Peru*.

At *Pizarro's* arrival at *Panama*, he imparted the hope of his Discovery to *Almagro* and *Luque* his Associates, who were grown poor by their Undertakings; but yet furnish'd him with 1000 pieces of Gold for his Journey into *Spain*, most part of which they borrow'd.

At his arrival in *Spain*, the Emperor gave him the Title of *Adelantado* of *Peru*; and to encourage Men to go with him, *Pizarro* promis'd more Riches than he knew of, tho' not so great as after it prov'd. He carry'd with him three of his Brethren, *Ferdinand*, *John* and *Gonsalo*, *Ferdinand* only Legitimate, the others Bastards: They arriv'd in *Panama* in great Pomp and Pride; but *Almagro* was offended with *Francis Pizarro*, because he had taken upon him self all the Honour in *Spain*, and excluded him who was at all the Expence, and part of the Labour and Pains. *Pizarro* excus'd himself, which gave but little Satisfaction.

The Expence of the *Pizarro's* was so great, and their Means so small, that they could not proceed upon their Enterprize, without the help of *Almagro*; whom *Francis Pizarro* labour'd to win again. In conclusion, by mediation of Friends, *Almagro* furnished him with 700 Pieces, and such Arms and Victuals as he had; so that *Pizarro* proceeded with two Ships, and as many Men as he could carry: He came to a place call'd *Coaque*, where he found much Wealth, but endur'd much Misery. From hence he sent to King *Atabaliba* for Friendship, who answer'd, If he would return the Wealth gotten, and clear the Country, he would be his Friend; or else not. A Fryer was sent to persuade him, but all in vain, so that they came to a Battle; many of the *Indians* were slain, and their King taken Prisoner; and not

not a Spaniard killed or hurt, but only Francis Pizarro in the Head, as he was snatching at the King to take him.

Before this, Pizarro took the Island of Puna, and gained great Wealth, which he gave to his Soldiers that came to him lately: Here his People fell sick of the Pox, a natural Disease of those parts; and here he deliver'd 70 Prisoners that had been taken by the Islanders, and sent them free to Tumbes, whence they were. Notwithstanding this Courtesie, they incensed the People against the Spaniards, and slew three that were sent in Civil manner to Treat with them; which so enrag'd Pizarro, that he took their Town and brought them to Obedience.

These things happen'd before the taking of Atabaliba Prisoner, who now being in their hands, offered for his Ransom, as much Silver and Gold as would fill a great and spacious Room wherein he was; which he truly perform'd, but the time was so long before it could be brought 200 Miles, that Ferdinand Pizarro adventur'd to go for it, and in that Journey he learnt much of the Secrets of the Country.

Francis Pizarro divided the Treasure thus gotten, and gave to every Man his due; never Soldiers in the World were so rich: he dealt justly with Almagro, and gave him what was his due; all things grew exceeding dear, a Shirt at 10 l. a Quart of Wine at 5 l. 1250 l. a Horse. Pizarro sent his Brother Ferdinand to the Emperor with his Fifths, and a Relation of what had happen'd; many Common Soldiers went, who carry'd, some 20, some 30, some 40000 Duckets in Plate.

There was an Indian called Philip, a Christian, and Interpreter to the Spaniards, who fell in love with one of Atabaliba's Wives, and thinking to Marry her after his Death, accus'd him of plotting the Destruction of the Spaniards, for which he was Condemned and Executed; but whether justly or no, is a question. Before his death he desir'd to be Baptiz'd, but whether from his Heart or no, that is uncertain.

Pizarro hearing the Fame of Cusco, Marched thither and took it, where he found as much Wealth as he had by the Ransom of Atabaliba, and it is thought there was as much hid that never came to light.

Almagro had Commission from the Emperor to be Marshal of Peru, and Governor of 100 Leagues of Land further than Pizarro: Whereupon he took upon him

to Govern Cusco, and this was the first beginning of the Strife betwixt them two, but for the present accommodated; and Almagro went to discover the Country of Chile in 1535. where he endur'd much Hunger, Cold, and other Disasters.

Ferdinand Pizarro return'd out of Spain, and came to Lima, after Almagro's departure to Chile; and brought a Patent to his Brother, wherein he was made a Marquess, and to Almagro the Government of new Toledo.

He requir'd all the Silver and Gold that was receiv'd for the Ransom of Atabaliba for the Emperor; the other being a King: But the Soldiers answer'd, they had paid their Fifths, which was their due. This caus'd a sudden Mutiny; but Pizarro appeas'd it, tho' with the ill Will of his Soldiers. Mango, whom Pizarro had made King, Rebell'd against him, and had almost taken Cusco; in the Conflict he slew divers Spaniards.

Almagro hearing the Emperor had made him Governor, as aforesaid, return'd out of Chile and took Cusco by force, alledging it was in his Government. He imprison'd Ferdinand Pizarro: Mango the Indian King Besieg'd it, and now began Broils betwixt Almagro and Pizarro; and now did Francisco Pizarro receive many Losses by the Indians that Rebell'd against him. Pizarro sent Forces to regain Cusco from Almagro; but by Mediation of Friends they were to meet and Consult before they Fought, but to little purpose; for that Treaty broke up, and they fought a most cruel Battle, in which Almagro was taken, and put into the same Prison he had put the Brother of Pizarro, who there Condemn'd and Executed him. If the Indians had taken advantage of this Division, they had defeated the whole Power of the Spaniards.

Almagro was of mean Birth, and never known who was his Father; he could not Read, but was Valiant, Frank, Merciful, and Vain-glorious. Francis Pizarro, upon this accident, sent his Brother Ferdinand into Spain with the Emperor's Fifths, and to excuse the Death of Almagro: He came to Valladolid in great State, and with much Wealth; but within a while after was committed to Prison.

Francis Pizarro went on with his Victories, and endur'd great hardships; yet he prevail'd, got great Wealth, and made Peace with the Indian Kings. Gonzalo Pizarro was a Principal Man in all these Undertakings.

Francis Pizarro his Death.

Francis Pizarro returning from the City of the Kings, endeavour'd to be reconcil'd to *Diego de Almagro*, Son to him that was put to death, but he would accept of no Conditions of Friendship; neither would *John de Rada* advise him to it, who was left in charge of him at his Father's Death, with Command to seek Revenge of the *Pizarros*; and tho' *Francis Pizarro* was still inform'd of the Practice against him, yet he little esteem'd of it; but notwithstanding his Security, on the 24th of June, 1541. *John de Rada* and Ten others entred upon him whilst he was at Dinner, and slew him; he was a Man neither Liberal nor Covetous, nor would he proclaim what he gave; he was a good Husband for the King, and a great Gamester, not regarding with whom he plaid; he would never wear Rich Apparel, and yet sometimes would put on a Garment that *Ferdinando Cortes* sent him; he took a Pride to wear white Shoes, and a white Hat, in imitation of *Gonsalo* the Great Captain; he us'd his Soldiers well, and got their Loves; he was Gross, Valiant and Honourable, and negligent of his Health or Life.

Upon his Death, his and *Almagro's* Faction had many Bickerings, and at last those of *Almagro's* Party seditiously Proclaim'd there was no other Governor in *Peru* but *Diego de Almagro*. He appointed *John de Rada* his General; they committed many Insolencies, Murders and Cruelties; they divided all the Goods of the *Pizarro's* and their Friends, and plac'd whom they list'd in Command, meaning to make *Diego de Almagro* their King.

The Emperor hearing of those Tumults in *Peru*, sent one *Vaca de Castro*, a Doctor, with Authority to punish them; and he coming thither, those who stood for the Emperor repaired to him: Whereupon *Almagro* prepar'd all his Forces to meet him, where they fought a cruel Battle, in which *Almagro* was overthrown; tho' more Men were slain on the other side; few Captains escap'd, and those that were hurt, Dy'd, by reason of the great Frost and Snow that was in the Country.

Vaca de Castro executed 30 of the Principal Offenders, and banish'd divers others. *Almagro* fled to *Cusco*, thinking to find Relief; but his Lieutenant he left there, hearing the success of the Battle, apprehended him, and *Vaca de Castro* at his coming thither cut off his Head.

This *Diego de Almagro* was a Bastard, whom his Father had by an Indian Wo-

man in *Panama*; but he was braver than the *Mestizos* us'd to be; he was the first that ever took up Arms against the King in the *Indies*: His Followers were so Loving and Constant to him, that tho' they had often offers of Pardon, they would not leave him.

Vaca de Castro settled things in good order, gave the *Indians* content, who now begun again to cultivate their Grounds, which before they could not do for the Wars; and about this time many Mines were discover'd.

The Emperor being informed of the Revolts in *Peru*, and the ill usage of the *Indians*, he displac'd his Commissioners there, and chose others, giving them an Oath to deal Justly, and to order things Uprightly. He made Forty Laws, and Sign'd them at *Barcelona* the 20th of November, 1542. but these Laws were ill taken in *Peru*.

He sent *Blasco Nuñez Vela*, with the Title of Viceroy, with the Laws aforesaid, wherein the Emperor gave great Freedom to the *Indians*, which discontented the *Spaniards*, tho' no doubt the Emperor did it out of a good Conscience.

These things bred so great a Heart-burning in the *Spaniards*, that with one consent all the Towns of *Peru* Revolted, and made *Gonzalo Pizarro* their General. The Viceroy Arm'd as much on the other side; and first sent the Bishop to perswade *Pizarro*; but he would admit no Treaty. The Viceroy was hated of all Men, and especially for Murdering the King's Factor, that was taken Prisoner in the City of the King's.

Now began great Garboils, what with the imprisoning of the Viceroy, and the coming of *Gonzalo*; but before this hapned, the Viceroy had imprison'd *Vaca de Castro*, and the Five Commissioners that came with him out of *Spain*, for the better appeasing of things, and sent *Castro* Prisoner into *Spain*.

Pizarro came to the City of the King's, and caused the Emperor's Commissioners to admit him for Governor. Those that had the Charge to carry the Viceroy Prisoner into *Spain*, set him at liberty, which prov'd an unlucky Service; for if he had been carry'd into *Spain*, *Pizarro* would have agreed with the Commissioners. *Pizarro* strengthened himself as well by Land as by Sea, and sent *Ferdinand Bacbicao* with 50 Men, who was esteem'd a Coward, but did much Mischief: He encreas'd his two Brigantines to 28 Ships, and came to *Panama*, where he did what he pleas'd, like a Tyrant. His Death

was

was practis'd in *Panama*, which he hearing, prevented, with the Death of those that intended it, and returned to *Peru* with 400 Men, to the Defence of *Pizarro*, who followed his Victory, and put his Enemies to many Straights. They committed great Cruelties one against another when they were taken on either side.

Pizarro hearing of the great Spoils that *Bachicao* made at Sea, by Consent of his Council displac'd him, and put in *Pedro de Hinojosa* in his room.

Pizarro sent *Hinojosa* to scour the Seas, lest they should make head against him, and to give Satisfaction for the Spoils that *Bachicao* had made; but they of *Panama* were jealous of him, till at last they agreed he should enter the Town with 40 Men,

and afterwards to return to *Peru* to *Pizarro*.

The Vice-Roy, *Blasco Nuñez* and *Pizarro*, came to a Battel, in which the Vice Roy was taken Prisoner, and being known to one that had served him, he cut off his Head, and the next day buried him, *Pizarro* mourning in Black for him.

After this *Pizarro* governed with great Justice and Uprightness, till he was drawn into Tyranny by *Francis Carvajal*, and others, who would make him King, saying, They might do it, because the Country was gained by them, as well as *Pelains* King of *Spain* when the *Moors* entered it. They would have condition'd to have *Ferdinando Pizarro*, who was Prisoner in *Spain*, set at Liberty; Others proposed to bring in the Turk amongst them.

Gasca sent out of Spain to quell the Rebellion in Peru.

THE Emperor hearing of the Tumult in *Peru*, occasioned by the Commissioners proceeding against the Vice-Roy, and the Insolencies of *Pizarro*, being then troubled with his Wars of *Germany*, chose out a milder Man than *Blasco Nuñez* to govern in *Peru*, which was *Pedro de la Gasca*, a Priest; a Man whose Wisdom was tried in other Affairs. He went with little Shew of Pride; the Commissioners he chose to be such as he could trust, and he had the Title of President. The Emperor writ to *Pizarro*, and dated his Letter from *Venlo* in *Germany* in February 1646.

Gasca arriv'd at *Nombre de dios*, and carry'd himself mildly, saying, He came not to make War, but according to his Profession to make Peace, and revok'd the Rigour of the Laws that caus'd the War. From *Panama* he sent the Emperor's Letters, and writ himself to *Pizarro*, telling him, He was come to pardon all Offences, to draw him to Obedience, to give Satisfaction to his People, and if he refus'd this Grace, to make War.

Pizarro was enrag'd at the Receipt of these Letters, and would not suffer the Gentleman that brought them to sit down, which the Gentleman took for a great Affront. *Pizarro* call'd for his Friends, to consult what Answer to give the President's Letter. *Carvajal*, the chief Incendiary, was absent, and therefore it was hop'd he would accept of Grace; yet every Man delivering his Opinion, some advis'd to take and raze *Panama* and *Nombre de dios*, that the Emperor might have no Place to relieve his Men

and Shipping, and they having all the Ships in the *South* Sea, might without Fear enjoy *Peru* to themselves, and then doubted not but to make *New Spain* Revolt too, or at least they would rob all the Towns on the Sea-Coast, and live by Spoil and Rapine, which indeed they might have done, having the General of the Sea true to them.

Pizarro cunningly answer'd *Gasca*'s Letter, by Consent of Thirty of his Men, under their Hands; That they understood of his coming by *Hinojosa*, General of the Sea, and the fair Shew of Good he pretended, but it was too late, after so many Murders, occasioned by the Vice-Roys; perswading him to return to inform the Emperor, That they would receive no Governor but *Pizarro*, and offered to send some Man of Quality into *Spain* to make their Case known to the Emperor. *Carvajal* diverted *Pizarro* from all good Intentions, and would not suffer him to make any Acknowledgment to *Spain*: They sent these Letters to *Gasca*, and offered to give him a great quantity of Money to depart home, and if he refus'd it, they writ to their Admiral *Hinojosa* to apprehend him. These Letters being brought to *Panama*, put *Gasca* in fear that he should be kill'd; for they absolutely refus'd to receive him in *Peru*.

Gasca dealt so cunningly with *Hinojosa*, that he brought him to submit himself and Fleet, and became a true Servant to the Emperor. This was the Overthrow of *Pizarro*; and *Hinojosa* was continu'd General, and none of his Captains displac'd. *Gasca* now prepar'd again for War,

and

and furnish'd himself for his Journey to Peru; and before his Arrival sent a Pardon to all the common sort. In his Expedition he carry'd himself courteously, lovingly and friendly.

Gasca's Carriage, and the Submission of the Ships, made a great Change amongst the Rebels; for happy was he that could appear for the Emperor. *Pizarro* was much griev'd to hear of these Alterations, but, like a Courageous Captain, sent to all his Friends to come to him with their Forces, but most part of them forsook him, and the Town of *Lyma*, *Cusco*, and the rest, took part with the Emperor.

When *John de Casta* came to *Pizarro* to *Arequipa*, they consulted what to do, having 450 Men in the whole Country against them: He resolv'd to go to *Chile*, where never Spaniard had been; but he was followed by one *Senteno*, with a loyal Party for the Emperor, between whom was fought a cruel Battel, *Pizarro* gaining the Victory: He lost 220 Men, and *Centeno* many more. *Centeno* fled, but the others having so great a Loss did not follow him. *Pizarro*, upon the Victory, divided his Forces into several Parts. *Cepeda*, a principal Man of Account on his side, perswaded him to make Conditions with *Gasca*, which he would not do, but was angry at the Motion, and grew suspicious of him.

Gasca came into Peru with 2000 Men, where he heard of the Overthrow *Pizarro* had given *Centeno*; and his Men being sickly, and finding the Corn green, and not to be eaten, they were much discouraged; but *Centeno* coming with the remainder of his Forces, put them into Heart; whereupon he went in the Pursuit of *Pizarro*, but had great Trouble in passing the River *Apurima*. *Pizarro* being advertis'd of it, departed from *Cusco* with 1000 Soldiers. *Donna Maria Calderon* speaking against the Tyranny of *Pizarro*, *Fran. Calderon* entred her Chamber one Morning, and strangled her in her Bed. Now came their Armies in view of one another, every one taking advantage of the Place: *Gasca* delay'd giving Battel, in hopes that most of *Pizarro's* Men would leave him, but they did not, and he being forced by Snow, Cold and Hunger, engag'd in the heat of the Action. *Cepeda*, who (as I said before) advis'd *Pizarro* to accept of Conditions, fled to *Gasca*, which much disheartened *Pizarro's* side. This Example, and others that did the like, made most of them yield.

Pizarro seeing it, chose rather to submit than fly, and yielded himself to *Villa*

Vicentia, Serjeant-Major, who carried him to *Gasca*. Never such a Battel was fought, in which the Heads and Chief Commanders were Doctors and Scholars.

Gasca sent Forces to cut off those that escap'd in their way to *Cusco*, and to secure the Town. The day following, being the 5th of April, 1548. *Gasca* committed the Cause of *Pizarro* and other Offenders to Judges, who condemn'd him and 13 more to Death, whereof *Francis Carvajal* was one, and indeed the chief Promoter of all the Mischief in those Parts. He was 84 years of Age, and had been an Ensign in the Battel of *Ravenna*: He was Soldier to the great Captain *Gonzalo Fernandez*, and the most noted Soldier in the Indies, yet never counted valiant nor skilful. It was a By-word, *As cruel as Carvajal*, because he had been the Executioner of 400 Spaniards *Pizarro* caus'd to be put to Death after *Blasco Nuñez* came into Peru, carrying Blacks with him continually for that purpose. *Pizarro* was never overthrown but in this Battel, though he had fought many.

Gasca's Soldiers look'd for a better Reward than was given them, tho' indeed they were well dealt with, yet they mutiny'd upon it, but were soon quieted.

Gasca took a Course for the Ease of the Indians, and to reduce them to the Christian Religion, as also for the peaceable Government of the Kingdom.

When *Gasca* arriv'd at *Nombre de dios* out of Spain, he brought not 100 Men with him, nor Money; but procur'd Credit, and at his going away paid all Debts, and carried with him to the Emperor almost Two Millions, but for himself not a Penny, being the first Man in Authority that ever did the like; for Covetousness was the Bane of all the Spanish Affairs.

No Man that had Commanded in Peru had escap'd Death or Imprisonment but this *Gasca*; *Francis Pizarro* and his Brothers beheaded *Almagro*; *Almagro's* Son murdered *Francis Pizarro*; *Blasco* apprehended *Vuaca de Castro*; *Gonzalo Pizarro* slew *Blasco Nuñez*, and *Gasca* did as much to *Gonzalo Pizarro*. There were slain 158 Captains and Men in Authority, which is to be imputed to the Genius and Riches of the Country; for the like Divisions happened before the Spaniards came thither, which made a long War amongst them.

When *Gasca* had settled all Things in good order, he prepared for his Return into Spain, and came to *Panama*, leaving much Wealth there, which he could not carry; but it happened that Two Sons of

of *Rodrigo Contreras*, Governor of *Nicaragua*, with 200 Soldiers, enter'd the Town, and took the Treasure, and as much more as they could get. One of the Two Brothers got himself with his Wealth into Two or Three Ships, the other follow'd *Gasca*, thinking to rob and kill him. They murder'd many, and slew a Bishop, because he sent to their Father into *Spain* on account of their Villanies: They drew to them all Factious and Discontented People that favour'd the Party of *Pizarro*.

Gasca hearing of those Disorders, return'd with speed, fought with and overcame them; One of the Brothers was drown'd in passing a River: He dispatched Ships after the other, and took him and all his Wealth. This prov'd a fortunate Success to *Gasca*, and got him great Honour.

He embark'd at *Nombre de dios* for

Spain in 1550. with much Wealth for others, and Reputation to himself: His going, coming, and staying, was little more than Four Years.

The Emperor made him Bishop of *Placentia*, and sent for him to *Ausburg* in *Germany*, where he then lay, because he would be inform'd by word of Mouth of all Proceedings, and the State and Condition of the People of the *Indies*.

This shall suffice for so much as concerns the Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of the *Spanish* Conquest of *Peru*, which were full of Difficulties, Hazards, and cruel Murders among themselves. For what concerns particular Men, Towns, and Countries, I refer you to divers Authors, as well in *Spanish* as *English*: And will now proceed to the Conquest of *New Spain* and *Mexico*, by that Renowned and Fortunate Gentleman Don *Ferdinand Cortes*.

The Exploits of Don Ferdinand Cortes, Marquis del Valle.

Ferdinand Cortes was the Son of a Gentleman, but of small Fortunes; and seeing his Father could not maintain him in the Port of his Birth, he desir'd to put himself into the World, and, with his Father's Blessing, and little help otherwise, he made shift to get into the Wars of *Italy*, where he staid not above a year, through Want and Sickness, and being forced by Necessity to return for *Spain*, was forced to beg till he got to *Sevil*, knowing his Father's Circumstances could not relieve him at home.

Not long after his Arrival at *Sevil*, there happen'd a Fleet to depart from thence to the *Indies*, in which he procur'd a Passage, and being taught to write and read, put himself into the Service of a Scrivener, and by degrees, through his own Industry, advanced himself to perform those Actions you shall read in the following Discourse.

After running through several Employments in *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, he became familiar and intimate with the Governor of that Island, *Diego Velasquez*. This Governor, upon the Report of the Wealth of *Jucatan*, had sent his Nephew *John de Grijalva* to discover along that Coast, who returning with a promising Account of the Riches, not only of that Coast he was sent to, but of that afterwards call'd *New Spain*, *Velasquez* fitted out a Fleet at his own Expence to conquer that Country, and gave the Command of it to *Cortes*,

whom, upon second Thoughts, he design'd to have removed, which *Cortes* having Intelligence of, he hasten'd away with his Fleet upon his Discovery.

Being arrived at *Vera-Cruz*, and receiving there Information of the vast Wealth of the King of *Mexico*, he set forward towards him on the 16th of *August*, 1520. with 500 Foot, 15 Horse, and 1300 *Indians* to carry the Bagage.

After Four Days March he came to a goodly Country, called *Chimbecas*, but before he came thither he had pass'd high Hills, full of Snow and Ice, tho' it was in *August*.

Next he came to *Tlascalla*, a People who were Enemies to the *Mexicans*: *Cortes* overthrew them in Three Conflicts; The Town had 20000 Houses, very fair, and handfom Markets and Fairs: *Cortes* took it by night, and returned to his Camp, where he found his Men in mutiny, but appeas'd them, out of hope they should spread abroad the Gospel of Christ.

From thence he went to *Chalotecan*, a Country no less fruitful, where he was entertain'd with their kind of Musick, but they were set on by the King of *Mexico* to betray him, which was discovered by an *Indian* Woman; and *Cortes* suddenly set upon them and overcame them. The King of *Mexico* sent to excuse himself of this Treason, and to lay it upon the People of the Country: He sent to invite

H h

Cortes

Cortes to Mexico, and as he pass'd the Country he was well entertain'd, especially in *Tlatelulco* and *Xalisco*, the one Friend, the other Enemy to the Mexicans.

When Cortes came within half a Mile of *Montezuma*, the King sent 1000 Cour-tiers, all in one Garb, to meet him, who saluted him one after another, first touching the Ground with their Fingers, and kissing it; then came *Montezuma* with 200 better Apparel'd, two and two together, without Shoes, tho' they use Shoes at other times; he lean'd upon two of his Nobility, to shew that he was upheld by his Nobles.

Cortes was told, he must not touch the King, for that it was the Custom of the Country; he presented the King with a Chain of Bugles, and some Diamonds in it, which the King took in good part, and gave him in Requital another of Gold wrought in Snails, Crabs, and such Toys. He lodg'd Cortes in his Palace with great Solemnity, and made liberal Provision for his Army. The King erected a curious Throne of State, where he directed his Speech to the Spaniards, as follows:

Noble Soldiers, and merciful Captains to them that yield, you are welcome into this Country of ours; I would have you know, that our Fore-fathers have told us, and our Chronicles declare it, That we are not anciently of this Land wherein we live, but brought hither by a King, who left us here, because we refus'd to return with him in Company: Our Fore-fathers marry'd, had issue, built Houses, which we Enjoy; and we have ever been of Opinion, that they will come to us again, and make us Subjects to them, as they have formerly been to our Ancestors. And therefore considering from whence you come, and that you are sent from a great King, we yield to you all Obedience and Service, and make account you are enter'd into your own Houses.

I am not ignorant of what hath happen'd to you by the way, and that the Cempoalans have spoken ill of me; they are my Enemies, and I pray you believe them not: I know they tell you my Houses and Walls are Gold, and that I make my self a God: But I pray you behold my Houses that are made of Wood, Lime, and Stone, and my self a fleshly Man like others. Indeed I have Plate from my Ancestors, and what I have shall be yours. I must now depart, but will so provide, that neither you nor yours shall want.

Cortes answer'd, "That what he said was true, and that the King of Spain was the King they look'd for, and that he was sent thither purposely to let them know so much. After they had pass'd six days in great Jollity, Cortes had News

that some of his Men were murder'd by the King's Appointment; for which he was glad, thinking to take that occasion to subdue and conquer him and his Country.

Cortes sent for the Malefactors, and put them to Death: They accus'd *Montezuma*, whom likewise he imprison'd, but within a while after he set him at liberty: He confess'd his Fault, and promis'd his Allegiance ever after.

The King chose rather to dwell in the Palace with Cortes, than at Pleasure abroad. To give him Satisfaction, he sent to discover Mines for him, and procur'd a great quantity of Wealth to present him; he wish'd and advis'd his Nobles to obey Cortes, and labour'd how he might subdue *Cacomacsin*, his Vassal, who wholly refus'd to submit to Cortes. This Act of his was affirm'd by Publick Notaries in Writing by the Consent of all the Nobility, and interchangeably given to one another.

Valasques, the Governor of *Cuba*, envying Cortes, sent *Narvaez* with 18 Sail of Ships, to command Cortes to go out and quit *Moxico*; whereat Cortes was amaz'd, and in a Dilemma; for if he made head against *Narvaez*, the Indians would presently have revolted, and if he did not, *Narvaez* would in time possess himself of the Country: Wherefore he resolv'd with 170 Men to go against *Narvaez*, leaving a Garrison in *Tenustitlan*, which he commended to the Care of the King. *Narvaez* had 800 Spaniards, and 19 great Pieces; nevertheless Cortes set upon, took him, and the rest yielded themselves.

In this interim, the Citizens of *Tenustitlan* revolted against the King and Spaniards, and assaulted the Castle, alledging, their Dislike to the Spaniards was for breaking down their Idol.

Cortes hasten'd thither with 70 Horse, and 500 Spaniards, which gave Heart to them in the Castle; the Indians were desperate, and desir'd rather to die than live: They put Cortes to a Retreat, which imbolden'd them much.

Cortes afterwards us'd many Engines, and other Inventions; and tho' he slew multitudes of Indians, yet they valu'd it not: *Montezuma* looking out of a Window, thinking to dissuade the People from their Violent Courses against the Spaniards, was struck with a Stone, of which Wound he dy'd within three days. He was a Man of a good Nature, Wise, and Prudent; the Spaniards gave the Mexicans his Body to bury, and offer'd the Indians Conditions of Peace; which they wholly refus'd, vowing to thrust the Spaniards out of

of their Country, tho' it were with the loss of 1000 Men to one. Yet within a day they deceitfully made a Proposition of Peace, which Cortes accepted of; and to give them the more Content, he set a Priest of theirs at liberty, thinking it would have wrought more heartily; but the day following, when Cortes had the least suspicion of them, and sat quietly at Dinner, they attempted one of his Houses: Whereupon he suddenly rose from Table, and with his Horse charg'd the Indians, where he lost divers Men, and was himself sore wounded, and scarce able to retire. It was now come to that pass with the Spaniards, that they must either perish, or quit the City, and that night they resolv'd to fly with Montezuma's Children, and Treasure; but the Indians having notice of it, pursu'd them, recover'd the Prisoners, slew 150 Spaniards, 41 Horses, and 2000 Indians that took their part. Now did Cortes endure great Misery and Famine, and had but one dead Horse to feed on in five days, till he came to *Tlascalla*.

The *Tlascallans* entertain'd him courteously, where he stay'd ten days; he built many Fortresses for his own safety and theirs, and sent for Aid into *Hispaniola*: In the mean time he gain'd the Love of many Indians, who took Part against the *Mexicans*.

Cortes built 13 Boats; and on the other side, the new King of *Mexico* prepar'd for War, and made certain Pikes to annoy the Horse, which they fear'd more than the Men. Cortes cut a Passage into the Salt Lake, for his Boats to have a Passage to the Siege of *Tenustitlan*: These Ships intercepted all Provision, and annoy'd the Indians infinitely. Cortes assail'd the Town in four places, having in his Army 120000 Men; some came for Fear, some for Liberty, some for Friendship, some out of Gain: This Siege lasted ten Weeks, and wasted 10000 People with Famine, and other Misfortunes. Cortes by chance took the new King, as he was stealing away secretly by the Lake: He subdu'd *Tenustitlan*, and 14 Towns by the Lake side; as also all the *Mexican* Realms, and Provinces to the Crown of *Spain*, giving great Spoil to the Soldiers, and reserving the Fifth to the King.

Cortes deserv'd more Honour than all the rest of the Spaniards, for his Conquest in the Indies; he subdu'd *New Spain*, and gave it that Name because it was like *Spain*; he may very well be compar'd to *Marius* and *Scipio* in the *Roman* State: His House remains great to this day, and has the Title of *Marquis del Valle*, which he left to his Posterity.

Cortes being afterwards Captain General, and *Mendoza* Vice-Roy of *Nova Espania*, there happen'd many private Grudges between them, but yet they join'd together for the finding out of the Passage from those Seas to ours, which we properly call the North-West Passage; as also in the Conquest of *Sibola* and *Quivira*, where they were perswaded by certain Friars, That the People worship'd the Cross, and had other Tokens of Christianity: But all prov'd false, and few Spaniards return'd home, their Misery was so great, and the Country so cold and barren, the People cruel, and 500 Leagues from *Mexico*.

Cortes, after his taking *Mexico*, sent to discover the Northern Parts, and his People arriv'd in a Country where *Ticoantipe* *Cician* *Pipe* was King, who receiv'd them lovingly, and sent an Ambassador to Cortes, thinking he was come out of the Clouds, and that their Vessels were great Whales: They wonder'd at their Horses, and accepted a friendly Peace, offering Cortes 50000 Men to assist in conquering *Tutepac*, who was his Enemy for using the Christians well.

Notwithstanding that *Ferdinand* Cortes had deserv'd as much Honour as could be laid upon him, to the Disgrace and Shame of that Time and Age, he was call'd from his Command, and at his arrival in *Spain* was unworthily dealt withal.

He afterward went the unfortunate Journey with *Charles* the First to *Argiers*, not having so much Command as to be admitted a Councillor of War. In that Expedition he lost two Emerals in the Field, which could never be found again, valu'd at 100000 Crowns. He dy'd the same Year, and much about the same time that *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England*, died.

The Names of the First Governors of the Island Hispaniola, where the Spaniards made their First Habitation, and from whence they discover'd other Parts of the West-Indies; with an Account of all those Discoveries.

Chrisstopher Columbus was Governor 8 years, during which time he and his Brother *Bartholomew* conquer'd and peopled the greatest part of it, and made it beneficial to the King.

Francis de Bovadilla succeeded *Columbus*, and sent him Prisoner into Spain; he govern'd 3 years, and well.

Nicholas de Ovando was next, and went thither with 30 Ships, into which *Bovadilla* put all the Wealth he had got for himself and the King, which was the greatest the *Indies* had afforded till then; but all these Ships with their Wealth, except six, were cast away in a Storm. *Ovando* was a Religious Man, and govern'd 7 years with much Wisdom. When he went thence, he was so poor, that he was forc'd to borrow Money for his Expences, tho' his Revenue was 2000 *l.* a year. He would not suffer any scandalous Person to live among them; he conquer'd some Provinces not subdu'd before, pacify'd others, and was made Chief Commendary of *Alcantara* when he return'd home.

James Columbus govern'd 6 or 7 years, but was remov'd, and in Disgrace with the King, with whom he had several years Suits for his Father's Right to the *Indies*.

F. Luis of Figueroa, Prior of the Monastery of *Mayorano*, was sent by Cardinal *Ximenes*, who govern'd after the Death of King *Ferdinand*, and his Queen. He took from the Courtiers all their *Indians*, because they being in Spain, their Servants us'd the *Indians* very ill. He put them to School to be instructed, but many of them died of the Small-Pox. In his time the planting of Sugars in that Island was much improv'd.

After him went *Marcello de Villalobos*, but with the Title of President, which still continues.

The first Bishop of *Sto. Domingo* was *D. F. Garcia de Padilla*, a *Franciscan*. Many Miracles were wrought in the first Conversion of the *Indians*. The first Archbishop of *Sto. Domingo* was *Alfonso de Fuca Mayor*.

In the Island the *Spaniards* found no sort of four-footed Beasts, except three sorts of Conies; but they have now all sorts of Cattel, and of one Cow there came 800 in 26 years. Many of the Dogs the

Spaniards carry'd, turn'd wild, and did more harm than Wolves; and the Cats they carry'd out of Spain would not Cat-terwaul there.

The Islands of the Lucayo's.

These Islands are 400 in number, lying to the Northward of *Hispaniola*, and the first discover'd by *Columbus*. The People are fairer than in *Cuba*, and *Indians* us'd to come from other Places to live with those Women. They had no Flesh, and when the *Spaniards* carry'd them to *Hispaniola*, and gave them Flesh to eat, they dy'd. They thought, that when they dy'd they were carri'd into the Northern Regions, and from thence to Paradise in the South.

Seven Inhabitants of *Hispaniola*, amongst whom was *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, a Scholar, and Auditor of the Island, fitted out two Caravels at *Puerto de Plata*, in the year 1520. to fetch *Indians* from the Islands *Lucayos* to work in their Mines; but they found no Men there, and therefore resolv'd to go Northward for some, because they would not lose their Labour. They came into 32 Degrees, where is now Cape *St. Helen*, and the River *Jordan*. The *Indians* took their Ships for great Fishes, and entertain'd the *Spaniards* well, who brought away two of those *Indians*, one whereof was cast away in one of the Caravels, the other starv'd himself to Death.

Lucas Vasquez, by the Report of an *Indian*, suppos'd the Country to be rich, and therefore went into Spain to beg Leave of the Emperor to conquer it. Leave was granted, and he being made a Knight of the Order of *St. Jago*, return'd to *St. Domingo*, where he fitted out some Ships in the year 1524. but his Admiral Ship was lost in the River *Jordan*, with many Men; and this was his End.

S. John de Puerto Rico, or Borriquen.

The People of this Island were braver than those of *Hispaniola*. *Columbus* discover'd it in his second Voyage, and *John Ponce de Leon* went to inhabit it in 1509. The King and Queen receiv'd him courteously, and became Christians. At first they thought the *Spaniards* were immortal, wherefore to try it by Consent, they drown'd

drown'd one *Salcedo*, whom they much fear'd; and seeing he dy'd when they threw him into the Water, they took Heart, revolted and kill'd 500 *Spaniards*. They much dreaded a Dog call'd *Bezerillo*; his Master receiv'd Pay of the Emperor for him, and the Dog did great Service. He would distinguish betwixt the *Indians* that were Friends and Foes; at last he was kill'd with a poison'd Arrow. The first Bishop of this Island was *Alonso Manso*, Anno 1511.

Florida.

The Admiral *Columbus* taking *John Ponce* from his Government at *Borriquen*, and he being left without Command, and rich, fitted out two Caravels, and not finding the Island *Boynca*, where the *Indians* told the *Spaniards*, there was a Well that made old Men young, he discover'd the Coast of *Florida* on Easter Day, An. 1515. He fitted out 3 Ships at *Sevill*, came to *Guadalupe*, where putting Men ashore for Wood and Water, and to wash their Clothes, the People of that Island slew them. Thence he went to *Florida*, where the *Indians* standing on their guard, wounded him, and many more, and he died of his Hurt at *Cuba*, after losing much of his Wealth. He sail'd with *Columbus* in the year 1493. and was a good Officer, and did good Service.

Ferdinand de Soto, who had been in the Wars of *Peru*, and was grown rich by the Ransom of *Atabaliba*, desir'd the Conquest of *Florida*, whither he went, and spent 5 years in the Attempt: but he and all his Men dy'd without doing any thing.

After the Death of this *Soto*, many su'd for the Conquest of *Florida*, and in 1548. *Julian Samano* begg'd it; but the Emperor thinking it no good course to convert the *Indians* by force, sent several Friars to convert them; but the *Indians* kill'd four of them at their first landing.

Panuco.

Fifty Leagues from *Florida* is the River of *Panuco*. The first Discoverer of it was *Francis de Garay*, who only sail'd along the Coast; but he that undertook the Conquest was *Pamphilo de Norvaez*, with the Title of *Adelantado*. He sail'd from *S. Lucar*, with 5 Ships, 600 Men, 100 Horses, and all other Provisions, in the year 1527. and suffer'd much by the way through the Ignorance of his Pilots: Yet he proceeded with 300 Men; but his Fault was, that he did not inhabit where he landed. Of the 300 *Spaniards* that went ashore with him, only four liv'd, who wander'd

6 years up and down naked, and wrought many Miracles, as healing of Diseases, and raising a dead Man to Life. This *Norvaez* was he that went to oppose *Cortes* in *New Spain*. A *Morisco* foretold it to him, That his Fleet should have an ill End, and few of it escape.

Francis de Garay fitted out 3 Caravels at *Jamaica* 1 in the year 1528. intending to attempt *Florida*, which they thought to be an Island, for they were more willing to inhabit Islands than the Continent. Attempting to land, all his Men were either kill'd or hurt; but he got to *Panuco*, and return'd to *Jamaica*, where he refitted his Ships, and recruited his Forces, but had worse Success than before. He vy'd with *Cortes*, hoping to gain as much Honour as he had done, because the Country promis'd well. He therefore provided 11 Ships, with 700 Meen, 150 Horses, and all Necessaries, and sail'd to *Panuco*, where he lost all, but himself, who escap'd to dye afterwards at *Mexico*. *Nuño de Guzman* was also Governor of *Panuco*; he carry'd but 2 or 3 Ships, and 80 Men, and yet reveng'd the Slaughters the *Indians* had made.

Jamaica.

Columbus discover'd *Jamaica* in his Second Voyage. His Son *James* conquer'd it, when he was Governor of *Hispaniola*. *Francis de Garay* was the richest Governor it ever had, but for his Loss in the Expedition to *Panuco*. This Island breeds the best Hogs in the *Indies*: The chief Town is call'd *Sevil*. The first Abbot it had was *Peter Martyr* of *Angleria*, who writ the *Decades* of the *Indies*.

The Discovery of *New Spain* is before, with the Actions of *Cortes*.

Cuba,

Was discover'd by *Columbus*, and call'd *Fernandina*, from King *Ferdinand*: *Nicholas de Ovando* began the Conquest of it when he was Governor of *Hispaniola*: The chief Town and Port in it is the *Havana*. The first Bishop was *Hernando de Mesa*, a *Dominican*. Many Miracles were wrought in this Island, by which means it was the sooner subdu'd.

Yucatan.

Francis Hernandez de Cordova discover'd it, Anno 1517. having 110 Men with him. Here landing to take water he was oppos'd, and had 20 Men kill'd, 50 wounded, as he was himself in 33 places, and two taken, whom the *Indians* sacrific'd. He return'd to *Cuba* troubled for his Loss, but

but glad that he had found such a fruitful Country.

Francis de Montejo went next to conquer it, with 500 Spaniards, in Ships of his own, and built a Town call'd *Santa Maria de Victoria*. Here he endur'd much Hunger, and other Miseries, but outliv'd them, and continu'd 20 years, marrying an Indian Woman, and following the Customs of the Indians. He refus'd to go with *Cortes* upon his Conquest.

His Companion *Aguila* peopled *Campeche*, *Merida*, *Villa Doca*, *Salamanca*, and *Sevil*, where he liv'd quietly and peaceably with the Indians, who in this place worship'd the Cross, and had Temples and Altars, which made the Spaniards conceit, that some of the Goths fled thither when the Moors subdu'd Spain.

Hendura's.

Columbus discover'd all this Coast, thinking to find a Passage into the South Sea. *Francis de las Casas* founded *Trunillo* in the year 1525. by order of *Cortes*. Here the Spaniards imprison'd and kill'd one another.

The People are ill natur'd, but very obedient to their Masters. The first Bishop's Name was *Pedraga*; the first Governor was *James Lopez de Salzedo*, kill'd by his own People. Next to him was *Vasco de Herrera*, who was kill'd in the same manner, as were other Governors.

Nombre de Dios.

The Country about it was call'd *Veragua*, discover'd by *Columbus*, Anno 1502. *James de Nicuesa*, who went with *Columbus* in his Second Voyage, obtain'd the Government of it, and fitted out in Spain 9 Vessels with 780 Men in 1508. He coasted along to *Carthagena*, where he found the Company of *Alonso de Hojeda*, his great Friend, in Distress, the Indians having kill'd 70 of his Men; which they reveng'd, entring their Houses by night, and killing and taking them all Prisoners.

After this, *Nicuesa* pass'd from *Hojeda* with two Caravels, appointing the rest to follow him. *Lopez de Olano*, who had the Command of a Vessel, mis'd of him, and went to seek him in the River of *Cbagre*; there they went ashore and sunk their Vessels, intending to make it their Residence, and chose *Olano* for their General, till the coming of *Nicuesa*. Three of *Nicuesa's* Men came to them in a Boat, telling them where he was, and that he had lost his two Caravels, and endur'd great Hunger for three Months.

Olano hereupon sent one of his Boats to fetch him out of that Misery, but when he came to them he basely imprison'd *Olano*, accusing him of usurping Command, and destroying the Ships.

He would not stay here, tho' they were within Three Months of reaping their Corn, for fear *Olano* should have the Honour of the Undertaking.

Out of the other Barque they made a Caravel, and went to *Porto Bello*, so call'd by *Columbus*, because of its Goodness. Here the Indians slew 20 of his Men. He left half his company, and went away to *Cape Marmol*, where he built a Fort, calling it *Nombre de Dios*. Of 780 Men he had not above 100 left alive. Here grew great Contention between *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, and *Francis Enciso*, about the Command, which was the cause they Landed not, but return'd.

Nicuesa, seeing they were gone, went to *Hispaniola* to complain, but was Drown'd by the way; but first he went ashore by the way and writ on Barks of Trees, which were afterwards found, *This way passed the Unfortunate James de Nicuesa*. He was the first that discover'd *Darien*, where he was reduc'd to such Extremity, that his Men were forc'd to eat Dogs, Tords, and one another. After this *Philip Godofre* desir'd the Government of *Beragua*, but with no better Success, by reason of Famine; this was in the Year 1536.

The Admiral *Lewis Columbus* sent *Christopher Peña* to People there, who suffer'd much by Famine. By agreement betwixt the King and *Columbus*, he was created Duke of *Veraguas*, and Marquess of *Jamaica*, Ann. 1546.

Darien.

Hojeda, *Nicuesa*, and *Bastida*, as you have heard, were the Discoverers of this Country; and after many Calamities, Mutinies, Famine and other Misfortunes, *Hojeda* dy'd a Fryar at *Sto. Domingo*, and left *Francis Pizarro* his Lieutenant.

In 1502. *Bastida* fitted two Vessels at *Cadiz*. He had been with *Columbus* in all his Voyages, but lost his Ships at *Sto. Domingo*, by the Worm that eat them. He was imprison'd by *Borradilla*, for Trading with the Indians without leave; but the King gave him 200 Ducats a year in lieu of *Darien*. When those Indians Fought with the Spaniards, they would put Gold at the end of their Arrows, thinking they would stoop for it, and they might kill them.

Pizarro seeing the 50 Days expir'd, wherein *Hojeda* had promis'd to return (who, as was said above, was become a

Friar)

Friar) being in great want of Victuals left that Counry, and put to Sea with two Caravels; one of them was cast away in a Storm, and the other had her Rudder struck off by a Fish; which made them all conclude themselves lost, but by good luck they got to *Carthagena* almost Starved

In his way he left *Enciso*, whom *Hojeda* had left to follow with Victuals. *Pizarro* told him how *Hojeda* was turn'd Friar, but *Enciso* thought it was an Invention of his own, and that *Pizarro* had fled from him; but being satisfy'd, he caus'd him to return, tho' *Pizarro* offer'd him 2000 Ounces of Gold, not to go back, the Country was so unfortunate.

They landed at *Comagre* to take in Water; and tho' the *Indians* were Man eaters, yet they us'd them kindly when they understood that neither *Hojeda* nor *Nicuisa* were there. Going into *Vraba* their Ships struck, and their Mares, Hogs, and all they had, was lost.

This disaster made *Enciso* desperate, thinking they must all perish; and they all Swore to one another, rather to Die by the hands of Men than by Hunger. They Landed with 100 Men, and were beaten. Thence they went to a Country close by, and built a Village, calling it *Guardia*: At first the *Indians* were quiet, but afterwards became their Enemies, whom they overcame, and possess'd much Wealth of theirs.

Now began great Factions between *Enciso* and *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*; *Nuñez* refus'd to obey him, or pay the King his Fifths, and thus they continu'd a Year.

Henry Colmenores went with two Caravels from *Sto. Domingo*, to relieve *Hojeda's* Men. After many Dangers he arriv'd at *Carefa*, and put 55 Men ashore, whom the *Indians* slew, excepting 7, that hid themselves in a Tree; but they were taken and eaten. *Colmenores* fearing the *Indians* would attempt his Caravels, remov'd to the Gulph of *Vraba*, and firing his Guns, was answer'd with Fires by the *Spaniards* ashore. There was great Joy for their meeting, and all of them made up 150 Men; a sufficient number against the *Indians*.

The Factions continu'd, and to appease them *Colmenores* advis'd, That *Enciso* should Govern, he having the King's Patent for it. *Nuñez* refus'd, and would not allow of it; but afterwards took *Enciso* and confiscated all he had. *Enciso* got into *Spain* to complain of him, and obtain'd a severe Judgment against him, which came to nothing; because afterwards *Nuñez* was the cause of finding the *South Sea*; and all

the Wealth obtain'd by it. *Nuñez* had done many other good Services, and Conquer'd *Castilla del Oro*.

Nuñez having the absolute Power, endeavour'd to Govern well, and had 250 *Spaniards*; and in the Town of *Nuestra Señora el entigua del Darien*, with 130 of them he went out to find Victuals for the rest; an *Indian* King refusing him Relief, he took two of his Wives and Children, and carry'd them away; in the plundering the Town he recover'd three *Spaniards* that had been taken of *Nicuisa's* company, who told him, how well that King had us'd them; whereupon he releas'd his two Wives and Children, and took their Oaths to Aid him against *Ponca* their Enemy, and to relieve them with Victuals.

Nuñez sent his Friend *Maldivia* to *Sto. Domingo* for more Men, because the Country promis'd Gold, and with him a Process against *Enciso*: He Sack'd a Town two Leagues up the Country, where he had Gold, but could not take *Ponca*; and fearing to be so far in the Country without more help, he return'd to *Comagre*, and made Peace with him. *Comagre* had a fair built House, plenty of Victuals, and liv'd in a Civil manner. He had 7 Wives and 7 Children, his eldest Son gave him 70 Slaves to serve the *Spaniards*, and much Gold. As they were weighing the Gold, two *Spaniards* fell out, which the King observing, he struck down the Scales, saying, 'If I had known, *Christians*, you would have fallen out for my Gold, I would not have given you any; for I love Peace, and I wonder that you who are Friends should fall out for so vile a thing. If your Country try be so Civiliz'd as you report, it had been better you had kept in it, than to come so far to Quarrel. We live here and content our selves with indifferent things, and you call us Barbarous; but we will not kill one another for Gold; but I will shew you a Country where there is Gold enough.'

The *Spaniards* were astonish'd to hear the young Man talk so rationally; and caus'd the three *Spaniards* that were taken, to ask how for that Country he promis'd was off, and how call'd. He told them 7 Days Journey, and that the name of it was *Termenana*; but advis'd them to carry more Men, because the way was Mountainous, and the People Men eaters.

Nuñez, hearing him talk of another Sea, embrac'd him with great Joy, and besought him to become a *Christian*, which he did, and was Baptiz'd by the Name of *Charles*. He was a great Friend to *Christians*, and promis'd to go with them to the other Sea; provided

provided they would carry 1000 *Spaniards*, for fewer would not Conquer *Temenana*; if they mistrusted him, he offered to go bound; and if he told a Lye, they should hang him; and this was the beginning of the Discovery of the *South Sea*.

Núñez return'd with great Joy to *Darien*, and divided his Wealth: The King's part came to 15000 *Pesos*, which was cast away going to *Spain*. *Núñez* endur'd great Misery, the Corn they Sow'd being spoil'd with Rain. Men were sent out with great danger for Food, who return'd with Gold; but all full of Sores made by the biting of Gnats.

Colmenores went another way with 70 Men; they met together, and went among the People that live upon Trees. The *Spaniards* desir'd a Peace with them, which they refus'd, relying on the height of their Trees; but when the *Spaniards* offer'd to cut them down, which they imagin'd they could not do, till they saw it, they then offer'd them Peace and Victuals. Gold they did not use, but promis'd to fetch some, yet came not again, being gone to perlwade other Kings to join with them against the *Spaniards*. They gather'd 5000 Men in Boats, which was discover'd by a Woman *Núñez* had with him. He prevented their Treason, and slew most of them; and they never after attempted any Treachery against the *Spaniards* in those parts.

Colmenores was sent to the Emperor with this news; but his Wife they kept as a Pledge. *Colmenores* had been a Soldier under the Great Captain.

John Sebedo, a Franciscan, was the first Bishop of *Antigua* in *Darien*, and the first Priest that ever was in that new World. *Núñez* was a Gentleman by Birth, Industrious in War, and belov'd by his Soldiers. This Country is unwholsome, subject to much Rain, and many were there kill'd by Thunderbolts.

Zenu

Is a River, a Town, and Port, Ten Leagues from the Sea, which has a good Trade for Fish. The *Indians* there work their Plate curiously. *Bascada* discover'd it *An.* 1512. but *Hojeda* and *Enciso* did most good there.

Enciso, being ready to give Battle there, told the *Indians* they were *Spaniards*, and peaceable Men, who came thither from afar, in great danger, and desir'd Victuals. The others answer'd, There was little sign, they were such Men, and desir'd them to be gone, for they would admit of no Stranger among them. The *Spaniards* per-

suaded them to own the true God, and told them that Country was given them by the Pope, who had the Command of Souls; and that they came to take possession of it. They answer'd, Laughing, That they approv'd of the Service of one God, but would not dispute of Religion; That the Pope was very free of what was not his own, but had nothing to do with them; and that either the King of *Spain* was very poor, to desire their Country, or very bold to threaten them; and that if he came thither himself, they would set his Head upon a Pole. To conclude, they Engag'd, and the *Spaniards* overthrew them with the loss of Two Men.

Carthagena.

Juan de la Costa, who was Pilot with *Bastida* in 1504 set out four Caravels, offering to subdue the *Indians* of this Place. He came to *Carthagena*, where he found Captain *Lewis Guerra*; they join'd together, and took 700 Men, and return'd without doing any great matter.

Peter de Herrera went Governor with 100 Men, 40 Horses, and 3 Caravels in 1532. He Peopled it; but a Mutiny hapning among the *Spaniards*, he and his Brother were brought Prisoners into *Spain*.

The People here are taller than in any other part of the *West-Indies*. They are now *Christians* and have a Bishop.

Santa Marta.

Bastida Discover'd and Govern'd this Land in 1524. but it cost him his Life; for his Soldiers Mutiny'd against him, because he would not give them the spoil of Gold; saying, He valu'd the *Indians* more than them. His Death was procur'd by his Friend *Peter Fuentes*, who thought by his Death to Rule all.

D. Pedro de Lugo succeeded him, and after him his Son, both of them exceeding Coverous. Here *Pedrañas d' Avila* Land-ed, when he went Governor to *Darien*, and had a great Engagement with the *Indians*, who were much daunted at the Cannon firing from the Ships; for they thought it had been Thunder and Lightning.

New Granada

Is 18 Leagues from *Santa Maria*, and was Discover'd by *Gonçalo Ximenes*; He found out the Mines of Emeralds, by means of the King of *Bigoufa*, who us'd the *Spaniards* civilly. This King had 40 Wives, his Subjects were Obedient to him, and would not suffer him to spit on the Ground. They kept a Lent Two Months in

in the Year, during which time they were not to know Woman, nor eat Salt. In 1547. the Emperor sent a Governor to *New Granada*.

Venezuela.

The first Governor here was *Ambrose Alfinger* a German, in behalf of some Merchants the Emperor Mortgag'd it to. In 1528. he was kill'd, and his Men reduc'd to such Misery, that they eat three *Indians*. *George Spira*, another German, succeeded him.

Queen *Isabel* would not consent that any but her own Subjects should go to the *Indies*; but after her Death, the King gave leave to the *Aragonians*. The Emperor open'd this gap to Strangers, by this Contract with the *Germans*, yet now none can go but *Spaniards*.

Venezuela is now a Bishoprick; it is so call'd, because seated like *Venice*: The Women are more familiar than in any other part of the *Indies*; but their Religion and Attire is no better.

Cumana and Cubagua.

Cumana is a River that takes the Name of the Province. Here was a great Fishery for People, and certain Friars built a Monastery in the year 1516. *John Garcia* being their Vicar. Three of them went to convert the People up the Country, but were slain; yet afterwards the others brought the People to Civility, and their Children to learn. Thus it continued Two Years, at the end whereof they revolted and slew 100 *Spaniards*, entered the Town, destroyed the Monastery, and killed all the Friars.

James Columbus being Governor of *Sto. Domingo*, sent 300 *Spaniards* to revenge this Wrong, under the Command of *Gonzalo de Ocampo*. At his first coming he pretended to the *Indians* that he came out of *Spain*, which embolden'd them to come aboard him. When he had as many as he thought fit, he seized them, made them confess all their Villany, and compelled them to build the Town of *Toledo*, which is within half a League of the Sea.

When the aforesaid Monastery flourished, *Bartholomew de las Casas*, a Priest, that had lived in *Sto. Domingo*, begg'd the Government of this Country, promising the Emperor more Wealth, and that the *Indians* should be better us'd than before. By means of Count *Nassau*, and other *Flemings*, he obtain'd it. He was furnish'd at the King's Expence, and carried 300 Labourers, with every one a Cross on his

Breast, like a Knight. At his coming he found *Ocampo* there, and the Country in another Condition than he had expected. He requir'd *Ocampo* to obey him, which he refus'd till he had Orders from *Columbus*, who employ'd him, and would not allow him to come into his Town of *Toledo*, but oblig'd him to build a great Barn of Clay without for his Labourers. Both went to *Sto. Domingo* to complain, by which means *Toledo* was unpeopled, which the *Indians* taking the Advantage of, they entered upon the Clay-house, and left not a *Spaniard* alive. The Priest hearing hereof, became a Friar, and never sent the *Flemings* the Pearls he had promised them.

The Loss of the Pearl Fishery was a great Damage to the King; but *Columbus* sent *John Castellon*, with a number of *Spaniards*, who made amends for the Follies of the other two, recover'd the Country, built a Castle at the mouth of the River, and set up the Pearl Fishery at *Cubagua*, where *New Cadiz* was built. This Island was but two miles about, and barren in those days, but yielded to the Value of Two Millions in Pearls. There is a sweet and medicinal Spring in it. At some times of the year the Sea is red, which they impute to the breeding of Oysters, and purging of Women. They say here are Mermaids. This Island of *Cubagua* was discover'd by *Columbus*, which was the cause of his Disgrace, being accus'd for concealing Pearls he took there.

Vincent Pinson, and *Adrian* his Nephew, growing rich in their Voyage with *Columbus*, fitted out Four Caravels, and had leave to discover those Countries where *Columbus* had not been. They came to *Cape St. Augustine*, where they found People as big as *Germans*, and had Experience of their Valour, for they slew 8 *Spaniards*; yet he brought away 30 *Indians*, and much *Brazil*, but lost Two Caravels, Men and all, having spent Ten Months upon the Voyage.

Orellano and Amazons.

This is counted the famousst River in the World, rises in *Peru*, has many Islands in it, and flows 100 Leagues into the Country. The Man that gave an Account of it was *Francis de Orellano*, Lieutenant to *Gonzalo Pizarro*.

Orellano being in *Peru*, was sent by his Captain to seek Victuals, and being in a Boat, was carried with such swiftness by the Current, that he could not return to *Pizarro*. He carried with him much Wealth, and came out into the North Sea

down that River. From thence he sail'd into *Spain*, where he sh'd for Employment and undertook that Voyage to the River of *Orellano*. He staid in *Spain* till all his We alth was spent, and then marry'd, and drew his Wife's Friends to venture with him. He gather'd 500 Men, but unfortunately dy'd at his going to Sea, and that Enterprize was never alter attempted. He reported he met with *Amazon Women*, but it was not believ'd.

It is suppos'd that *Merañon* and *Orellana* have both the same source in *Peru*, and that the latter is 15 Leagues over, where it falls into the Sea.

James de Ordaz, who had been a Captain with *Cortez* at the Conquest of *Mexico*, was sent thither with the Title of *Adelantado*, carrying 600 *Spaniards* and 35 Horses; but the Enterprize fail'd by his Death.

Ferome Ortillano was sent afterwards with 130 Men in the year 1534. who arriv'd not there, but staid and Peopled at *St. Michael*, *Venevinte*, and other Places.

The River of Plate.

From *Cape S. Augustine* to the River of *Plate* is 700 Leagues. Some attribute the Honour of Discovering it to *Americus Vesputius*; but it was *John de Solis* in 1512. who return'd into *Spain* with his Ships laden with *Brazil Wood*, and obtain'd the Government of the River of *Plate*; but Landing with some Men, he and they were all slain in 1515; yet his Ships return'd safe. In the Year 1526. *Sebastian Cabot*, in his Voyage to find the *Molucco Islands*, of which he sail'd, arriv'd at the River of *Plate* with Four Ships, at the Emperor's Charge. In *Brazil* he found some *Frenchmen* Trading. The *Indians* killed two of his Men, but would not eat them, saying they were Soldiers. *Cabot* return'd into *Spain* with little Credit, tho' he was not to blame, because his Men were in fault.

D. Pedro de Mendoza went to the River of *Plate* in 1535. with 12 Ships and 2000 Men; a greater number than ever had been carry'd to the *Indies* at one time; in the way thither he Sickend, and in his return Dy'd.

Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Voca was sent *Adelantado* to the River of *Plate* in 1541. with 400 Men and 46 Horses. He could not agree with the *Spaniards* *D. Pedro* left there; nor yet with the *Indians*, so that they sent him Prisoner into *Spain*.

John de Sanabria was bound to carry 300 Men, at his own cost, to the River of *Plate*; but he Dy'd at *Sevil*, and his Son went.

F. Bernard de Armentia, and four others

went to the River of *Plate*, and by the way fell upon an Island, where they found Three of *Cobor's* company, who had learnt the Language, and by their means they converted the Savages wonderfully.

Four Years before this, an *Indian* call'd *Orignay* had proclaim'd in those parts, that shortly there would come *Christians*, and Preachers among them; advising those People to receive them, for they were Holy, and would make them leave their Beastliness. He made Songs to that effect, which they Sung; and this prov'd a great help to their Conversion, for they Entertain'd the Friars, as if they had been Gods.

For the better understanding of the Circuit of *America* I will here set down a Rutter of the distance from Haven to Haven, and Cape to Cape, and will begin with the Northern Regions.

	Leagues.
From <i>Greenland</i> to the River <i>Nervado</i>	200
From thence to <i>Maluas</i>	200
From thence to <i>Cape Marso</i>	70
From thence to <i>Delgado</i>	50
From thence to <i>Granzio</i>	200
From thence to <i>Dacalos</i>	200
From thence to <i>Cape Florida</i>	800
From <i>Bacallao Bay</i> to <i>Rio</i>	70
From thence to the Bay of the Islands	70
From thence to <i>Rio Fondo</i>	70
From thence to <i>Rio Ganzas</i>	70
From thence to <i>Cape St. Mary</i>	70
From thence to <i>Cape Baxo</i>	40
From thence to <i>St. Antonio</i>	100
From thence to <i>Cape Arenas</i>	80
From thence to <i>Port Primo</i>	80
From thence to <i>Rio Jordan</i>	70
From thence to <i>St. Hellenia</i>	40
From thence to <i>Rio Seco</i>	40
From thence to <i>Labruz</i>	20
From thence to <i>Cona</i>	40
From thence to <i>Cape Florida</i>	40
From thence to <i>Ancon</i>	50
From thence to <i>Nilves River</i>	100
From thence to <i>Flores</i>	20
From thence to <i>Santo</i>	70
From thence to <i>Pescadores</i>	70
From thence to <i>Rio Palmas</i>	100
From thence to <i>Panuco</i>	30
From thence to <i>Vera Cruz</i>	70
From thence to <i>Alvarado</i>	30
From thence to <i>Casinado</i>	50
From thence to <i>Grigalda</i>	50
From thence to <i>Redando</i>	80
From thence to <i>Jucatan</i>	90
From <i>Florida</i> hither is accounted	800
From thence to <i>Rio Grande</i>	100
From thence to <i>Cape Camero</i>	150
From thence to <i>Cape Gratiofo</i>	70
From	

	Leagues.	Now you enter the South Sea.	Leagues.
From thence to <i>Disagnadero</i>	70	From <i>Cape Deseado</i> to <i>Cape Primero</i>	70
From thence to <i>Zorobaro</i>	40	From thence to the <i>River Salinas</i>	155
From thence to <i>Nombre de Dios</i>	50	From thence to <i>Cape Hermoso</i>	100
From thence to <i>Farallones in Darien</i>	70	From thence to <i>Rio S. Francisco</i>	70
From thence to the <i>Gulph of Vrana</i>	14	From thence to <i>Rio Santo</i>	120
From thence to <i>Carthagena</i>	70	From thence to <i>Puerto Descado in Chile</i>	200
From thence to <i>Santa Marta</i>	50	From thence to <i>Rio Despoblado</i>	90
From thence to <i>Cape de Vela</i>	50	From thence to <i>Ariqui</i>	140
From thence to <i>Caquibaca</i>	40	From thence to <i>Lima</i>	100
From thence to <i>Gulph Triste</i>	50	From thence to <i>Cape Aguila</i>	40
From thence to <i>Cape Coriano</i>	100	From thence to <i>Cape Blanco</i>	70
From thence to <i>Cubagna</i>	4	From thence to <i>Quezemes</i>	70
From thence to <i>Point Solis</i>	70	From thence to <i>Rio Peru</i>	100
From thence to <i>Cape Anegado</i>	70	From thence to <i>Gulph St. Michael</i>	70
From thence to <i>Rio Dulce</i>	50	From thence to <i>Gulph Vrano</i>	120
From thence to <i>Orellano</i>	100	From thence to <i>Panama</i>	55
From thence to <i>Maranon</i>	100	From thence to <i>Troantepeque</i>	650
From thence to <i>Tiera de bumes</i>	100	From thence to <i>Guerra</i>	70
From thence to <i>Angla St. Lucar</i>	100	From thence to <i>Barica</i>	100
From thence to <i>Cape Primero</i>	100	From thence to <i>Cape Blanco</i>	100
From thence to <i>Cape St. Augustine</i>	70	From thence to <i>Port of Possifion</i>	100
Cape St. Augustine is the highest Land betwixt <i>Africk</i> and <i>America</i> , and but 500 Leagues from <i>Cape Verde</i> .		From thence to <i>Foufeca</i>	15
From thence to <i>Tados Sanños</i>	100	From thence to <i>Choratego</i>	20
From thence to <i>Abrelos Ojos</i>	100	From thence to <i>Rio Grande</i>	30
From thence to <i>Cape Frio</i>	100	From thence to <i>Guartinola</i>	45
From thence to the <i>Bay St. Michael</i>	600	From thence to <i>Cbirula</i>	50
From thence to <i>Rio St. Francisco</i>	700	From thence to <i>Puerto Serrado</i>	100
From thence to <i>Tibiquerio Rio</i>	700	From thence to <i>Teacampetes</i>	40
From thence to the <i>River of Plate</i>	50	From thence to <i>Colina</i>	100
From thence to <i>Santa Helena</i>	55	From thence to <i>Cape Corrientes</i>	100
From thence to <i>Arenas Goadas</i>	30	From thence to <i>Cbeneton</i>	70
From thence to the <i>Bazar Anegadas</i>	40	From thence to <i>Rio Miraflores</i>	250
Coasting <i>America</i> from Port to Port, as I have done, it amounts to 9300 and odd Leagues.		From thence to <i>Cape Californio</i>	230
From thence to <i>Tierra Baxa</i>	50	From thence to the <i>Bay of Abad</i>	100
From thence to <i>Baxa Sinfond</i>	75	From thence to <i>Cape Eugañio</i>	100
From thence to <i>Arecifes de Lobas</i>	40	From thence to <i>Cape de Cruz</i>	50
From thence to <i>Cape St. Domingo</i>	45	From thence to <i>Port Sardinias</i>	100
From thence to <i>Cape Blanco</i>	20	From thence to <i>Syerra Neada</i>	150
From thence to <i>Rio de Juan Serrano</i>	70	There is the furthest Discovery.	
From thence to the <i>Cape of Eleven Thousand Virgini</i> .	80	It is to be consider'd that the <i>South Sea</i> Ebbs and Flows very high, and the <i>North Sea</i> does not, unless it be in <i>Pavia</i> , the <i>Streights of Magellan</i> , or a few other places. And thus much concerning <i>America</i> .	
From thence you pass the <i>Streights of Magellan</i> , which is 150 Leagues long.			

The Length and Breadth of Europe, Asia and Africk, the other Three known parts of the World.

Europe takes its Western beginning from the farthest part of *Ireland*, running to the *River Tanais* towards the East; accounted 2166 Miles, both places lying in 52 Degrees of Latitude: And from North to South, that is, from the *Morea* lying in 35 Degrees Northward, to 72

Degrees of Latitude, is reckoned 2220 Miles, and had in it of late Years, till some of them were united into one, 28 *Christian Kingdoms*.

Asia, from the East to the West, that is to say, from the *River Tanais*, directly Eastward, 4284 Miles; and from North to South, 4560 Miles.

Africk, from East to West (*viz.*) from *Gambra* to *Guardafu* in 10 Degrees of North Latitude, is 4155 Miles; and from North to South 2760 Miles (*viz.*) to the Equi-

nodial Line, 10 Degrees, 600 Leagues; from thence to the *Cape of Good Hope* 2160 Miles

The Two Worlds undiscover'd, besides the Four known.

THE Four known Parts and Divisions of the World have been often spoke of in these Discourses; and besides these Four, there are Two others, generally conceiv'd not as yet discover'd.

The one under the Pole, and not fit to be attempted, tho' we certainly know a Land to be there; but my hope is as in my Discourse of the North-West Passage will appear, that under the North Pole we shall find a Sea, and no Land, through which we shall pass to *China*, and those parts of the World.

If not, tho' that part of the Earth should afford us another World, as big and spacious as all the rest besides, yet could we expect no more advantage from it, than *Greenland* affords us, which never any Man inhabited to bid us Welcome; nor Commodity on Shore to entice us thither to repair; and therefore, tho' another World should appear in that Climate, it can neither benefit us, nor the *Christian Commonwealth*, more than a Country of Ice and Snow.

The second imagin'd New World is to the Southward of the *Streights* of *Magellan*, commonly call'd *Tierre del Fuego*, which is suppos'd to be a Continent, and to run East and West the compass of the World about.

That there is a Land, beside the Probabilities, there are Proofs; the one by Mr. *Richard Hawkins*, in his Voyage into the South Sea: For falling short of the *Streights* of *Magellan*, he espy'd a Country; but his Intention being of another sort than Discovery, he would not approach the Shore, but stood his direct Course to the *Streights*, which he pass'd in 1594.

The next Proof of a Land, tho' not of a main Land, suppos'd by Sir *Francis Drake* to be to the Southward of the *Streights*, was found out by *Cornelius van Stowden*, of whom I have spoken in my Second Book, that in the year 1616. discover'd a Passage into the South Sea, 3 Degrees to the Southward of the *Streights*, where he found diversity of Lands and Islands till he arriv'd at the *Molucco's*, as I have said in the Second Book.

But be it firm Land, or Islands, it is all one to us, that seek by the Knowledge of it to make Gain by it. It is a vain thing for us to think, that a Country seated in so cold a Climate, and not inhabited, should bring forth the Fruits of the Earth, or that it can be planted to afford us any Commodity, no not the value of fetching, tho' it should cost us nothing.

For compare it with *Newfoundland*, and the Continent of that Coast, long since discover'd and known to us, and consider what Use or Profit we have made, or can make, of a Plantation there, and we shall find it not worth our Labour; for tho' it be not so cold as farther to the Northward, yet 'tis in that Extremity of Coldness, that in many hundred years it cannot be temper'd for our Bodies to live in.

This may seem an ambiguous Speech, that the Earth of an intolerable cold Constitution may be temper'd for Men to live in, and to make use and benefit of.

But what I shall say in this Point is prov'd, both by Reason and Experience, That the coldness of *America* in 51 Degrees, which doth parallel us in *England*, is by many Degrees colder than with us in *England*, and the Difference thereof caused by Art and Pains: For where there is a Plantation of Towns and Houses, Commerce of People, whose Breath sends forth a Heat, Divisions of Lands, as by Walls, Ditches, Hedges, the Grounds trench'd and dry'd with continual Fires, it yields a perpetual Heat, and is a Shelter against all kind of Cold, in comparison of a Country that has none of these Benefits or Helps.

We our selves have Examples of it, betwixt a Natural, Moorish, and Wet Dwelling, and such a Place that by Industry and Art is brought to a better Perfection. We see the difference of Houses that are continually dwelt in, and Fires kept burning; and others that lie uninhabited, wast, and no care taken of them.

Besides these Reasons, to discourage us from planting in these Degrees of *America* equal to *England*, the *French* have convinc'd us by their Example, who by their long Travel and Charge have sought to
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produce some Benefit out of those Countries; but all their Labours have prov'd vain, for they find the Cold destroys all their good Intentions, and the only Gain they now make is in their Trades for Furs.

Then if by Reason and Proof, *America* in 51 Degrees can yield us no Profit, being but 2000 Miles from *England*, where we have a Conveniency to Transport our Men and Provision once a year, at an easy Rate, in Ships that fish in *Newfoundland*, by whom we may be Reliev'd; what can we expect from a Country in the same Latitude Southward, that is as cold, the People barbarous and savage, and having no Conveniency to Transport our Men, otherwise than in Ships we purposely hire, to sail nigh 7000 Miles from *England*, the *Equinoctial* Line to be twice pass'd in going and coming, which must distemper Men's Bodies by the sudden entering out of the Cold into the Heat; and this is the only Cause to be imputed to the Death of our Men in our long Navigations.

More then for our own Satisfaction, that a Land is there placed, we can expect no Good from thence, for where there wants Heat, there wants Riches, by proof of the pure Metals, and the quantity and diversity of them, growing betwixt the two *Tropicks*, above all other Parts of the World.

And for our other kind of Commodities that are produced out of the Earth, the Temperate *Zone* affords them in most abundance, but not caus'd by the Heat of the Sun alone, but by the Managing and Manuring of the Land; by the Labour and Industry of the People; and by the Commerce, Trade, and Civility betwixt Man and Man, Country and Country; for no doubt in times past, when the People of *England* were barbarous, they liv'd in the same estate, and the Country was of the same condition that other places are of the same height at this instant.

Therefore I conclude, that tho' all the Countries contain'd in the Hot and Temperate *Zones* yield no Profit, unless they be manur'd and us'd accordingly; yet I say, no part of the World out of those *Zones*, where the Cold has so predominate a Power over Men, Beasts, and Fruits of the Earth, is of any Value or Goodness to intice Men to Inhabit or People it; for neither

by Art or Industry such a Climate can be made capable for Man to live in, or fruitful to make any use of.

But notwithstanding these Reasons collected out of Experience, there are some Men, who, to appear Singular, and others for Argument-like, go about to prove there are other Countries not yet discover'd, as pleasant and as plentiful as those that are known by daily Traffick.

It has been my Chance often to meet with some of these self-conceited witty Men; and for want of Learning to defend my Opinion, I have fled to the Protection of Reason, with Humility to submit to Judgment, and to acknowledge my Errors, after I am confuted by Proof: But before the Discovery of any such Countries should be set on foot, I have advis'd that the first thing they should attempt, should be to find out another *Sun*, for the Power and Operation of this *Sun* is known to us, by the Light it sends abroad to all Parts of the World at several Seasons of the year, as the Countries are seated from the *Equinoctial* Line, which is term'd the *Girdle of the World*.

This *Sun* is known to rise in the East, and set in the West, making its Course every 24 hours about the World; its Declination to the Northward and Southward is well known to us not to exceed the two *Tropicks*, which are in 23 Degrees and an half from the *Equinoctial*: We likewise know, that it is the Guide of the Lengthning and Shortning of the Days, occasion'd by its Motion. We also know all such Lands in *America*, *Africa*, and *Asia*, as lie between the two *Tropicks*; and, Trading into these Countries, know what the Heat of the *Sun* in that space produces.

Then seeing we are perfectly acquainted with the Virtue and Quality of our *Sun*, and the Power and Heat it sends forth to the Countries adjoining to it, and that the Riches of all Places grow by the Heat they are seated in; I desire to be satisfy'd what richer Countries can be hop'd for besides those already known to us, unless there be another *Sun* to work the Operation this *Sun* does. And thus much concerning my private Opinion of the Two Worlds undilcover'd.

Other Seas besides the Ocean, great part of them lately discover'd.

I Have sail'd into all the Quarters and Corners of the Earth through the wide unknown Ocean, and left no Country unspoken of, to which the main Sea has given Passage. But besides the great spacious and known Seas, besides the Commerce, Trade, and Intercourse of all Nations I have at large related, there are other Seas which, in comparison of the Ocean, may be term'd rather *Lakes* or *Streights*, which I will a little handle.

The First shall be the *Caspian* Sea, which is environ'd and compass'd about with Land, and seated in a main Continent, where there is no Issue or Passage into any other Sea. but like a Pool or Pond it has a settled Being.

The Second is the *Red* Sea, which, after 1200 Miles running, falls into the *Indian* Sea; and but that this Sea is named a Sea in the Scripture, which is the Authentick Proof of all other Authors, it should no more deserve the Name of a Sea, than the *Persian* Gulph, which falls into the *Indian* Sea, and is equal in breadth and length to the *Red* Sea, and yet is call'd a Gulph.

The Third is the *Mediterranean* Sea, which divides *Europe* from *Africk*; and something I will say of this Sea, when it comes to the place to be treated of, but first concerning the *Caspian* and *Red* Sea.

The *Caspian* Sea is at least 200 Leagues in length, and 150 in breadth, many Rivers running into it, and especially the River *Volga* out of *Russia*, which River divides it self into 17 Branches before it falls into the *Caspian* Sea.

There are few Ships, and but small Trade on this Sea, for want of Mariners and Sea-Port Towns, and because of the Poverty of the People, and abundance of Ice. Our *English* Merchants finding a Trade into *Persia* out of *Russia* by the *Caspian* Sea, built a Ship after the manner of *England*, the *Tar* us'd about her issu'd out of the Earth thereabouts; she was of 27 or 30 Tuns burthen, and sail'd with *English* Mariners. This was the first and the best built Ship that ever sail'd, or display'd Christian Colours, in those Seas; she drew not above 5 Foot Water, for the Sea is both shallow, and subject to Sholes. This Trade was left off, by reason of the Danger of Thieves and Robbers, and the Barbarity of the People.

About this Sea, *Otoman*, the first of that Name and House that bare Rule amongst

the *Turks*, had his Original, and came from thence in the year 1300.

In some places of this Sea the Water is fresh, and in some other places as salt as in the Ocean.

It neither ebbs nor flows, except some times with the rage of the Wind.

There are several sorts of Fish, which are not in our Seas; but great Monsters and Fishes there are none. And thus much for the *Caspian* Sea.

The *Red* Sea is not red, as many conceive, but takes the Name from the red Bushes that grow along the Shore side. Others are of opinion, that the Name is deriv'd from the red Sands in that Sea, especially toward the Shore, which cause the Water to look red.

This Sea has three Channels; that in the middle is the deepest, and betwixt 25 and 30 Fathom; the other two are full of Rocks and Shoals, which makes it Navigable only in the day time, and that with Danger.

The Shore affords neither Grass, Herbs, nor Weeds, nor the Sea any quantity of Fish.

Some are of opinion, that the Gold of *Ophir* was brought out of the *East-Indies* through this Sea.

No Man can sail in this Sea, but *Turks*, or such as have Licence from them, for which they pay very dear.

Prestor John has only one Harbour in the *Red* Sea, call *Arquico*; the *Portugueses* and *Prestor John* have often attempted to damnify the *Turks* in the *Red* Sea, but they proceeded so faintly, that they still sail'd in their Enterprizes.

Mecca is the Place so famous for the Sepulcher of *Mahomet*, and for the number of People yearly resorting to it, seated upon the *Red* Sea, and 40 days Journey from *Cairo* in *Egypt*. *Sida* is a great Port in this Sea, whither 40 or 50 Ships yearly resort, laden with Spices, and other rich Commodities out of *Cambodaya*, and other Parts of the *East-Indies*. And now to the *Mediterranean* Sea.

Out of the *Mediterranean*, two other Seas are encreased; the *Adriatick*, which runs up to the City of *Venice*, and divides *Italy* from *Greece*; and the *Euxine*, that parts *Europe* from *Asia*, posses'd only by the Great *Turk*.

The *Euxine* Sea, and no other part of the *Turks* Dominions, except the Island of *Ciprus*, affords him any Harbour to build
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Gallies in, or Ships, or Materials to build them withal. What Ships, Gallies, or other Vessels soever he at any time sends into the *Red Sea*, are carry'd from thence to *Alexandria*, and Transported to *Cayro*, and so to *Susa*, which is above 200 Miles by Land, a Trouble and Charge not to be estimated, if we consider his Fleet of 80 great Ships, 25 Foysts, 4 Galeasses, 20 Gallies, and 7 other Vessels, all brought out of the *Euxean Sea* to *Susa*, in the manner aforesaid, when he attempted and failed in his Enterprize to *Aden* in 1573.

The Commerce and Trade into the *Mediterranean Sea*, has been more Ancient and Famous, than all other Seas in the World, although it is neither long nor broad; for at the entrance into it, it is not above two Leagues over, which was forced by means and labours of People, as it is received by Tradition; and I rather believe it, because to this day the Entrance into this Sea, is call'd *The Pillars of Hercules*, who is said to be the Author of the Work; and were it not for this small Entrance, considering that the Sea has a stoppage upon the Land of *Syria*, it were rather to be termed a Lake than a Sea.

Among many Observations on the *Mediterranean*, this is not the least to be considered, That tho' the Ocean continually runs through this small Streight of two Leagues, carrying such abundance of Water, that in reason it were enough to overflow and drown that part of the Earth on which it beats, having no passage out; yet in no part of the Land where these Waters pass, does exceed its ordinary and usual bounds and limits. There have been many Opinions and Disputes about the reason hereof; but for my part I hold with him who judges that Sea has a passage under the Earth.

My next Observation is, That God has plac'd in that Sea, the most, and the most plentiful Islands of the Earth; which Islands have heretofore sent forth Men of Fame, to enrich the World with Wit and Learning, and in this time spread their Commodities into all the Countries of *Europe*, and receive theirs in Exchange.

Andtho' I may attribute to every Island some particular Honour, but that it is not proper to my Discourse, that Treats only of the Sea; yet will I say for the excellency of the Island of *Cyprus*, which the *Turks* have enjoy'd ever since the Year 1091. that it affords, without the help of any other Country, Materials to Build and Furnish a Ship; as namely, Masts, Ropes, Sails, and such like, that she need not be beholding to her Neighbours.

My Third Observation is, That in that Sea there have been fought more Naval Battles by the *Romans*, *Turks* and *Christians*, than in all other Seas of the World besides: The Wars of the Pyrates was in that Sea, whom *Pompy* the Great overcame, to his everlasting Honour and Praise: The *Romans* kept in continual Imployment in that Sea 2000 Sail of Ships, 1500 Gallies, 80 great Gallions, with their Prows and Poops richly Gilt, and had always double Provision for the Navy.

My 4th Observation is God's Blessing to the *Christians* and *Christian* Shores, opposite to *Barbary*; posselt by *Turks* and *Moors*; for that in all that Coast of theirs God has not given them one Harbour to entertain a Fleet; which has made them heretofore ignorant in Navigation, and Sea-Affairs; whereas if the Shore had afforded them Ports, and their Land Timber, and all other Materials to build Shipping, considering their Numbers, Valours, and the Division of *Christians*; I am of Opinion, before now, they had been Masters of the better part of *Europe*. And I may the better conjecture it, by the hurts and spoils the Pyrates of *Argiers* and *Tunis*, have of late years committed upon the *Christians*, since they have had the use of *Christian* Ships, for themselves have none.

And only these two places afford Safety for their Vessels; *Argiers* by a Mole or Cove, made by Art in the Sea: *Tunis* by an open Road call'd the *Goleta*; and this shall suffice for the *Mediterranean*.

Besides these Seas aforesaid, there are many Lakes, some known, others imagin'd, or receiv'd by Tradition; as namely, that of *Africk*, call'd *Zembre*, out of which flow the Rivers *Nylus*, *Nyger*, *Como*, *Quama*, *Maginca*, and divers others.

The River *Nylus* flows 40 Days in a Year, and decreases as many (that is to say) from the 27th of *July* to the 6th. of *October*. The River *Nyger* doth the like, and much about that time.

The River *Cambra* and *Seneca* which divides the Colour and Complexion of the People, falls out of *Niger*. On one side of the River *Cambra* the People are of a dead Ash-colour, lean, and of small Stature, on the other, black Negroes, tall and well proportion'd.

In the Lake of *Zembre*, as also in the River of *Layar*, there are Water-Horses, and Water-Oxen, which at night come ashore and Graze; the Horses are sometimes taken and made tame; they run swift

swift, but a Man must be careful how he rides over a deep River on one of them, for they will suddenly dive under water.

Sinus Persicus is in the Gulph of *Persia*, and has in the mouth of it, in the *Indian* Sea, the Island of *Ormus*, famous for the great Trade to it from the *Indies*, and all the Countries in that part of the World.

There are divers Towns of the *Arabs* on the Gulph of *Persia*, and great Traffique by Water; notwithstanding it is both shallow, great Customs are paid, and it is subject to *Arabian* Thieves.

The Town they first Imbarque at in passing down to *Ormus*, is *Beirr*; the Vessels that sail in that Sea, are of 40 or 50 Tuns in burthen, and have no Iron in them, but only in their Anchors.

Babylon stands upon the River *Tygris*, which falls into the River of *Euphrates*; it is a great throughfare, and stands in *Persia*; from *Babylon* they go to *Balsora*, which is a Town of great Traffique; in former time it was under the *Arabs*, but

now under the *Turks*: From *Balsora* they go to *Ormus*, which is 600 Miles distant, and all in the *Persian* Gulph.

Besides the Sea and Lands lately discover'd, of which I have formerly treated, producing nothing but my own Reasons to strengthen my Opinion, there are other Seas and unknown Passages, supposed to make a Passage or Communication from one to another, as namely, the North-West and North-East Passages to bring us toother Seas, which our Nation, above others, has been industrious to search out, to its yearly Expence, Hazard and Charge, without effecting any thing as yet; these that follow are Reasons, or rather Arguments *pro & contra*, to prove or disprove a Passage; which I refer, as I do all the rest of my Discourses, to the Consideration of Men of more Judgment than my self; it was written upon the return of *Hudson's* Ship, after he was treacherously Murder'd by his Company.

A Discourse concerning the North-West Passage.

There are three things to be consider'd in this pretended Voyage, upon the Discovery of the Northwest Passage this present Year 1610.

1. The first is the probability of a Passage.
2. Whether it is like to tend to the Southward or Northward.
3. What Commodities are like to arise to us alone, above any other Nation by it.

That there is a Passage, is confidently believ'd, tho' there be several Opinions whether it runs into the *South-Sea*, or into the *North-West*, which Experience must determine. Some there are who pretend to have pass'd it themselves, but their words carry so little shew of Reason along with them, that they deserve no Credit.

Gemma Frigius says, There went three Brethren from *Europe* through this Passage, whence it took the name of *Fretum Trium Fratrum*.

In my Opinion, if *Gemma Frigius*, intended we should believe his Report, he should have set down the Names of the three Brethren, their Country, the Shipping, out of what Port, or by whom they were employ'd, the Season of the Year they set forth, the time of their return, the Course they sail'd, what Hope or Despair in making Benefit of their Discovery, the Conditions of the People

they met with, the Commodities of every Country where they had Commerce, the Altitude of every Place, what Dangers are to be shunn'd, or some particular Accident that fell out in the Voyage; for these are Designs of Men's Voyages and Discoveries; and not mentioning any of them, Why may we not conceive it to be a Fiction, as well as divers other Names, that are given to Places in Maps within the Lands of *Africa*, *Asia* and *America*, which never any Man was known to be at, to give an account of.

We must either conclude that Passage not worth following, which was Discover'd, and left off after the first Voyage; or that those Princes, or others to whom they made Relation of it, gave little credit to their Report.

For no doubt, if there had been any such thing, it was undertaken for the same end we now attempt it (that is) for the discovery of new Lands, where we may have Commerce and Traffique: They could not be ignorant of the nature of Commodities, and it is like they would have brought home an Example of some, that would have given Encouragement to have persevered, and not desisted from the Enterprise, it being discover'd; Neither is it likely that three Brethren, who presumed to undertake such a Voyage for their Honour or Glory, would let die so Noble

ble, and so memorable an Action, as the North-West Passage.

The Second Reason to prove a Passage, is alledged by *Cornelius Nepos*, that there were certain *Indians* cast upon the Coast of *Germany*, which were presented by the King of *Smith* to *Quintus Marcellus Celer*, the Proconsul of *France*.

The Third, that in the Year 1160. whilst *Frederick Barbarasso* Reign'd Emperor, there came certain *Indians* cast upon the Coast of *Germany*.

The Fourth, that *Othen* in the Story of the *Goths* affirms, That in the time of the *German* Emperors there were certain *Indians* cast upon the Coast of *Germany*.

These Four Proofs are verifi'd by Three Authors; but considering that we read in the days of *Quintus Marcellus*, the *Romans* were so desirous to enlarge their Empire, that they left no means unattempted, nor no Country heard of Unconquer'd; and that they would not examine these Men, of the Custom of the Country, the Distance from whence they came, the Wealth and Power of their King, the way of their coming, and at least to devise how to send an Ambassador to be inform'd of the State of their Nation, and to settle an intercourse of Traffick. I must confess if these things were not put in practice by the *Romans*, they were less careful of their Government and Greatness than any History can lay to their charge.

These Reasons, with one more, I must likewise alledge to the two *Christian* Emperors, that they should be so careless in their Duty towards God, that having knowledge of Heathen People, they would not use their best endeavours to draw and bring them to the yoke of Christ; by which means they might have been Civiliz'd; and having learnt the Language and true Worship of God, this would have proved a good Introduction to have wrought their own Ends and Desires upon them.

These I say may breed some scruple in me, to doubt that they were People of the *West-Indies*; tho' in those days, they might give them the names of *Indians*, because the Savages and the People of *America*, nor *America* it self, was not then discover'd, nor of many years after. I will not deny, but that such Men might arrive upon the Coast of *Germany*, but I should have been better confirm'd, if the burthen and manner of building their Ship had been express'd, with the number of Men, their time of Absence from home, the Behaviour and Civility of the People, what Sea or Streight they pass'd, what

Commodities they brought with them, and desir'd to carry from thence; for the Author said they came to Trade.

But the greatest Argument we are ground upon, that they came out of the *Indies*, is, because in the Discourse they gave them the name of *Indians*; but I do verily believe, if there were any such People, that they were Savages of *America*, over against *Germany*, who were put from the Shore with a Westerly Wind, as the *Spaniards* relate of a *Biscayner*, that was forced with an Easterly Wind from the *Canaries* to the Coast of *America*, from whom *Columbus* had his light for the Discovery of the *Indies*: Both these Reports I believe alike.

The Fifth proof of a Passage is grounded upon a Report of *Cortereal*, a *Portuguese*, who by his own Report pass'd it, and gave it the name of *Cortereal*. But where this *Portuguese* was Born, or took Shipping, or by whom he was employ'd; or upon what occasion; what became of the rest of the Men; the name of the Ship, Captain and Master; or the Journals of the Voyages, is not express'd; which makes me doubt of the Credit of this Story: For there is no Man so void of Sense, that does not observe the Month and Day of his departure from home, and all Accidents in the Journey; or tho' the *Portuguese* should be careless thereof, yet of Ten Mariners Eight of them would observe it.

But leaving this to the *Portuguese* forgetfulness, let us examine who should employ him, and upon what occasion. If we speak according to Reason, no Prince so likely as the Kings of *England*, *Scotland* or *Denmark*; whose Countries lie more convenient for the Passage.

Neither is it likely that any other than a Prince would set them out, because it would concern a Prince more than any Private Man; but allow that more than One or Ten should employ them; think you the Secret of the Voyage could be conceal'd, or that they would leave prosecuting it, when discover'd; no, no, for in those days *England*, *Scotland* and *Denmark*, would have thought it a great Happiness to their State to have found it out.

And to prove what I say, that *England* was ignorant of any such Discovery, we have no Record of any such Voyage undertaken out of *England*; nor proof of the *Portugueses* offer to any King of *England*, as we have of *Columbus*, who tendered his Service to *Henry* the 7th. for the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, before he made offer of it to *Spain*.

How this *Portuguese* could cause such a Silence in the rest of the Company, as not to make report of it, is very doubtful, seeing Man naturally is apt to extol himself; and such a Service as that Passage, would cause the Men not only to boast of it, but also to make offer where it was most likely to be accepted, which, as I have said, I could never hear was done to *England*.

It is an old saying, That Two may keep Counsel, if the Third be away; but that the *Portugueses* could pass in a Ship that had but two or three Men to Sail her; or that they could be made so silent as not to report; I refer my self to any Judicious Man.

The Voyage was neither by the King his Master's appointment, nor by any Minister under him, or by the consent of the one or the other, you may conjecture; because the Discovery of that Passage, was likely to hazard his Greatness in the *East-Indies*; and therefore if any such should be attempted, it is likely he should rather forbid than further it.

And seeing it was never seconded by *England*, *Scotland*, or *Denmark*, and the King of *Portugal* had less reason than the rest to discover it, I believe the *Portuguese* was like a great many Vagabonds in *England*, who beg under the Name of Soldiers, that never were in War.

The Sixth Proof of a Passage, and particularly out of the *South Sea*, is related by one *Salvatierra*, a Gentleman of *Spain*, that spoke it from the Mouth of one *Andrew Serneta*, a Friar, in the year 1560. which Friar confess'd to the said *Salvatierra*, that he had pass'd from the *South Sea* into *Germany* through the North-West Passage.

This Report seems to be a Heatsey of a second Person; And whether the Friar spoke it to *Salvatierra* or no, that must rest upon the Honesty of *Salvatierra*; And whether the Friar spake Truth in saying it, rests as much upon the Honesty of the Friar; so that there are Two Men's Credits at stake, and neither of them both to be examin'd: But let us examine the likelyhood of it.

The King of *Spain* in those days had as little reason to discover such a Passage into the *South Sea* as the King of *Portugal*, because it would be as great a Damage to him as to the King of *Portugal*, the Trade of *Peru* being as much expos'd as that of the *East-Indies*.

But suppose there was no Hurt or Damage to the King of *Spain* by that Passage, yet the finding of it would be more

inconvenient; for it is nearer from *Lyma* to *Panama*, and from thence to *Nombre de dios* by Land, and so into *Spain*, which is the ordinary way of Trade, than from *Lyma* to *Spain* by a North-West Passage.

And therefore seeing the Discovery of that Passage would neither profit nor shorten the *Spaniards* Voyage, but might in time prejudice, yea hazard the whole *Indies*, I see no reason the *Spaniards* had to attempt this Discovery, but rather to divert it; and therefore the Friar's Testimony to be doubted.

By his own Report, this Passage was not long discover'd before the Year 1560. Sir *Martin Forbusher's* last Attempt to the North-West was undertaken in 1576. so that there could not be 20 years difference betwixt their Two Undertakings.

If the Friar's Relation had been true, it is not likely it would have been concealed: And seeing Sir *Martin's* Action was undertaken by the Queen, who had better Means to understand the State of it than any private Man, no question but the Queen would have procur'd a certain Relation for Sir *Martin's* better Instruction.

Or if the Friar's Arrival had been upon the Coast of *Germany*, as neither the Time, Place, Company, nor Ship, is spoken of, nor any *German* Writer makes mention of, which it is likely they would have done if it had been true; or if not, so memorable a thing as the North-West Passage would not have been forgotten in 20 years.

Besides, the *Germans* had been as likely as any Nation in the World to have attempted it, if there had been cause, considering how industrious and ingenious they are by Nature; and seeing that neither Report made it famous, nor that it was ever seconded by any other Person, I think the Friar pass'd it in a Dream, or upon the Horse *Pegasus*.

The Seventh Reason to prove a Passage, was by *Stephen Gomes* his Offer to *Charles* the Fifth in 1527. who would have sent to discover it, but that his Employment was so great otherwise, that he could not attend it; and the King of *Portugal* fearing that the Emperor would persevere in the Enterprize, gave him 300000 Ducats to desist, as saith *Francisco de Ulloa*.

How probable this is, let us a little examine. First, I think that neither *Gomes* nor any other Man durst make such an Offer to the Emperor; for he might as well have presented him with Poyson in his Cup, as to discover a Passage that might prove so hurtful to the State of *Spain*;

Spain; And I think few Kings would have suffered *Gomes* to have lived if they believed his Relation, lest, upon Refusal, he might have tendred it to some other Prince or Country that might lie more conveniently for it.

Secondly, *Gomes* could not have been such a Fool, but to think, as it stood with the State of the Emperor to have the Passage found, yet, as the Emperor was King of *Spain*, it was the most hurtful and dangerous thing that could happen to his Kingdoms; and of the Two Titles and Dignities, the Emperor was to respect his Inheritance of *Spain*, being Successive, as the other was but Elective.

To prove that it has been pass'd, is not set down by *Gomes*; and Reasons that it may be pass'd, are as well known to Thousands as to *Gomes*, which makes me judge of *Gomes* to be an undertaking Fellow, as we have many in our Age that will put themselves into Action, and promise good Success to keep themselves employ'd.

And I do the rather believe this of *Gomes*, because I read in the Voyage of *Magellan* about the World, that this *Gomes* was Pilot of one of his Ships, wherein *Alvaro Mesquita*, *Magellan's* Nephew, went Captain; and coming into the Streights of *Magellan*, *Gomes* mutiny'd, and compell'd this Captain to return home.

Besides, I find it recorded of the said *Gomes*, That he undertook the Discovery of the North-West Passage in 1525. and after Ten Months spent without effecting it, he brought home certain *Indians*, and arriving at the *Groyne*, was call'd to from the Shore as he entred that Harbour, to know what he came home laden withal, who answer'd, with *Eselavo's*, meaning with *Indians*, which the others conceived to be *Clavo's*, viz. Cloves, upon the first Apprehension thereof; and in hope to get a Reward of the King, the Party posted up to the Court with Tidings, that *Gomes* had been at the Islands of *Molucco's*, and was return'd home, laden with Cloves; but when this News was contradicted, the Fellow lost his Charge and Travel, and they were both derided.

But to return where I left off, tho' there had been no likelyhood to impeach the Emperor in his *Indies* by this Passage, yet considering it was like to prejudice the King of *Portugal* in the *East-Indies*, the Emperor had reason, without receiving any such Sum of Money, to hinder it; for as much as the more Nations Traded that way, the sooner they might discover those Places that were discovered afterwards, as namely, the *Phillippines*, and other

Islands, and in time might prove his most dangerous Neighbours.

But especially the Emperor was married to the Daughter of Don *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, who had the Reversion of all his Kingdoms, if his Heirs males fail'd, as it did, and became Hereditary to *Spain*.

And therefore it was most ridiculous we should conceive the Emperor ever threaten'd the King of *Portugal* with that Discovery, or received Money of him to that purpose, as is express'd. But I observe it is the Nature of all Men to flatter themselves with hope of a thing they would have, and will wrest Reasons and Stories to strengthen their Belief, by Example of this which they misreport; and therefore I will set down the Truth of this Story out of Authentick Authors.

There was a long Question and Debate between the Emperor and the King of *Portugal*, to whom the *Molucco's* should belong? And it is true the Emperor labour'd to find another way to the *Molucco's* than by the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Magellan was a Portuguese by Birth, who had lived Seven Years in the *Indies*: He left the Service of his King, and offered it to the Emperor, giving hope to find a new way to the *Molucco's*, tho' it prov'd the Loss of his own Life.

The Controversie to whom the *Molucco's* should belong continu'd between the Two Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *Spaniards* made sundry Attempts by way of the Streights, but evermore with unfortunate Success. At last Don *John III.* of *Portugal*, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, willingly lent him 350000 Ducats when he went into *Italy* to be Crown'd Emperor, upon Condition the King of *Portugal* should no way be molested in his Possession of the *Molucco* Islands till that Money was repaid, which being never done, the *Spaniards* never since pretended to those Islands. But there was no mention made of a North-West Passage.

Altho' there are a great many more Probabilities that the Streights have not been at any time pass'd, than otherwise, yet it is no reason absolutely to disprove a Passage, whatsoever any Man shall ground upon Philosophical Arguments, or by any Globe or Card that is extant; for except a Globemaker can as well prove by Experience that there is such a Sea as he sets down, and by the Testimony of some Men that went it, he may as well suppose what he makes Sea to be as dry Land as the Desarts of *Arabia*: And therefore leaving this Trial, I will proceed further.

I have perus'd all the Voyages to the North-West made by Sir *Martin Forbusher* and Mr. *John Davies*, with whom I have often conferr'd touching this Passage; and I have found by them a likelyhood of it, but no more Assurance than from those that never went so far as they did: Therefore whatsoever is hitherto done, is but imaginary.

I must confess that the last year's Attempt of *Hudson's* has given us knowledge of 400 Leagues further than ever was known before; and out of his Discovery we are to conjecture more or less possibility of it.

And because I make this Voyage the Foundation of all others that shall succeed, I will set down, as much as I can remember, what I received from the Mouth of the Master that came home from *Hudson*, touching the Particular of his Voyage, and whether it will avail us or no, being discovered.

The Entrance was in 63 Degrees, and they ran in that height 200 Leagues, and finding the *Streight*, which was 40 Leagues over, to run South, they followed that Southerly Course, making account it would bring them into the *South Sea*; and here they ran 200 Leagues more, till they found the Water too shallow and unpassable.

They Winter'd in an Island in 52 Degrees, where in the whole Winter they saw but one Man, who came to them but twice; the second time of his coming he brought with him Three Dear-skins, which he would not exchange for a Hatchet, for he priz'd them at more Value; but when he saw that he could not have it under the whole Three, he was content to let them go, and promis'd by Signs to come the next morning, but came not.

The Savage was Cloath'd in Skins, and his Arrows forked with Iron: They found the Place much subject to North-West Winds, and far exceeding any part of *England* in Coldness.

As they tended South, going about the Headland, they pass'd near the Shore, and betwixt certain Rocks, small Islands, and main Lands.

They found the Flood to come from the North-West, which is one of their Arguments that it came from the main Sea. The next Voyage must be to discover from whence this Current comes, and to see if, in running West or North-West, they can find a *Streight* to run South, or an open Sea to the Northward.

Victuals they found none from the Shore, but white Partridges; the Water they had was Snow Water, which fell abundantly

into their Ships every night: Wine, Aquavita, and other Liquid Things, did freeze in an exceeding manner, tho' it was but in 52 Degrees.

I conceive Two especial Benefits by *Hudson's* Discovery; the one, That we have pass'd 200 Leagues more West than was ever discover'd; that hereafter we may be bold to sail 200 Leagues directly, without losing any time to search one Shore or other, which would have taken up a whole Summer if they had not intended to Winter.

The Second is, That whereas there was hope of a Passage to fall into the *South Sea*, not many Leagues after the Entrance into the *Streights*, this Discovery has put us out of doubt of it; so that I make account there is another Summer gained.

I will suppose we are 200 Leagues in the *Streights*, and as they say we encounter with a North-West Flood: But before we direct our Course West and North-West, let us Judge of this Flood, and where they met it; if in the midst of the Chanel, we may the better believe it came out of the main Sea; but if amongst Islands, broken Land or Rocks, we have no reason to ground our hopes of a Voyage upon it.

For by Experience upon the Coast of *Britany*, or where there are many Islands or Rocks, the Tides alter according to the Rocks and Islands; and I know *Hudson's* Company confess they met them amongst Rocks and Islands, and therefore no hold to be taken of a North-West Flood.

But according to the hope we conceive of this Flood, we direct our North-West Course, being entred the *Streights*, and in 62 Degrees. You must note, that in running North-West, every 28 Leagues you raise a Degree; and the further you run any Point to the Northward, the greater hazard you shall endure by Ice and Cold; the worst Wintering, if you be put to it, and the further from your Voyage, because the Course lies Southerly.

But one hope may be, That the Northern Part of *America*, which is made Land in the Maps, will prove Sea: Allowing it to be true, and the *Streights* to run but 200 Leagues farther, either Northward or Westward, then let us compare the time we have to pass the *Streight*, and reckon our departure from *England*, and we shall find the Clymate very unseasonable, either to Winter or to make a Factory, if we pass it not in one Summer.

From *England* to the *Streights-Mouth* 700 Leagues; to the Place discover'd 200;

to the Sea imagin'd 200, North-West, where I will suppose there is an open Sea, tho' the contrary is known. Now have I run 1100 Leagues, and in 62 Degrees.

And if we will know the distance from thence to the *Molucco's*, or where we have now a Trade, this Rule will lead us, (*viz.*) to measure with the Meridian Line from the Entrance of the *Streight*, lying in 62 Degrees, due South, to the height of 23 and a half, which is the Latitude of Cape *California*; then measure the distance from this Meridian to the Cape *California*, and from thence to the Cape *Mendacina*, which is the furthestmost known Part of *America*, and after to the *Molucco's*, and you shall find nothing gain'd by this Discovery; for that of necessity the Land of *America* must be doubled, before we direct our Course to any of the Places aforesaid.

But suppose, upon the opening of the Sea to the Northward, the Land proves, as is describ'd in most Globes and Maps, (*viz.*) all Land and no Sea, then are you to run due West, in 62 Degres, as aforesaid, or as the Land shall lie, so many Leagues as you shall measure by the former Rule, (*viz.*) from the said Meridian Line to the Cape *Mendacina*, which, considering the distance and the distemperature, the Course alone would not be run in a whole Summer.

Or if, being in 62 Degrees, we find a Passage to run South-West, and to fall into the *South Sea* about the height of Cape *California*, it is great odds that *Streight* will not always run deep, by Example of the *Red Sea*, and *Persian Gulph*; both which want no breadth, tho' very shallow; and if this should prove deep and broad; yea tho' the narrowest Place be but one League over, we may have the Honour to discover it; but any other Nation shall reap as great Benefit by it as our selves, if we cannot make it good and fortifie it on both sides.

Let us reckon how many Leagues we shall run before we come to the *Molucco's*, by the Course into the *South Sea*; allow we be in 62 Degrees, and 900 Leagues from *England*, and that our Entrance into the *South Sea* be in 23 Degrees South-West; then have we rais'd 39 Degrees, which in a South-West Course amounts to 975 Leagues; and from that height to *Java* the distance is certainly known, by the Navigation of Mr. *Cavendish*, the Pilot of whose Ship, and many ether principal Men, are yet living, and have annexed the distance of Places, the days of sailing, and their abode in every Harbour where they arrived, to the *Discourse of the Voyage about the World*, as thus:

From Cape *California*, in 23 Degrees and a half, to the Islands of *Ladrones*, they note 1550 Leagues; from the *Ladrones* to the *Phillippines* 320; from the *Phillippines* to *Java Major* 525; so that by this Computation, which cannot be disprov'd, it amounts to 4572 Leagues betwixt *England* and *Java*, by a Passage into the *South Sea*; and reckoning from *Java* to *England* the common way, by Observation of the said Pilot, it is but 4500 Leagues, (*viz.*) From *Java* to the Cape of Good Hope 1800 Leagues; from thence to *Flores* 1200; from *Flores* to *England* 450; so that we find by Demonstration that it is further by 445 Leagues by a Passage into the *South Sea*, than by the known way of the Cape of Good Hope, which is daily frequented.

But it may be said, by the North-West Passage we shall have the Trade of *Japan* and *China*, which will more avail us than the Trade of the *Molucco's* and the *East-Indies*, because they are many Leagues nearer. If the Passage be found, I confess there is something gain'd in the Distance, but nothing in the Navigation, allowing that this Passage falls into the *South Sea*; as if it does not, little good is like to ensue of it, because of the hazard of Cold, of Ice, and of unknown Seas, which Experience must teach us.

But to disprove the Opinion of such as are erroneously carry'd away with the Conceit that the *Streights* are like to fall into the *South Sea* about the Cape of *California*, this that follows shall give an infallible Satisfaction, by Proof that has been made upon that Coast to the Westernmost part of all *America*, both from *Mexico* within the Land, and from *Acapulco* and the Port of *Navidad* by Sea.

Ferdinand Cortes, who was Captain General of this new Conquer'd Country of *New Spain*, and *Anthony Mendoza* at that time Vice Roy of it, the one hating the other mortally, as is the Custom where Two such Commanders have such equal Authority; yet they both preferred the Service of their Master before their own Spleen and Revenge, and jointly undertook a Discovery of *Quivira*, and the Westernmost Parts of *America*, being made believe it abounded in Riches, and had a Trade from *China*, and other Parts of *Asia*. They employ'd in this Journey one *Francis Vasques de Caranaca*, who arrived there by Land with a Number of *Spaniards*, both Horse and Foot; in which Journey they endur'd greater Famine and other Extremities, than all the rest of the *Spaniards* Undertakings in the Continent of *America*.

Some

Some of those *Spaniards*, tho' not many, return'd by Land to *Mexico*, from whence they departed, and reported the Calamities and Extremities they suffered. By this I collect, and by my Collection, will frame my unanswerable Argument, to give the World Satisfaction, That from *Mexico* to the Westermost Part of *America*, in which space, if there be a Passage, it must fall into the *South Sea*, in all their Journey they found neither Sea, Streight, or other Impediment, to hinder or stop their Journey by Land, but that they went and arriv'd at *Sibola* and *Quivira*, from whence they return'd; which they could not have done if there had been a stoppage by Water, either fresh or salt; neither did they carry any Provision of Boats, or other Means to transport Men or Horse.

But for better Satisfaction to this Point, I will lay open a later Proof, known to divers *Englishmen* yet living, that were with Mr. *Cavendish* in his Glorious Voyage about the World in 1586. After he had passed the *Streights* of *Magellan*, and the Coasts of *Chile*, *Peru*, and *New Spain*, he came to *California*, where he took his rich Prize of 700 Tuns of *China* Silks, coming from the *Phillipine* Islands, bound for the Port of *Navidad* in *New Spain*: This Ship had in her 190 Passengers; and after he had laden his own Ships with her Merchandize, he burnt both Ship and Goods, not being able to carry her with him; and for the Men he put ashore at *Cape California*, from whence they travell'd by Land as far as to the Port of *Navidad*, whither they were bound by Sea.

In their way they pass'd many *Indian* Countries, not commonly known to the *Spaniards* before; in all which Travel they found no Interruption, by Streight, River, or other Let of Water, fresh or salt: And for the Proof of their safe Arrival at the Port of *Navidad* aforesaid, besides the Relation I have seen of it, it happened that many years after, a Pilot of the said Prize taken by Mr. *Cavendish*, and a *Greek* by Nation, returning into his Country, after 20 years spent abroad, happen'd into the Company of one Mr. *Lock*, an *Englishman*, in *Italy*, with whom he grew acquainted, and related to him all the Particulars of his Voyage, as well what happen'd by Sea as by Land, after Mr. *Cavendish's* putting them ashore. But leaving this Argument, I will proceed farther.

Allow that we be in 23 Degrees, and in the *South Sea*, and direct our Course to the Islands of *Japan*, we are to run 1600 Leagues a Westerly Course, (*viz.*) to

Cape Mendacina 700 Leagues, and from thence to *Japan* 900, by the reckoning of *Francis Gall*, who was a perfect Pilot, and had often sail'd it; so that by this Course we shall run 3475 Leagues from *England* to *Japan*.

To prove that nothing is gain'd by this Navigation, I will allow we are at *Japan*, and resolve upon our Return for *England* the same way we went: We must so cast our Voyage, as to be sure of a sufficient time for our Passage through the *Streights* in Summer, otherwise we must resolve to be frozen or starv'd by the way; And what a hazard we shall run if Winds cross us, our Masts break, our Ships spring a leak, the Sails split, Men fail by Sickness: I say if any of these Accidents happen, we are left destitute of all help or hope, and the greatest Calamity or Misery that ever beset Men will light upon us; for there is no Death comparable to Hunger and Cold: And to show how unlikely it is for us to return in one, or scarcely in two Summers, let us examine the Winds and Seasons.

The *Spaniards* that come from the *Phillipines* to *New Spain*, stand over to the main Land of *America*, and coast the Shore, finding the Winds all Easterly at Sea, insomuch that they are returning 8 Months, which they are going in 10 Weeks; and this is the rather approv'd by Mr. *Cavendish's* sailing from *Cape California* to the *Phillipines*, who never found the Wind, from betwixt the East and North-East, from the 19th of *November* to the 15th of *January*; in which time he sail'd 2300 Leagues.

So that altho' we shall arrive with a fair Wind at *Japan*, yet considering we shall find it against us in our return, we shall sooner by one third part, and with less Hazard and Danger, come home by the *Cape of Good Hope*, than through the *South Sea*.

Let me now appeal to the Opinion of any Mariner, whether it were not better for a Man to Sail 6000 Leagues in a certain and known Navigation, where the Winds nor Seasons never fail, than 3000 in an uncertain Sea, as we shall find to the Northward, where the Winds are variable, and the Climate unnatural, except it be in the *South Sea*, which I have shew'd the inconveniency of.

The delay of Voyages is commonly, when the Factor is not ready to lay his Goods aboard; for there may be time lost in seeking such Commodities, as his Merchant writes for, for a convenient time and season to ship it; some want or disability in

in the Ship or Company, Arrest or Stay by the Prince where they are, or many other Casualties not thought on: But when a Ship departs from any Harbor so far off as the *East-Indies*, and seeks to recover the place whither she is bound; it cannot be any great hindrance to the Merchant to lose a Months time in coming home, but the rather profitable, as I will demonstrate by one of those Voyages.

For if by the Northwest there be so quick a passage, and so short a way to go and come as is desired, I say the Trade in few years will be overlaid; for as it is now by the Cape of *Good Hope*, since we and the *Hollanders* have had Traffique in the *East-Indies*, Pepper is brought from 2*d.* to 4*d.* there; and when it encreases in price where it should lessen, and falls where it should encrease, what think you in time this Voyage will come to, if follow'd, either the one way or the other?

Let us likewise consider what needless Commodities they bring from thence. I see not but this Country may live as well without Spices, as our Forefathers have done; neither are they to be had in truck of our home Commodities, as Cloth, Lead and Tin; but if the Merchant make gain by this Trade, the chiefest Stock he employs must be in Silver, which has, and will in time make such a dearth of Money in *England*, as all Men in general will rue it: And as I have said before, we shall have the less Money, and the greater quantity of those needless Commodities, if the Navigation should prove short and easie.

If a Man will speak truly and indifferently of the Trade of the *East-Indies*, it is not so fit for any King or Prince as the King of *Spain*, who has other *Indies* to supply the Silver that goes out of his Country; then what hope have we to persevere in that Voyage, who have no Mines or means by Traffique to bring Money into this Kingdom? For this take for an infallible Argument, that Country which receives more Commodities than it vends, the overplus must of necessity be of Money: And by reason of our wasteful expence in such needless and superfluous things, as Silks, Lawns, Spices, Wine, Tobacco, Sugar, and a hundred such Vanities; we must confess there comes in much more of these Commodities, than goes out of the Realm in Truck for them: And then let us consider the benefit of this Trade, and how long it is like to continue good, for the benefit and profit of this Kingdom.

The mischief that is befall'n us, by exhausting our Silver was foreseen long since by *Charles* the Fifth Emperor, who behold-

ing the greedy Gain of the *Portugueses* in their Trade to the *East-Indies*, was wont to say, 'They were Enemies to Christendom, by carrying their Treasure from *Europe* to enrich the Heathens.'

But now to proceed to what I conceive of *Hudson's* last Voyage; I find we are hopeless of any good by the *South Streights* where he Winter'd, because of the shallowness of the Water in 52 Degrees; or if it had run as far as to have brought him into an open Sea, yet it was a great error in *Hudson* to bid his company welcome into the *South Sea*, upon that *Streight*, tending to the Southward; for if you please to measure it by a Meridian Line, you will find it would have brought him scarcely as far as the Islands of *Lucias*, which is short of the *West-Indies*, and the Land *Columbus* first discover'd.

I verily believe the Savage *Hudson* met withal, had been acquainted with Trade; First, by adventuring so near the Ships and Men, the sight whereof would have daunted him, if he had not seen the like before. Secondly, that whereas at his first coming, he brought with him three Deer Skins, which he would not truck for a Hatchet, esteeming them of better value; this shews he knew the price of the Hatchet, and knew as well how to rate his Hides: And Thirdly, by the Iron of his Dart, which shew'd manifestly, he us'd to Trade with *Christians*.

But if it be true, which is told me, that some did imagine the Iron came from *Japan*, and that those of *Japan* traded with them People; the conceit is strange to me, that any Man should believe that *Japan* lying so far thence as it is, should have Trade with a People and Country that affords nothing, no not so much as Victuals.

If the *Japoneses* came to Discover, they saw themselves out of hope to pass that way, by example of our Men; so that it is like, that if they had been there once, they would not have come twice; and therefore little sign of a Trade: Or if they came to Discover, it is likely they hop'd to find a Sea, as well as Land; and then I see not, but they might as well come to us, as we desire to go to them.

But whosoever will understand Reason, need not go so far as *Japan* for it; for it is most apparent, considering the height, the distance from the Ocean Sea, from hence, and from *Canada*, where the *French* yearly trade, it is like this Fellow had Trade with the *French*; and I am of Opinion that *Canada* is but 150 Miles from

from this place; and I further believe, That the relation the *French* give of a Sea, they have seen West in those Countries, is no other than this *Streight*, or what else you will call it, that *Hudson* discover'd.

Having shew'd the small probability of a Passage, and confuted such Men's Reasons as have pretended to have pass'd it; having alledged some Arguments, that we should have gain'd little time tho' it were discover'd, either North or South; and Thirdly, what Profit we shall reap by it, tho' it were found, especially considering we shall have no more Privilege than any other Nation, except it prove narrow, for us to strengthen and fortifie.

Now lastly will I set down a Project, how to undertake a Discovery with small Charge, and either find it, or be out of hope of it, in little more than two years.

Besides the Charge and Endeavour that is to be used in this Voyage of Discovery, I will persuade, tho' it be with some Cost to the Adventurers, That either a Pilot be procur'd from *Spain*, that hath sail'd from the *Phillipines* to *New Spain*, who I think is better able to give a light of this Voyage, than by experience we shall attain to in many years;

Or if there be a difficulty to get such a Pilot, yet that he may be conferr'd with, by some of good Understanding in Cosmography; for no doubt, Sailing alongst the Shore, as they do in that Navigation, he can be able to say, whether it be likely, that any great River or *Streight* can give hope of a Passage that falls into the *South Sea*; or at least he is able to tell the distance from *China* to the main Land of *America*; and whether the Current Sets from the North or no, as *Francis Gall* describes; and he is able to tell the breadth of the main Land of *America*, from Cape *Mendocino* to *New Spain*, if you doubt of *Francis Gall's* Report; and this will I wish to be done, before undertaking another Voyage; for certainly it will give great Hope or Despair to our Discovery.

I know it is conceiv'd by the *Spaniards* in those parts of the World, that there is a Sea to the Northward, that divides *Asia* from *Africk*; but if it be true (as I think no less) the entrance of it must be farther Northward than yet we have discover'd; and I am of Opinion, we must bring the most Northern part of all *America* South-erly, before we run West; or as the Land shall bear; and then finding no Ice on the Starboard side, we may be bold to say, we have entred into an open Sea; for it stands against Sense or Reason, that any *Streights* should run deep or narrow, as

it must do if we have profit by it, whether it run West, North or South, so many Leagues as the breadth of *America*, if *America* be truly describ'd, as that we shall know be the Conference with the Pilot of the *Phillipines*.

But now to proceed upon the Northwest Discovery; the Men that go that Voyage, must be such as Trade into *Iceland*, for they are best able to endure the Cold, and most acquainted with the Northern Climates.

Three Vessels are enough to undertake it, the one of 200 Tuns, the other of 50 Tuns apiece. The Ship is to carry such Provisions for Wintering, as shall be thought necessary with a surplus of Victuals to be put into the Barques at the departure of the Ship from them.

This Ship may, if they see a convenient place, make her Voyage upon the Coast with Fishing; if not, she may put round for *Newfoundland*, and buy her Lading of Filh, which being carry'd into the *Streights*, will make a profitable Return, towards the Charge of the Discovery.

The Two Barques must be strong and short, because of their aptness to stay and Tack, if they come into a narrow *Streight*, shoal Water, or amongst Ice.

The Captains must be skilful Mariners, and good Cosmographers, Men of good Reputation, and of great Resolution, for their Credits to perform such a Voyage; and for their Carriage, not to be daunted at any Dilaster.

Their Commission must give them liberty to punish with death, if Mutinies or Disorders arise; but above all, nothing must be wanting that can be thought of, for a Two Years Voyage in a Northern Climate.

The Masters must take an Oath to use their best Endeavours to advance the Voyage, and to keep secret the Journal: The Plats and Cards, and all other Writings that concern their Navigation, must be taken from them at their coming home, and Seal'd up to present to his Majesty.

There are many other Cares to be committed to the Captains and Masters; as their mutual Agreement, their Husbanding of Victuals, their drawing the proportion of every Cape, the Depth and Distance from Place to Place, the Observation of Winds, Times, and Seasons; the variation of the Compass, and Care in keeping Company; and to appoint a place of Meeting if they lose one another, hailing each one both Morning and Evening; what to do in Foggs; to take Possession

sion of such Countries as they come to, for the King, and leaving some signs of their being there for whosoever shall come after. Many other things are to be thought on before their going from home, too tedious to set down.

If the two Barks shall arrive in a place where a River or Streight does open two ways, they are to part company, and each of them to proceed upon their Discovery, as they shall agree upon, (with this Direction) That upon either of their Returns, they appoint a certain place on shore, where to leave their Letters wrapped up in a Box of Lead, and in those Letters to make relation of their Success, from their departure from one another.

There must be great Providence to preserve their Men in Health, and from Danger of their Enemy; not to believe the allurements of Savages, but when they stand upon their own Guard; and if they be forc'd to use Violence, to have a special care that the first Piece they shoot, be sure to kill or hurt; for so shall the Savages be more terrify'd, when they find the Pieces kill as well as make a noise.

But leaving the Discovery of the Northwest Passage to the Care, Wisdom and Discretion of the Undertakers; I will deliver my conceit of a Voyage, which hitherto no Man hath written of, much less attempted; and that is, Due North under the Pole. One Reason that induces me to it, is, The nearness to *China*, *Japan* and the *East-Indies*, if there be a Passage; for by computation, it cannot be above 1500 Leagues from *England* to *Quinsay*.

My other Reason is grounded upon an Error of the Philosophers, who conceived it was uninhabitable under the Line, which Experience has taught us to the contrary: The like Opinion they held of the Pole; and we know they have no more reason for the one than for the other. And seeing the Adventure cannot be great or dangerous for the Undertakers, I would wish

Men to be as forward and willing to venture therein, as they are now in this to the North-West; for the proof is alike for any thing that is done as yet.

My Third Motive is grounded upon that which makes the impediment of the North-West Passage, which is Ice; and that I least fear or doubt of, for the Reasons following.

The abundance of Ice which floats in the Sea, and hinders the North-West Passage, is not the Ice of the Sea, for the great Salt Sea cannot Freeze; but it is the Ice frozen in fresh Rivers and Sownds, which at the breaking up of the Year, is driven out of the same Harbours into the Sea; which shews there is more Land upon the Coast of *Labrado*, than towards the North Pole; for Ships have sailed 100 Leagues to the Northward of the North Cape of *Norway*, and in 67 Degrees, and have found no Ice; whereas, if there had been Land in that course, or to the Northward of it, they would have found the Ice, by the Reasons aforesaid.

And whereas Cold may be alledged for an Impediment upon this Discovery, we find by Proof, and not without Reason, that it is hotter to the Northward in Summer, than nearer the Sun, because of the Reflexion of it, that gives a Light and a Heat for one half of the Year: It is to be compar'd to a continual easie and gentle Fire, which will calt a greater Heat, and of a longer continuance, than a violent Flame that is soon quench'd.

And because all Discoveries before spoken of, and that hereafter are to be attempted, have been, and must be, by the Pains, Labour and Industry of Mariners; I think it not amiss to set down, what I was desir'd by Mr. *Wright*, the great Mathematician, to write, to encourage and further a certain stipend, for the Maintenance of Navigation, for Seamen's better Instruction.

The Conveniency of a Lecture of Navigation.

I Held it not amiss to insert so much as I was desir'd to write, concerning the Necessity of having a Publick Lecture read, for the instructing of Mariners and Seafaring Men of this Kingdom, which is as followeth.

If I should go about to prove, how much more fit it is for *England* to maintain Navigation than any other Country that lies upon the Continent, I should do no more than many worthier Persons

have heretofore undertaken, or that Men in common Reason should conceive; for *England* is an Island, and therefore bound to maintain Shipping for Defence of it self, Offence to other Nations, and enriching the Commonwealth with Trade; For neither can any Man enter in Peaceable or Warlike sort, or we our selves pass forth of the Kingdom, without the help of Shipping.

And yet are Ships alone no more available, without Men to conduct them, than Weapons without Hands to fight. Seeing therefore that Ships and Seafaring-Men are unseparable, the one of no use without the other, we must have as great care to bring up Men, and make them skilful in that Art of Navigation, as to maintain Shipping for the Good of the Commonwealth.

But with Pity I speak it, we have not respect'd the instructing our Mariners; and no marvel that we have sustain'd so great a Loss by Shipwreck, for no more than our Seamen get by bare Experience, they never endeavour themselves to Knowledge: And I judge the Reason is, because they have no Means to attain it; otherwise I think they would be as willing to know their Errors, as it were fit they should be taught.

The Help they have receiv'd in these later Times, was by Men's Writings, which I hold not so profitable as what they shall hear deliver'd by Mouth, for the ordinary Mariners are oftentimes ignorant of what they shall read, as not understanding either Word or Sense; and when they shall have it demonstrat'd to them, and the hard Words and Meaning made plain, they will both conceive what they hear, and be able to put in practice when they understand it.

Another Discommodity they shall find by Writing, is, That the Secrets of the Art will be publish'd to the World, and other Nations are likely to make as great use and benefit of it, as we our selves: And therefore as we ought to strive to exceed other Men in Navigation, in respect I have shew'd it imports our Country so much; so ought we to keep it secret, according to the Example of *Spain*, which seeks to conceal divers Rivers, and other Places in the *Indies*, from us, which they know by Discovery might breed them Inconveniencies, and benefit us.

It is a Question, whether a Man shall attain to better Knowledge by Experience or Learning: And many times you have Controversies arise, betwixt a Scholar and Mariner, upon that Point.

The Scholar accounts the other no better than a Bruit Beast, that has no Learning but bare Experience, to maintain the Art he professes. The Mariner accounts the Scholar only Verbal, and that he is more able to Speak, than Act.

I confess, this is great Arrogancy in both, to stand so obstinately upon themselves, when they ought in reason one to assist the other; but especially the Mari-

ner is to receive Comfort from the Scholar, for he that has but bare Experience, receives what he has by Tradition, for Learning is the Original Ground of all Arts; but he that has Experience join'd with Learning, it makes that Man excellent in the Art he professeth. What made *Abraham Kendall* and Mr. *John Davies*, so famous for Navigation, but their Learning, which was confirm'd by Experience?

If we had but a Lecture of Navigation read, which Seamen might resort to, they would soon reform their Spightful Humours, and confess how needful it is, that Learning should be added to Experience. And this Lecture, no doubt, in a little time will make Men as famous as either *Kendall* or *Davies*, to the Honour and Benefit of the Commonwealth.

Men of Learning were able to give great Light for the finding out the Longitude, and for the discovery of new Lands or Passages, which Experience must beat out, when they have their Grounds from learned Men.

Every Man in travel or journeying, desires to find the nearest and easiest way for his Rest, and gain of Time, to come to his Journey's end: And so ought the Mariner much the more; for the Sea is tedious, and more difficult than the Land. The Land is firm and stedfast, the Sea wavering and moveable: The Land is known and determin'd by Marks, Signs, and Limits; the Sea is vast, and no Marks to know it: The Land has Hills, Mountains, and Rocks; the Sea has Storms, Tempests, great Difficulties and Dangers, and therefore the more need of help to avoid the fearful Perils, and unlook'd-for Accidents, Man is sure to meet withal in the wide and spacious Sea.

I am of opinion, there is no Error the Mariner finds at Sea, either in Card, Star, Instrument, or Compass, but upon his Information may be reduc'd by the skilful Mathematician and made perfect, if not suddenly, Time may work it, by following such Instructions as shall be prescrib'd by them.

It is strange to see our Errors, that we prefer idle and frivolous Studies that bring no Profit; as namely, there are Lectures of Logick, Rhetorick, and Musick allow'd, and the Readers of them have a competent Maintenance for the same; none of which Studies can be in election to bring the Twentieth Part of Benefit to the Commonwealth, that this is like to do if it be well us'd.

But I speak not, that I would have this Lecture only erected, and the rest suppress'd,

press'd; for Learning is to be nourish'd in all Commonwealths, being the Ground from whence Government is deriv'd; and for my own part, I will rather wish a larger Contribution for the Maintenance of the rest, than a diminishing of what they have.

I am partly of opinion of our *Mathematicians*, that hold there is no certainty in the Art of Navigation in our ordinary Masters that take charge; for if there were, they would not so much vary one from another, as usually they do: For Proof whereof, let there be four or five Masters or Pilots in one Ship that goes or comes from *England* to the *Tercera's*, if they be any time in Traves at Sea, you shall have some of them 30 Leagues before the Ship, and others as many Leagues behind the Ship.

Imagine by this what Danger every Ship is in, that goes from *England* and comes home again, which to Men of Understanding is a Wonder that more Ships do not miscarry, considering the Danger of our Coast: It is not Art, but Fear and Care, that preserves them; for if they should presume upon their Art to bear in with any Land, the Rocks would devour ten times more Ships than they do. But the Masters having so provident a Care, and so great a Mistrust in their own Art, that tho' they observe the Sun and Stars never so exactly, they will not presume to bear in with the Land which they have not made, except the Coast be clear, and the Wind large to claw it off again.

But if this Art can be made perfect, and the Errors corrected and reduced to a certainty by the painful Study of the Learned, it will prove a happy thing to

all Seamen, and by consequence to the whole Commonwealth.

The only means of Help that is to be expected or hop'd, for Reformation of these ancient Absurdities, which the Mariner by all his Wit and Skill cannot correct, must be by a publick Lecture allow'd to be read, and competent Means collected and gather'd for the same: For if the Hearers of a Lecture of the Liberal Sciences receive Profit by hearing it read, you must confess they will receive much greater Profit from this being well taught.

For besides the common Good we shall receive by this Lecture, it will concern Gentlemen to study it, who seeing the Pleasure, and the Necessity of it, will make them forward in Actions by Sea, which will be a great strength and stay to the Kingdom; for it is requisite that Gentlemen should have an Insight into Sea-Affairs, seeing they are commonly employ'd in His Majesty's Ships in time of Service.

It is well known to other Nations as to us, that *England* of late years has undertaken greater Enterprizes, and atchiev'd greater Victories by Sea, than ever any of our Fore-fathers have done. And that these famous Memoirs of ours may remain to Posterity, it is fit that Gentlemen who live in this Age, but especially such as have been Actors in Expeditions themselves, should contribute towards the Maintenance of a Lecturer of Navigation; which Act of theirs will remain for a Monument to those that are the Founders of it: So shall they deserve well of succeeding Ages, and their noble Deeds will ever live fresh in Memory of those that shall come after them.

A Comparison betwixt our antient and known Trades, and those now in being, since the late Discovery of New Worlds; with something relating to the Hollanders, and Fishing, Particulars being referr'd to the Sixth Book.

I Would have our hopeful Fishing now intended compar'd and parallel'd with such Actions of ours, as of late years have been atchiev'd with everlasting Honour and Renown to our Nation, as shall appear by that which follows, as well in the Discovery of unknown Countries, as in new Plantations, and other sought Trades, not heretofore known nor dream't of by our Fore-fathers; and yet the Ambition of that mungril and unmannerly Nation of *Holland* seeks to lessen our Praises: They cannot really challenge any thing of them-

selves, but that we gave them Light of, as shall appear in the Sixth Book following.

I confess that such *English*, as have been the Actors, Authors, and Abettors of our brave Enterprizes, have oblig'd the whole Commonwealth to them; First, by the Adventure of their Lives, to seek out the Secrets of Commerce; Secondly, by the Expence of their Estates, till they brought it to perfection; And Lastly, by their Labour, Pains, and Endeavour, to advance our Navigation to that it was in former Times; and yet if all these be examin'd and

compar'd to our Fishing, it will come short to the Happiness our Kingdom will reap by it.

If we enter into the Original of our *English* Traffiques, and the continuance of them, till the Discovery of new Countries, that gave us a greater scope to search out the Bowels of the Earth; you would think it strange our Nation could flourish in so high a measure as it did, in comparison of the present times: For I find, that in sailing to the Southward, we exceed not the bounds of the grand *Canaries*, which Voyage in former times was held a greater wonder and stranger than now about the World: Neither was the Art of Navigation so common, or so perfectly know, till of late Years, that by our Travels we have attain'd to it; for I remember my self the Ignorance of a prime Master, who going to the *Canaries*, return'd home without seeing any of the Seven Islands, for want of Skill to direct him.

And to prove what I have said, That our Traffique to the *Canaries* stretches no further to the South: This following shall clear the Doubt (*viz.*) That upon all Treaties with *Spain*, since the Discovery of the *Indies*, we were not prohibited by name the Trade of the *Indies*; only we are tied to our Antient and accustom'd Traffiques with *Spain*, which we cannot drive further to the Southward than the grand *Canaries*; nor of right by that Article of Peace can require it.

Our ancient and usual Trades, before the new Discovery, was to all the Dominions and Islands of the Kings of *Spain*, of *France*, of *Portugal*, the 17 Provinces, the several parts of *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, the *Baltick Sea* and *Island*: These were the Limits and Bounds of our *English* Commerce, before the latter end of *Henry* the 7th. when we came acquainted with *America*, *Africa* and *Asia*.

It is marvellous if we consider what *England* is now, to that it was in former Ages; What Wealth is return'd into this Kingdom, in respect of times past; What increase is made of his Majesties Rents and Revenues, in comparison of his Progenitors; What an increase there is of Ships in Number and Goodness; What Dread and Fear all other Nations apprehend of our Greatness by Sea; and what Rumours are spread abroad in all the Quarters of the World to make us Famous. It is admirable if we call these things to mind.

And to come to the particulars of Augmentation of our Trades, of our Plantations, and of our Discoveries, because every Man shall have his due therein; I will begin with *Newfoundland*, lying upon

the main Continent of *America*, which the King of *Spain* challenges, as first Discoverer; But as we acknowledge the King of *Spain* the first Light of the West and South-West parts of *America*, so we and all the World must confess, that we were the first that took possession, for the Crown of *England*, of the North part thereof, and not above two Years difference betwixt the one and the other.

And as the *Spaniards* have from that Day and Year held their Possession in the West, so have we done the like in the North; and tho' there is no respect, in comparison of the Wealth, betwixt the Countries; yet *England* may boast, that the Discovery from the Year aforesaid, to this very Day, hath afforded the Subjects Annually 120000 *l.* and increas'd the number of many a good Ship and Mariners, as our Western parts can Witness by their Fishing in *Newfoundland*.

Neither can *Spain* challenge a more natural Right than we to its Discovery; for in that case we are both alike: If we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their Right, it is *Italy* that must assume the Discovery to it self, as well in the one part of *America* as in the other.

Genova, and *Christopher Columbus* by Name, must carry away the Praise of it from *Spain*; for *Spain* had not that Voyage in Agitation, or Thought of it, till *Columbus*, not only propos'd, but accomplish'd it: The like may be said by *Sebastian Cabott* a *Venetian*, who by his earnest Intercession to *Henry* the 7th. drew him to the Discovery of *Newfoundland*, and call'd it by the name of *Bacallao*, an *Indian* name for Fish, for the abundance of Fish he found upon that Coast.

And speaking of Plantations, I will begin with *Newfoundland* it self, which lay uninhabited, and the Country unthought on to produce Profit, till my Lord *Baltamore*, and some Merchants of *Bristol* undertook it; it may be they were the rather drawn to it by the plenty of Fish, not once doubting of the Soil, because they had no proof of the Winters Habitation, and they might think that a fresh and green Shew of a hopeful Summer to the Eye, such as *England* yields, would send forth the like Winter, and the like effect in Winter; but by trial it fail'd, and prov'd a chargeable Adventure, and the decay of my Lord's Estate: He return'd for *England*, where once more he resolv'd to try his Fortunes in a new Plantation, in *Florida*; but in the mean time, and in the Year 1632. he Dy'd.

Let not this Colony of *Newfoundland* Eclipse my Lord's Judgment, or the Adventurers

venturers with him : The chiefest Exceptions against it, is the coldness of the Climate ; and the like might have been said of *England*, upon the first Plantation of it ; for they lie both in one parallel. *Newfoundland* affords in view plenty of Wood, Grass, Water, and other hopes of Commodities, till Time and Experience gave light to the contrary ; and at the first therefore, not to be disproved till a Winter had made known the Condition of the Soil.

They had another help to their Plantation, in that they were in no danger of Savage Enemies, which all *English* Colonies are subject to, and have tasted the mischief of : But above the rest, if the Land had prov'd suitable to their Hopes, and worthy of Inhabiting, they might have Planted and supplied it, at less than half the Charge and Expence of other Colonies where the *English* are seated ; for that there resort yearly 150 Ships to the Fishing in *Newfoundland*, which Ships go not half freighted, and not above 15 or 16 days Sailing with a reasonable Wind, that would be glad at a small rate to carry any Provisions for the Advancement of the Plantation.

And seeing I have begun with *America*, I will take it in my way, not having relation to the Years of the first Plantation, but the Neighborhood to one another, and to the Places where they are seated : And the next according to the Latitude, is *New-England*, whose Sea affords excellent and choice Fish ; whither divers Ships of *England* yearly resort, to take and dispatch it into several Countries in *Europe* : The Land, by Mens Endeavours, will be made to produce sundry Commodities, as a Book that is published can witness ; but for want of time, for yet it is but a Child, and lately Born and Inhabited, little can be said of it, more than a mistrust of the good Success thereof, through the numerous and irreligious People that possess it, being refractory to the Church-Government of *England*. From thence running South, we arrive at *Virginia*, a place evil chosen for Seat, Soil, Air, or any thing else to give encouragement for a Plantation ; yet seeing it was begun, and that the Undertakers would not seem unconstant, to change their first Resolutions, they have since 1602. continu'd a Footing in it, with costly Adventure, tho' hitherto it produced little more than Tobacco : But this nothing lessens the Worthiness of the Undertakers, whose end is the general good of the Common-wealth.

Not far from thence, to the Southward of it, in the Year 1585. a Colony was sent to settle in *Norambega*, by the procure-

ment of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, a Man much Favour'd and Graced by the Queen in those days ; and the Man chosen for the conduction of his Ships thither, was Sir *Richard Greenville*, who upon his arrival was to leave the Government to Mr. *Ralph Lane* ; and tho' the Scituation, the Climate, and the natural Soil, and the proof of the Commodities the Country yields, was able to give Encouragement for the prosecution of it ; yet for want of means, and willing Minds, which is the bane of all Undertakings, it failed, and produced nothing but Tobacco, which has brought a greater mischief to this Kingdom than the Profit would have counter-vail'd, tho' it had prov'd successful.

Later than all these, and indeed which is now in the Infancy, is a Plantation in *Florida*, and near to an ancient Colony of the *French*, who through ill Government were in the end forc'd to quit it. He that can judge of things must confess, That of all other Plantations, this gives the greatest Hope and Comfort, by proof that hath been made of it, and the temper, and the height it lieth in, if it be carefully followed, and sufficiently supplied. One danger must be eschew'd, which other Nations have found the smart of, which is the Untamedness of the Wild *Indians*, who are Cruel to themselves and worse to strangers, as both the *French* and *Spaniards* have tasted. God send them Fortune that live there, to their desires, so they make not *England* still unfortunate with Tobacco.

East-North-East from *Florida* lies the Island of *Bermudas*, Inhabited and Peopled by our Nation, whose Extent can yield no greater profit, than the circuit of the ground can promise, being but 30 Miles in compass ; by means whereof the Planters are forced to Till and Manure their Grounds in that excessive manner, that in a little time it will not be able to sustain their People, but force them to find another Habitation ; which will move the less pity, because they seek only to Plant for Tobacco, a thing so noisome and lothsome to this Kingdom.

This Island at the beginning was Discover'd by the *Portuguese* Nation, and inhabited by them, till they found little profit accru'd from it, and then they abandon'd it, and left behind them such Food, especially Hogs, as they could not carry with them ; and thus it lay waste for many Years, with a general Opinion to be inhabited with Spirits, which made all Men shun the sight of it at their return out of the *Indies* ; tho' this Error was easily salved ; for I knew, above 50 years since,

since, one Captain *Russel*, a *Frenchman*, Ship-wrack'd upon that Island; and with great Industry of his People, for few of his Men were lost, they patch'd up a Boat out of the Materials of the perish'd Spip, that carry'd them to *Newfoundland*, where they found Relief and Passage into their own Country.

I knew likewise in the Year 1592. another *French Ship* wracked upon the same Island, in which an *Englishman* one, *Henry May* was Passenger, he having belong'd to one of the Ships Captain *Ryman* had, when he was Drowned returning from the *Indies*. This *May*, and some few Men of this *French Ship*, were preserved, and made shift, as the others did, to get to *Newfoundland*.

This Plantation of *Bermudas* was not purposely undertaken by us, but accidentally fall'n upon by the like Shipwrack in Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers's* Passage to *Virginia*, whither they were bound; and being delighted with the Pleasures of that Island, which was so well stored with Hogs, they seated there Colony remaining in it; since then they found a reasonable quantity of *Amber-Greece* floating out of the Sea, and not without reason, for the Coast of *Florida* opposite to it, abounds in *Amber-Greece*.

The next, and more to the Westward from thence, are the Islands of *Barbadoes* and *St. Christophers*; and whereas the *Canary Islands* were formerly called the *Fortunate Islands*, so would we have these Islands call'd the contrary (*viz.*) the *Unfortunate Islands*, in that they produce nothing but stinking Tobacco, which if we judge wisely, discovers the Mischief it does; but it has such a bewitching Power over the Takers, that all the Ill which comes of it, they interpret as good to their Bodies, and have no more power to leave it, than Drunkards when they are mused in it.

The next, and upon the next Continent is *Guiana*, and the River of *Amazon*, where there have been many Colonies, settled by our Nation in that spacious Country; yet I could never hear of any Commodities that rose by it, no not so much in value, as two Miles of Ground in *England* would afford; and yet I must rightly say of that evil Tobacco, this Plantation sends the best, if the strength of Tobacco be so accounted. The benefit of this Plantation is, That the Savages are more Civil and Tractable than in other parts of *America*; and that the Climate and Soil gives hope of good to come of it: But where the *Dutch* have had footing, and quitted it, takes away my Belief of it.

Further to the Southward of this Coast

the *English* never sate down with a resolution to Plant, and yet there are many Ships that have made sundry Voyages, some to Trade, others with Letters of Reprisal, as well upon the Coast of *Brazil*, as through the Streights of *Magellan*, who have after Coasted to *Chyle*, *Peru*, *Panama*, *New Spain* and *Cape California*, and took their leave of *America*, and the Westernmost *Cape Mendosina*, the farthest Land Discover'd.

Our Trade to Africk and Asia.

The next addition of our new Trade, is upon the Continent of *Africk*, as far South as the Cape of *Good Hope*, and then Eastward to the Cape of *Guardafusa*, which is the Sea-Circuit of *Africk*; from thence we will pass over to *Asia*, till we arrive at the *Molucco Islands*, and the Continent of *China*, to all which places we are now no strangers, by our late and large Navigation.

The first Country and the nearest to us, where we settled a new Trade, not frequented by our Forefathers, was *Barbary*, under the King thereof, call'd *Mulley Abaleck*. in 1577. who gave the *English* large and fair Conditions, as appears by the Privileges extant; and from that Year to this very Day we have enjoy'd the same; and so prevail'd with succeeding Kings, that we have beaten the *Portugueses* out of that Trade, who at first labour'd to do the like to us.

In our time of Wars with *Spain*, our Ships of Reprisal have receiv'd great Comfort and Relief of the two Ports or Roads in *Barbary*, which upon necessity of Vitals, Water, and other wants, they have supply'd us withal, and taken from us such Goods, by way of Traffique, as we have made Sale of; but with that Craft, Subilty and Danger of betraying us, that he who knows them well, would no further trust them, then necessity would compel him. The *Barbarians* had so much Honour, and Civil Honesty, that if a *Spaniard* and *Englishman* were in their Ports together, they would forbid the meddling with one another, being Enemies; to great a regard they had to the King's Royalty: As otherwise, if they were never so little way off at Sea, and one of them taken by the other, if he that took, would bring her taken, into the Port again, they would hold her Prize to him, and give Money for her.

I remember the like Case in my self, Anno 1587. that coming into the Road of *Sally*, I found a Ship of *Catalonia*, a Subject to the King of *Spain* there Trading; and the *English* Merchants on Shore fearing I would make an attempt upon her, besought

besought me not to offer Violence in Harbour upon her, assuring me, if I did, the King would take Occasion to Confiscate all the *English* Goods in his Country, and to Imprison, and perhaps put to Death, the Merchants; whereupon I forbore to attempt her.

The Western Parts of *Barbary* have two open Roads, *Safin* and *Santa Cruz*, out of which the Ships that ride there put to Sea, when they find, by the bellow of it, the Wind likely to endanger them with a Westerly Gale.

Our *English* Ships riding there have often been forc'd to put to Sea, for their Safety; and many times before their Return they have met and taken several *Spanish* Prizes, which have been more beneficial to them, than their Merchantable Voyage has prov'd.

And to conclude with the Trade of *Barbary*, I must say, That tho' the *English* in time of War have often brought the Subjects of the King of *Spain* Prisoners into the Ports; and tho' the *Moors* did more value buying the Men than Merchandize; yet how lewd soever the *Englishmen* were, or what Necessity soever they were driven to, it was never known they made Sale of one Christian.

The next bordering Country to *Barbary* is *Guiney*, unhealthy, through extremity of Heat, and Infection of the Air, for which there are many Reasons alledged, and Antidotes invented to avoid the Contagion thereof; but all in vain: For the Putrifaction of the Air is occasioned by the huge and monstrous Beasts that Country abounds in, which, when they die, by reason of the excessive Heat, cast such an intolerable Stench, that insects and putrefies both Air and Earth, to the Destruction of Mankind.

The Discovery of *Guiney*, and the Sovereignty thereof, was given to Don *Alonso* the Fifth, King of *Portugal*, in 1471. which he enjoy'd peaceably, and without Interruption or Challenge by any Nation, till the year 1481. The Voyage was intended by certain *English*, and the Negroes themselves as willing to accept of their Neighbourhood, with offer to give them a Proportion of Land, there to live and inhabit; but this Design was frustrated, and proceeded not, at the Instance and Request of the King of *Portugal*, Don *John* the Second, to *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*; and since that time, to this very day, a Footing in *Guiney* was never attempted or desir'd; which must be conceiv'd to be out of the unwholesomeness of the Climate and the Air.

But tho' we were not Resident in *Guiney*, by any Place in the Country we possessed, yet have we continued a Yearly Traffick to sundry Parts of that Coast on this side the *Æquinoctial*, ever since the year 1553, till this present 1632. and many Corporations and Patents granted by Queen *Elizabeth* to her Subjects of *Exeter*, and other the Western Parts.

Another Benefit we have made of that Country, is, the Relief it has given us in our longer Voyages, as to *Brazil* and the *South Sea*; for all Ships of ours, that have passed the *Streights* of *Magellan*, found Succour and Refreshing at the Port of *Sierra-Leona*, where, at this day, we have a certain Trade.

From the Port of *Senega* in *Guiney*, we have made several Attempts to discover *Tombakattoo* and *Gago*, Two Places within the inward Parts of *Africa*, which afford the greatest quantity and the purest and the best Gold in the World; and from whence the King of *Morocco* or *Barbary* is furnished with all his Gold, by his Caravans he sends thither in great Peril; for many times they are swallowed up in an Ocean of Sands.

From this part of *Guiney*, or rather from the Cape of *Lopez Gonzalez*, till you come to the Cape of *Good Hope*, no Christians have Traded with the Negroes but the *Portugueses* themselves; in which Course is seated *Angola*, and *Congo*, which is inhabited by banished Men sent out of *Portugal* for Offences there committed; a Place of that Infection, as that it is fit only for Men of that Condition; and from those Places they furnished the *West-Indies* and *Brazil* with Numbers of Negro Slaves, who work in their Mines and Sugar-works.

As *Sierra-Leona* has been a Relief to our Nation in our long Navigation, as I have declared, so is the Bay of *Soldania*, within Three Leagues of the Cape of *Good Hope*, a Succour to our Ships of the *East-Indies*; for thither they resort in their going and coming from thence, tho' it yields no Benefit but Victuals and Water, for which they truck with the most wild, ravenous and irreligious Negroes in the World.

From the Cape of *Good Hope* there are Two Passages or Navigations to the *East-Indies*, the one by the way the *Portugueses* sail, keeping the *Africk* Shore, on the Left-hand or Larboard-side; which Course we likewise take with our Ships that Trade to *Cambaya*, a Country subject to the Great *Mogul*; and in going there they sometimes touch at the Island of *Secotora*, upon

upon the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, and where *St. Thomas* was Shipwrack'd. This Island yields our Merchants the best *Alloes Secatrina* in the World; and not far from thence it affords them as good Commodities as the Fleet of *Meca* could send out, which I forbear to speak of.

And of late, by that Track, we have found the Trade of *Ormus*; which Island we gave the *Persians* Assistance to take from the *Portugueses*; tho' I do not commend that Act, in joining with Turks against Christians.

Surat in *Cambaya*, and that Coast affords us good and commodious Traffick, tho' the *Portugueses* seek to impeach us: But besides the going and coming home of our Ships, as also of other Parts of the *Indies* where they remain, they are freighted, or else freight themselves, from Port to Port, to their exceeding great Profit and Gain.

The other Navigation from the Cape of *Good Hope* is to the Southward of the Island of *Madagascar* or *St. Lawrence*, but not frequented by the *Portugueses*, but upon great necessity, when they are forc'd to it in great Penury, not being able to recover *Goa*, or other part of the *Indies*, as in my former Book I have related: But to us that resort to *Bantam* and the *Molucco's*, or other Parts of the *Indies* thereabouts, it is far the nearer, and much the safer; for we sail in a more open Sea than the *Portugueses* do to *Goa*, where they meet with many Rocks and Shelves.

When our Ships arrive at the settled Ports, there Trade is certain, and their Return so usual, that there needs no Repetition thereof: But our People not being contented till they had discover'd such Countries and Places, as Fame made Report of, from hence they made an Attempt upon the Discovery of *China*, *Japan*, and the farthest remote Places of the World, being led to it by the Rumour of the Magnificency and Wealth of them.

But it prov'd like many other Reports, rather Shadows than Substance; for tho' the People of *China* deserve more Praise than others, for Excellency of Arts and Ingenious Inventions, yet it is far short of the Wealth that is said to be in it, to our Western Parts of *Europe*.

This Discovery hath resolv'd us of the State of those Parts, which we so long desir'd to know, since we heard the Fame of them, which made Queen *Elizabeth* often send her Letters to such Princes as dwelt thereabouts, and devis'd how to convey them, and have Answer of them. So desirous she was to understand the

Conditions of those Parts, and employ'd some of her own Subjects by the way of the Gulph of *Persia*, thinking to find the Conveniency from out the *East-Indies*, but still fail'd by the sinister Practices of the *Italians*, who incens'd the *Portugueses* that they came for Spies, and caus'd them to be apprehended and imprison'd, where they endur'd great Affliction before they return'd into their Native Country.

What I have said is sufficient to prove that our new and latter discover'd Trades have far exceeded our ancient and long accustom'd Commerces, before the year 1586. not only in value of Wealth, but in distance, whither they resorted for them. And it is made apparent, that no part of *Africk*, *America*, or *Asia*, that any Nation has Traded to, but we have done the like: And that whereas in some Places they have sought to impeach and restrain our Trades, yet we have forc'd them to it, and brought them to our own Conditions. And this shall suffice for the Southern and Western Parts of the World.

Our Trade to other Parts nearer to us.

Now I will once more come nearer home, and put my self into the Trade of the *Streights*, being more pleasant, gainful, and less dangerous or laborious, than the rest I have treated of. My first Voyage shall be into the *Mediterranean Sea*, unworthy of the Name of a Sea, by reason of its Straightness, in comparison of the great and spacious Ocean.

This Sea has been anciently known to us, but not frequented, for these Reasons: Former times did not afford Shipping sufficient to follow it. Secondly, such Goods and Merchandize as these Countries yielded, were received from hand to hand, and we serv'd by Vessels of their own. Thirdly, we could not pass without great Peril and Danger of the Turks, who surpris'd and imprison'd us; whereupon the *Venetians* engrossed the whole Trade upon those Seas, and furnish'd us with the rich Merchandize of *Turkey*, *Persia*, and *India*, at what Rate they pleas'd themselves: And yet this was not all, for they labour'd to make us Strangers to the *Great Turk*, the *Egyptians*, and bordering Countries, and brought them to that Ignorance of our Nation, that they thought *England* to be a Town in the Kingdom of *London*.

The *Venetians* sent yearly their *Argosers* to *Southampton*, which Town enjoy'd a Charter from the Kings of this Land, which was wrested out of their Hands by the Earl of *Leicester*, to the utter Decay of that Town: And the *Argosers* since then

then have become Strangers in *England*, the last whereof took her leave with an unfortunate end, which my Eyes were Witnesse to, in the Month of *October*, 1587.

This goodly Ship of 1100 Tuns, being richly laden with the accustomed Commodities they use to serve the Kingdom with, and being come as high in the Channel as the *Isle of Wight*, which Land the *English* Pilot visibly made; this Pilot, call'd *Foster*, for his excellent Skill was not long before redeem'd out of the *Turkish* Captivity by the *Venetians*, to serve in this Voyage.

Upon this good Land-fall, the Pilot put the Passengers in hope, many of them being of great Account and Esteem, the next morning to Harbour them; for Night growing on, he would not hazard to put in with the Shore that evening; but the Gentlemen being impatient of Delays, and the Land appearing to them, they thought themselves free from all Danger, which is the common Ignorance of many that know not the Seas. But to be short, they compell'd the Pilot by force to put in at the *Needles*, the Westernmost part of the *Isle of Wight*. When the poor Man, neither with Perswasions nor Tears, could prevail, he did his best to enter the Channel of the *Needles*; but such was the greatness of the Waves, and the unweildiness of the Ship, not answering her Helm, that she struck upon the *Shingles*, where she, her Goods and Company, except Seven poor Creatures, perish'd.

The Sea betwixt the Island and the main Land was enrich'd by her Loss, with several sorts of Merchandize. What was sav'd was not worth speaking of. I had the Fortune to light on Two Buts of Muskeline floating on the Sea; for then was I riding at *Cowes*, in the first Ship I ever went Captain of. I found these Two Buts of Muskeline a great help to us in our Voyage, when we were reduc'd to Extremity for want of Victuals.

About this time our Merchants of *London* began to take into Consideration these great and inestimable Riches brought into the Land by the *Venetians* and *French*, who absolutely enjoy'd the Trade of *Turkey*; and the great part of that Wealth, which came out of *Persia* and *India*, was retail'd from them to us. They devised how such Commodities might come to our hands by a more direct way than to be serv'd as we were, at second hand; and therefore resolv'd to make an Overture by favour of the Queen, and her Letters to the Great Turk, for an immediate Traffick from *England* to *Turkey*, and his Do-

minions, and so home again, with Ships of her Subjects, without being beholding to others.

These Letters were sent by her Majesty, and receiv'd with great Humanity and Courtesie by the Grand Signior, as appears by his Letters yet extant. He could not give more Respect and Honour to Her Majesty, than by shewing a willingness to embrace her Gracious Propositions of Trade: And in Conclusion, Articles were agreed on, and a Grant of great Privileges and Immunities by her Majesty's Subjects, which have since continued, and been peaceably enjoy'd.

We may reckon from this time the Decay of the *Venetian* State in Matters of Trade; for *Argosers*, which were wont to visit us, are now unknown to us, and we possess the Wealth they were wont to reap. The Commodities of *Persia* and the *East-Indies* are brought by our selves in our own Vessels directly out of *Turkey*, where we have obtained as great a Freedom as we can desire: Such Places as the *Venetians* were wont to take Freight in their Ships, to transport from Port to Port, now we absolutely enjoy that Privilege; for all Strangers are more desirous to put their Goods into *English* Bottoms than theirs.

Whereas we were wont to be serv'd with great part of our Spices from them, and they, by the way of the *Red Sea*, out of the *Indies*; now the Passage is better known to us than to the *Turks* themselves, by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and instead of receiving *India* Commodities from them, we supply as well them as the *Turks* with the same out of *England*. And lastly, the Terror of the *Turks* Gallies, to impeach our Trades in the *Streights*, is now taken away, by the Privileges obtain'd from the Grand Signior; and we may hold our Ships in as great Security as themselves: And moreover we may boldly say, we have sustain'd less Loss by the Pyrates of *Argiers* than they have done; which Pyrates of late years have been the Scourge of the Christian Trade.

In our time *Venice* flourish'd in Ships and Gallies, above all other Ports or Parts of the *Streights*, tho' there were a Competition betwixt them and the State of *Genova*: And it is not unworthy of Note, That the first use that was made of Ordnance and small Shot, after the Invention of it in *Europe*, was in a Naval Battle between the *Venetians* and the *Genoefes*.

This shall suffice for our Southern, Western, and Eastern Trades, or within the *Streights*, as high as *Constantinople*, *Egypt*,
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or other places, under the Jurisdiction of the *Grand Signior*. I will now return to the North, and run through its frozen Climes, as I have already done through the South, and its parching heat.

Sebastian Cabott, a Man before spoken of, having a sharp, accute, and solid Brain, apply'd himself to the imitation of *Columbus*, who by his late and happy Discoveries had enrich'd the World with Wealth, and himself with Reputation.

Cabott being carry'd that way of Honour, out of a *Christian* respect, to reduce the World to a perfect Knowledge of God; or out of a hope of Riches, it being the natural Disease of Mankind; or out of Ambition, to make himself equal in Fame with *Columbus*; or out of a desire to perform what he had long thought of, which was to sail round the Globe of the World; which of these was his design I cannot say, but charitably will conceive the best.

Whatever it was, I find an extraordinary and hearty desire in him to enrich the *English* Nation, by adventuring his Life in sundry Attempts, to discover what he had long before conceiv'd, upon reasonable grounds, and effect what he had so wisely projected, as appear'd by setting afoot the Northern Discoveries. There wanted no Thankfulness in those days, either in King or Country to do him Honour; and for requital of his Travels, both in Body and Mind, he was chosen Governor of the Merchant-Adventurers, for the discovery of new Regions, Dominions, Islands, and other places unknown, in the Reign of King *Edward* the 6th. and a Pension assign'd him.

He gave the only Information and Instruction to the new begun Voyage, and Discovery of *Sir Hugh Willoughby* in 1553. which, tho' it prov'd unhappy to *Sir Hugh* himself, his Ship and Company perishing with Cold in the Port of *Arsina* in *Lapland*; yet his Third Ship recover'd the Harbour of *St. Nicholas* in *Russia*, where he settled a rich and commodious Trade, prosecuted to this day by the Merchants, incorporated and call'd *The Russia Company*.

The *English* not thus ceasing, but as Men Travelling, who arrive at a Port or City, where they have never been, would be inquisitive to know and learn the State of the Country and its Neighborhood, without resting, till they had satisfy'd their Curiosity; so our *English* Merchants finding the *Caspian Sea* Famous by report, yet unknown to us, and its bounds one way upon *Muscovia*, they devis'd, tho' the Journey was long, troublesome and

dangerous, to arrive at that Sea, by the approbation and consent of the King of *Russia*; and from thence, to make tryal, whether the said Sea would conduct them.

This was no sooner conjectur'd than effected, and our Merchants furnish'd themselves out of *England* with Carpenters, Mariners, and other necessities to build a Ship for such a Voyage. This Ship was 27 Tuns burthen, and the first that ever wore the *English* Colours upon those Seas; from *Russia* they arriv'd in *Persia*, not once but often, as appears by Mr *Jenkinson's* Relation. Thus was *Persia*, and all the Countries adjacent discover'd by us; First, to the Northward as far as *Russia*, after to the *Caspian Sea*; neither of them both being known to our Forefathers.

The *English* did not thus rest; but as they were led to those unknown Seas by a kind of Fate, so they supposed the same Sea did not end thereabouts, but had a Passage farther to the Eastward; which perhaps being Discover'd, might lead to *Japan* and *China*; and thereupon for the shortning of the Discovery, they sent a small Ship at the Spring, that Winter'd at *Comoro*, 80 Leagues from *St. Nicholas*, which set Sail from thence to find out the conjectur'd Passage: This Barque us'd its endeavour, so that no blame could be laid upon the Master or the Company; she past to the Eastward of the *Waggatts*, where she was interrupted by extremity of Ice and Snow, and forc'd to return from whence she departed.

This did nothing dismay the hopeful Enterprize of the Merchants, but once more they made an Attempt with two Pinaces directly from *England*; the Masters whereof (*Pett* and *Jackman*) with the same instructions of the other Barque, wherein *Stephen Burrows* was, to find out the end of the Eastern Sea; but being likewise encountred with the extremity of weather, the one return'd, the other perish'd, tho' both of them did their parts very sufficiently.

Being now hopeless by their often Repulses they found in the North-East passages, yet they would not let die what they had in agitation; for finding the South Sea, as the *Summum bonum* of all other Voyages; for from the South-West part of *America*, which bounds upon that Sea, is sent forth the greatest Quantity and Mass of Gold and Silver the Earth affords; whereupon they left this Attempt to the Eastward, and made trial of that to the Westward; for they imagin'd that all great

great and large Seas, have a Correspondence with one another, if it could be found.

The first Man that made the Enterprize, as well upon the Country of *Bacalaos*, which he found and named so, as also in his offer to look out a Passage that way, was *Sebastian Cabott*, afore mentioned; but failing of the Passage, he hit upon the Land; but by reason of the vehement Cold at that time of the Year upon that Coast, he stood to the Southward, and from thence into *England*, taking possession of the Country for the Crown of *England* along the Coast he went.

This Voyage and many more to those parts, was set out by the City of *Bristol*, which to this day continues its Fishing at *Newfoundland*: But for the Discovery of the North-West Passage, the Man that most labour'd and waded in it, was Sir *Martin Forbusher* in three Attempts; the First in 1576. The Second, in 77. The Third, in 78. After this, and in the year 1585, and 86. Mr. *John Davis* undertook the Discovery, but fail'd, as many others have since done, which is no wonder; for he that will read a Discourse of the North-West Passage, in this Book, shall be satisfy'd, it is a vain and hopeless thing; and so has Captain *Fox*, that was employ'd upon it in 1631. at his return confess'd to me, for such Reasons as I shew'd him before his going.

Now to come to my own Observations: I am of Opinion, that next to the Discovery of *America*, and the Wealth thereof, which it sends into *Spain*, the *Spaniards* have greatest cause to give God Thanks, that the Attempts of the North-West have fail'd; for thereby they enjoy the absolute benefit of the *South Sea*, and the incomparable Wealth therein, without Molestation, Fear, or Disturbance of any other Nation; whereas if the Passage had been known, no *Christian* Prince but would have strove to have had a part with them; and now it is in vain by any great Attempt to prejudice the *Spaniards*, but by the Streights of *Magellan*, which is the only known way thither. It is as vain for any Enemy to possess and inhabit some of the Towns there planted, in respect of the distance and danger to be seconded and supplied out of *Europe*; And Lastly, any Succor out of the *East-Indies* will frustrate any expectation of Good, the Winds blowing continually contrary to arrive from thence. I refer the Reader to what I have said before of other Discoveries that fail'd, and particularly to that, than which nothing can be said more

to the Honour of the Discoverer Sir *Francis Drake*, in whose Voyage about the World, may be seen what he did and attempted; and therefore I shall not repeat it here. But to proceed;

Comparing what I have said of our former Discoveries, our laborious Plantations, and our new-found Trades, with our present intended Fishing, which of them will yield greatest Wealth, Strength and Ease, I have made appear in my Sixth Book; and therefore I present you that now live, and are in being, with it, to judge which is good and best; for tho' it is true what is done, deserves the name of good and immortal Praise; so that which is now in hope to be done, does far surpass the former, and is to be achiev'd with less difficulty, less peril, and less loss, than the others that have made our Nation so worthily Famous.

When the Contents of the Sixth Book shall be maturely consider'd, the laborious Industry of the *Hollanders* will plainly appear, how they have raised themselves, and their new erected Common-wealth, to an Equality with Princes: Now shall it rest a little to distinguish of their good Deeds and bad; for Fortune and Fame gotten by Craft, are commonly of no continuance, but lost with shame.

What is due to them in praise of their Virtues, I will not rob them of; for I hold it a Sin to belye the wicked. They are frugal in Expence, the benefit whereof themselves and Country find; they are Industrious, as their Actions abroad and at home demonstrate; they are Just in Contracts, making a Conscience in the little Religion they have to defraud a Man: They labour to find out the Secrets of Lands uninhabited and Countries undiscover'd; they are Inventors of Arts, which to their Praise they enrich the World with; they are willing without excuse to contribute to any good for their State; not standing so much upon Privileges or Petitions of Right, as to neglect any occasion of Advantage to benefit the Common-wealth: They are laborious and painful of Body, not admitting a Beggar in their Provinces; and willing to relieve and comfort one another in strange Countries; They are Enemies to the Expence of Law, and the griping of Lawyers, and end most of their Controversies by Arbitration of Friends; Their expence in Drinking is sav'd and mitigated by their misery in Eating; for out of their excessive Covetousness, they almost starve their Bellies, and by their unmeasurable Frugality they scarce cloath their Bodies; for it is suppos'd

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their People, in one of their best Cities, spend not in Apparel the value of a Princes Coat in a year.

But all these Virtues are drown'd with a covetous Ingratitude, which has Friendship with no Body, but for Interest; and no marvel, for popular States are no longer thankful than they receive Benefits: There is nothing of shorter Life among them, than the memory of Pleasures and Favours past; they are so careless to give Satisfaction for the Evils they do, that if we demand it at their hands, it is as much as to speak of Valour to a faint Heart, or Charity to a merciless Man, or a Courtessie to a churlish Disposition; it will prove but telling a Tale to him that is asleep: The definition of Philosophers in matters of Friendship is as follows; *A Friend is long sought for, scarce to be found, and hard to keep; a Friend is always ready to Comfort in Adversity, to Help in Necessity, to Bear with ones Infirmary, and to Reprove ones Error gently.*

But the *Hollanders* are otherwise in their Friendship; They are like an ill Bird that lays an ill Egg; an ill Tree that bringeth forth ill Fruit; or a young Cubb that grows crafty like his Dam; they do Patrizize and follow the steps of their Predecessors, that make Riches their Heaven: And whereas it is held no hurt to know Evil, but to do it, these People are very perfect Artists in their Trades, as well in doing as in knowing Evil.

But to speak the Truth, they'r natural evil has been nourish'd and made worse by us; for if we had not conniv'd at them and their Actions, to our prejudice, they had wanted Power to have executed their Ingratitude; therefore in reason it had behov'd us to consider what we

gave before we gave; to whom we gave, or how we gave; for States ought to be Govern'd by Wisdom, and not by popular Affection or Passion: Wise Men should not measure things by outward appearance, but by Discretion and Reason; or else they behold their Actions in a false Glas.

But let us now at last seek to avoid that evil we have done, in making the *Hollanders* too great for us to tolerate, lest we feel the effect of Repentance: It is not the meanest point of Wisdom to doubt and mistrust the worst; for Doubts beget Understanding, and thereby Prevention.

As in natural Bodies, the longer one lives in Health, Sicknes is the more dangerous when it comes; so it is with us and the *Hollanders*, the longer we have liv'd in a mutual and unseparable Peace; now that they have over-wrought us with cunning, and made us feeble by the strength they have sucked from us, it will behove us to recover our ancient Vigor, and Valour, and be no longer deluded with false Pretences, as Safety to us and the Commonwealth: Let us seek to follow the old Rule, in seeking to quench the Fire in our Neighbour's House, tho' it be our Enemy, lest it should flame into our own; for it is an easier thing to meet a Danger abroad, than to repulse it at home.

In this Book I have said little to prove what I have promis'd in our intended Fishing, but refer the Reader to my Sixth and last Book, Dedicated to His Majesty. And seeing I have made a Relation of all Discoveries and Plantations of *Christian* People; I will end that Subject with a Plantation of the *French*, for Discoverers they cannot be termed, which is the next that follows.

Certain Plantations of the French Nation.

THO' we cannot call the *French* Discoverers of Countries, because they never sought to find out any new Worlds or Passages that were not found to their hands; yet since the first Discovery of other Worlds, they have been always ready to infest them with Piracy, and such Voyages: For their going to *Peru* has been no other than to spoil and rob other Nations.

And yet I must give them their due in what they have deserv'd, for tho' they cannot be call'd Discoverers, as I have said, yet they may worthily be counted in the number of Planters, as well in the North part of *America*, as in the South beyond the

Line, and upon the Continent of *Brazil*.

To the Northward they have inhabited the River of *Canada*, where they have found a rich commodious Trade of Furrs, till the *English* supplanted them in the late Wars betwixt us and *France*. The next place they had footing in, they themselves called it *New France*. The Third Habitation they made was in *Florida*. And the Fourth, as I have said, was to the Southward of the Line, and upon the Continent of *Brazil*, all which I will particularly handle.

But before I Treat of them, I will lay a Blemish and Tax upon their Nation; for some of their Authors stick not to assume

fume to themselves the names of Discoverers of such places wherein they were but Planters; herein they do manifest Injury to the *English*, *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*; for all Nations do justly attribute to them the finding of those Countries, as I have formerly Declar'd and Proved; the one by *Sebastian Cabott*, the other by *Pedro Alvarres Cabrall* in his Voyage to the *East-Indies* in 1500. being the Second that was gone after the First Discovery. And now I will proceed to their Plantations, and Success in them.

The first undertaken Voyage to *Canada*, (for I will begin with the North part of *America*) was enterpriz'd by *John Verasana* a *Florentine*, in 1524. employ'd by *Francis* the First, King of *France*; which *Verasana* is said to Discover from the 50 to the 28th. Degree of the North Latitude; but it is to be disprov'd in Fact. For all the extent of Land betwixt those Degrees, was long before Discover'd by *Sebastian Cabott*, in the right of *England*, as I have often repeated.

The next that undertook this Colony, was *James Carter* of *St. Malloes*, in 1534. with Three Ships, wherein that Winter 25 of his Men perished with Cold: But however, the King prosecuted the Voyage both in the Year 1540, and 42. and the *French* have ever since had a yearly Traffick upon that Coast for Furs, as also in Fishing; inasmuch as it is written, that one *Sevales* made 42 Voyages in Person into those parts.

The next Habitation the *French* undertook was in the Year 1603. into the Country named (tho' improperly) *New France*, which truly and properly belongs to *England*, as I have said before; for if the first Discoverers be not allowed Owners of the Land they discover, by a Law amongst *Christians*, we, and all others have as much Right to the *Indies* as the *Spaniards*, and *Portugueses* themselves.

In the Year 1603. *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, the Eighth of November, granted a Patent to *Monsieur Le Mante*, for a Plantation of those Northern parts, of *America*: This Voyage was begun the Fifth of March the same Year, by *Samuel Champlayne* of *Borage*, who inhabited it unjustly, and gave it the Name of *New France*.

This *Champlain* was a painful, industrious, and a laborious Undertaker; he passed many Dangers, wonderful Travels, Adventures and Treacheries often practis'd against him, as well by his own People, as the uncivil Savages: And to second this Enterprize *Monsieur Mante*, the Pa-

tentee, went thither himself in Person in 1604. with the like Success as all Planters in them Northern parts have found (*viz.*) variable Hopes and Fortunes to little purpose, as appears by divers Voyages made to the Succour and Relief of that Plantation.

The *English* in *Virginia*, hearing that the *French* were become incroaching neighbors to them; and in a Country that did properly, and of right, antiently belong to the Crown of *England*, as several Patents made it appear, which the Queen granted to *Sir Humphry Gilbert* and *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, Knights: And those *English* fearing that in time, this Intrusion of the *French* might beget a Custom, and that Prescription and Possession might make a Cavil in the *French* to insist upon a Right; therefore the Governor and Council in *Virginia*, in the Year 1624. advised and undertook to find out what the Country produc'd; as also to be better inform'd concerning the *French* Plantation, which they were only told of by certain *Indians*.

After sometime spent in Coasting along that Shore, at last they arrived at the Port and Fort, where the *French* had made their Habitation; and finding in the same Harbour a Ship of *France* belonging to the Planters, the *English* suddenly, and at unawares surpriz'd her, without the loss of a Man on either side, except one *French* Jesuit, who was slain even as he was ready to give fire to a Piece of Ordnance against the *English*.

The *French* in the Port being dismayed by the loss and disaster of their Barque, the *English* landed with great Celerity; whereupon the *French* desired a Parley, and time to consider of their Surrender; but this Request would not be granted, and therefore they secretly convey'd themselves presently out of the Fort, and in a hidden manner escap'd, and left it to the Possession of the *English*, to whom it properly belong'd.

The *French* Governor of that Colony being expell'd, and wandring up and down without a House to put his Head in, sent to Treat with the *English* Commander; offering to become a Subject to the King of *England*, and to hold his Possession of him and his Crown, pretending to discover many Secrets of Mines, and other Riches, not known to any but himself.

But the *English* Commander's end, being only to hold their Right in that Country; and having no Authority to connive or permit any Nations living there, but His Majesty's born Subjects; he refus'd all

all Propositions of Accomodation, and return'd to *Virginia*, from whence he went, and carry'd with him another Jesuit, Companion to him slain, and sent him into *England*, where he receiv'd good Entertainment: The rest of the *French* Travell'd to *Newfoundland*, where they found passage for their Country.

Now let me speak like a *Christian*, and with a Heart of Pity, to see so great and good a Work, as the Conversion of Souls from Infidelity and Paganisme, should be diverted and destroy'd by a vain word of Ambition; for hitherto the Country is not brought to that Perfection, as to produce any thing that may make it worthy of Fame, or a ground for an Ambitious Man to work upon: For if the quarrel betwixt them two Countries be consider'd, it is like two Dogs that should snarl and Fight for the Picture of a Dear, or any other Beast; for there is little more Substance as yet to be expected, in this wide, vast, and desolate Country, that can afford Land sufficient to both the Nations, if Content would please them.

I will therefore wish and pray with my Heart, that all Princes would put to their helping hands in the Planting and establishing the *Christian* Religion, in all remote and barbarous Countries; and that with one consent they would settle a National Law within themselves, and to have it generally receiv'd by Agreement, to prohibit Violence to any Plantations where Colonies are seated for the Propagation of the *Christian* Faith: As also, that they would add and consent to the like Privileges to all poor labouring Fishermen, Fishing upon the Seas, that no Disturbance may be offered them; their Pains and Danger well deserves it for themselves, and no less in respect of the general Good, every Man reaps good by.

The *French* had a Colony in *Florida* more antient, and countenanc'd by *Chastillon*, the Admiral of *France*, Anno 1562. a great Upholder of the *Hugonot* Sect. He sent for Governor Mounseur *Lannear*, and *John Rigall*, who arriv'd in *Florida* in 30 Degrees, and there erected a Pillar with the *French* Arms. At first they were friendly entertained by the Savages; but soon after, according to the nature of the *French*, who cannot long agree in Love together, there hapned Quarrels amongst them; for the Commanders shew'd such Cruelty and Insolency, that one of the Captains was slain; and rather than a great part of them would endure what they did, they put themselves in great ad-

venture into a small Pinnace to go to their Country, but endur'd that necessity of Victuals, that they were driven to eat one of their Company, and had Famish'd if they had not been reliev'd by an *English* Barque at Sea.

This Colony was not reliev'd according to promise, because of the Civil War in *France*; but that ceasing, *Lannear* was sent once more, in 1564. but there ensued such Murders, such Mutinies, such Killing, Running away and betraying one another, as it is wonderful to read; and amongst the rest there was one *Francis Jean*, who by great accident got into the *Havana*, and made known to the *Spaniards* the *French* Plantations, and weakness; whereupon the *Spaniards* sent some to supplant and weaken them, who us'd Execution upon most of them, and possess'd their Fort: Such as surviv'd were put to most lamentable Famine, and indeed had perish'd if Sir *John Hawkins*, at his return out of the *Indies*, had not been brought thither by a *Frenchman*, who left them a Barque and some Relief.

In the Fourth Voyage of the *French* to *Florida*, they required the *Spaniards* as they had done to them before, and hang'd and destroy'd to the number of 400. After this Slaughter they return'd to *Roebel*, expecting great Reward from the King for that Service; but the *Spanish* Ambassador prevailed so far, that the Commander durst not appear, but hid himself.

Peter Malindes the *Spanish* General, when he exercis'd his Cruelty upon the *French*, writ over their Heads; *I do not thus as to Frenchmen, but to Lutherans and Hereticks*: The *French* Commanders served the *Spaniards* the like Sauce, and writ over their Heads: *Not as to Spaards, but to Traitors, Robbers and Murderers*. The *French* after this quitted the Country and Fort of *Florida*, and never since have had any footing in it.

Lastly, for the *French* Planting in *Brazil*, it has been with the like Success as in the Northern Parts of *America*. The First that undertook it was *Levius*; and the cause for which he undertooke it, was to Plant and Settle the now Reform'd Religion, as they term'd it: He had an Approbation of it by *John Calvin* their Sect-Master, who much encouraged the Action; But it fell out that in time, one Sect encreasing out of another, as commonly Heresies do, instead of Amity they liv'd in a Contention, and never ceas'd wrangling and jangling upon the Interpretation of the Gospel, till it was decided by the Pistol. For Murders, Mutinies, and all other Mischiefs ensued upon it; so that in the end,

end *Levins* confess'd it to be a work of God, as the Author of Peace, and the Hater of Divisions; whereupon he abandon'd that Sect, and reconcil'd himself to the Church of *Rome*, in which Religion he Liv'd and Dy'd, as himself express'd in Writing.

Thevetts, and after him *Stadius*, were two of the next that follow'd this Plantation; and to make an end of the Tragical Habitation, *Diego Flores de Valdes* in his Return from the *Straits* of *Magellan*, as you have heard in the Year 82. Coasted the *Brazillian* Shore, till at last he came to a Harbor, called *Paraiba*, where he found Five *French* Ships, Three whereof he burnt, and the rest he took, and inhabited the Fort with his *Spaniards*: The *Frenchmen* ran into the Mountains, where they liv'd in company with the Savages.

But for a Conclusion of these Plantations, as well by us as the *French*, and to avoid Prolixity, I will briefly describe the nature of the rude, wild, and Savage People of *America*; who are not to be entic'd with sweetness and good usage, nor to be Master'd by Force and Cruelty. Generally their Religion is alike, tho' they Adore several Creatures for God; and every Nation has a sundry Opinion and Practice in their Ceremonies; but their Supream God of all is the Devil, the Enemy of Mankind.

The Soil and Temper of many Plantations exceeds us in Temperature, and Plant-ed, Manur'd and Husbanded at the Charge of a Prince's Purse, no doubt but they may be brought to Perfection; for the bane of all Colonies is private Men's Undertakings, that are impatient of Delays; for if it yield not an Expectation of private Gain, they are willing rather to lose

their first Adventure, than to shoot a second Arrow to find the former shot: And moreover, Factions arise amongst People that are not governed by a Prince's direct Authority; Envy reigns amongst them, to see some advanced above themselves, and are ready to cast Aspersions upon their Rulers, and to tax them with Deceit and Fraud, whether they deserve it, or not.

I observe in all the *English* and *French* Plantations, the Hopes are alike; sometimes they feed themselves with the hope of a Passage into the *South Sea*; other time with the Riches of Mines, and the Commodities they produce, and make large Relations to persuade People to persevere in it.

But the Conclusion is Murinies, Murders, Seditious desperate Adventures, want of Victuals, and other Calamities more strange than ancient Histories can acquaint us with.

If the Charge, bestow'd upon such vain Hopes, were vally'd with the Gain they have reap'd, it were not worth a Purse to put it in; and for ours in *England* it would be consum'd in Smoke: For our Staple Commodity which it sends out, is stinking barbarous Tobacco; for from the barbarous Savages it is deriv'd, a brave Original for Civil Men to learn and imitate.

The *French* herein far exceed us; for by their Industry and laborious Endeavours, they have attain'd to a rich and profitable Traffique of costly Furrs, which makes our Shame the greater when we consider how easily they have effected it, and how profitably they persevered in it, whilst we are sucking of Smoke, that brings with it many Inconveniencies, as Time has made it too plain to us.

Advice how to Plant the Island of St. Lawrence, the greatest Island in the World; and reckon'd a Port of Africk.

HAVING handled at large the Discoveries and Plantations the *Christi-an* Nations have labour'd in, and by their Industrious pains have brought to good Perfection; I will now at last say something of the likeliness of a Country, that in all probability may produce Good; I will only collect some Reasons, and refer the rest to the Examination and Consideration of those that are well inclin'd to the Honourable Undertaking and Proceeding of new Plantations.

There are Two particular things to be requir'd in a Colony; the one I have al-

ready spoke of, which is, That it be the Act of a Prince and his Purse to bear the Charge; but if that be wanting, and the Action be put upon private Mens Expence, there are Three things to be consider'd upon such an Enterprize: The one is the length and distance from home; The Second, How to supply it with least Charge and most Conveniency; And the Third, For hiring of Vessels for Transportation of Men and Materials, the Condition of which Ships must be according to the place they inhabit, and the Enemies they are to fear.

This

This being done, the next Consideration is the Climate, the nature of the Soil, and what profit it will yield at present; as also what hope of future, the nature of the People, and whether they may be made capable of Reason, and be reduc'd from their barbarous Incivility.

Of all the Places I can think of, for Conveniency and Profit within the Bounds of *America*, *Africk* or *Asia*, out of my Experience and Study, is the Island of *St. Lawrence*, antiently call'd *Madagascar*, 500 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*, the greatest Island in the World, and the Place of all others I principally commend; for our Planting will be in 14 Degrees of South Latitude, where our *English* are now no Strangers, for commonly they refresh themselves, and find Succour in their Voyages to the *East-Indies*.

There is nothing that I observe to further a Plantation but this will yield. First, the Winds are certain, at the time of the year, to carry us directly thither, without striking Sail: And tho' it be farther distant from *England*, than *Virginia*, or that part of *America*; yet I hold it will be often sooner gone to than *Virginia*, where the Winds and Weather are both uncertain in going and coming. Secondly, whereas the Charge is great to hire Ships purposely to Transport Men and Provisions to *America*, where the numbers are many, they are subject to Sicknes and other disasters of the Sea; I do make account that it may be so order'd and contriv'd, That every Ship Trading to the *East-Indies* may be hired conveniently to carry 20 Planters, without annoying or pestering the Ships, being spacious, and of great burthen; and this will prove less charge to the Undertakers, than to hire them purposely for *Virginia*.

And if we examine the nature and condition of the Country, and the People that inhabit it, with the Experience we have of our *Englishmen* that resort thither; we shall find the Climate singular for Health, and the ground fruitful to produce Wealth, as the great and extraordinary Oxen the place affords, can witness. This alone exceeds all the hope *America* can at present yield us: For our Encrease of Cattle upon that Continent must be rais'd by such Beasts as we carry'd out of *England*, which must be done with great Charge, Trouble, and long time before they be brought to perfection.

The Cattle we shall there find, will bring us a certain Commodity of Hides; and as we shall seek to encrease them, so will our Gain and Profit encrease the more.

What other Benefit we shall make by this Plantation, Time and our own Endeavours will make it appear: For the two Barques which I wisht to be kept there for Intelligence from other places, I would wish that the one should discover the South part of the Island, and the other on the North side; and to make their Rendezvous at the same place from whence they departed; so shall we discover the very heart of the whole Island; and no doubt but we shall discover variety of gainful things, unthought of by us as yet. I have known of my own Experience, and by Examination of divers *Portugueses*, with whom I have spoken, that the *Moors* who live and inhabit the main Continent of *Africk*, over against it, have a singular Trade with the People of *St. Lawrence*, for Elephants Teeth, Amber greece, &c. all which we should enjoy with ease, when we are settled, and perfectly known to them.

Besides the plenty of Beef it will yield us for Food, there is other delicate Meat to be found; as Muttons, but with hairy Skins, Hens, and other sorts of Fowls; Oranges and Lemons, and other kind of rare Fruits there naturally growing, which *America* will not yield us, unless we Plant them, which will prove a work of many years, and in the end fail of the excellency of the others in respect of the Climate. The Sea and the Rivers will afford plenty of Fish of all kinds; and for the present we shall not want a sufficient quantity of Maiz and Cassado for Bread; till we sow our *English* Corn of all sorts.

And for the People in that part of the Island, it is known to all that have been there, that they have behaved themselves lovingly and respectfully to one another, and no less to Strangers. By their Civil behaviour and Labour they draw their Cattle to a tameness, as with us; which shews they are naturally Civil, which is not usual amongst such People: And to prove it the more, as well in that as in their other Courses, they are *Mahometans* in profession of Religion; and tho' it be as false as Falshood may be to Truth, yet by that Religion they are taught more civiler Conversation and Humane Behaviour, than the *Indians* or Infidels are instructed in, who acknowledge several Creatures for Gods; some the Sun, some the Moon, and some several Beasts and Creatures of the Earth: But I make account with our Familiarity, Love and good Usage, we shall entice their Children, with Consent of Parents, to bring them for *England*, where

where they shall have good Education and Breeding, answerable to our own; and this will be the method to work our good in our Plantations of that Country; and the only means to propagate *Christian* Religion in remote parts.

Having a Plantation or settled Dwelling in the Island of *St. Lawrence*, we shall make our Navigation to the *East-Indies* much more pleasant, short and profitable, by using and settling a Magazine of Commodities betwixt us and the *Indies*. First, by their receiving our Commodities, and returning those we receive from thence, by the same Ships we employ; for part of one Fleet, may be sent from *St. Lawrence* to the *Indies*, and return the Commodities those Countries afford to *St. Lawrence*, which our Ships shall there receive, and bring them directly for *England*; so that all our Ships shall be continually going and coming, and every Twelve Months have a return from thence, which now is more than double the time.

I desire that this Project to *St. Lawrence*, may be compared with those our Nation has undertaken to *America*, and the Reasons duely consider'd, without partiality; and being so satisfy'd, that they would

follow them with a general consent, and so settle their Plantations, that there may be a Neighborhood from one to another; for being, as they are, thus divided, they can give no help or succor, but must stand upon their own strength, what attempt soever shall be made upon them by an Enemy; besides many other Reasons one may produce, that would much avail them: For what Succor can *Newfoundland*, which is the furthest part North, give the Island of *Providence*, the furthest part South, or any other places betwixt them that we inhabit, as namely, *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Cape Florida*, the *Barbadoes*, *St. Christophers*, *Tartuga*, and the Island of *Providence*, if you examine the distance from one to another, and how the Currents and Winds set upon these Coasts.

As the Island of *Providence* is the last I name, so it is the greatest in Fame by the Persons that countenance it, and by the Purises that maintain it; and because you shall know the difference betwixt that Island and *St. Lawrence*, I will here make a Description of the Island, and refer it to your own Judgment.

The Nature of the Island Catalena, or of Providence, as call'd by us.

AMongst many ridiculous and vain Plantations we have had footing in, in several places of *America*, as appears in this Book, there is one small Island, whose name we have chang'd from *Catalena* to the Island of *Providence*; because some pretend to foresee it may damnifie the *Spanish* Nation, if they shall hereafter give us occasion of War.

This Island of *Providence* is seated upon the Coast of *Terra firma*, 100 Leagues North from *Carthagena*, 80 Leagues North and by West from *Nombre de Dios*, and from the Headland of *Gratias a Dios* 35 Leagues. This Island for the greatness of it, may be term'd rather a Rock than an Island, not exceeding 10 or 11 Miles in length, and 5 in breadth; a small proportion of Land to promise either Viſuals for Sustainance, or Commodities worthy of Labour to countervail the tenth part of Charge, that has been bestow'd on it.

For it is like a barren and uncultivated ground, that of it self can send forth nothing, if Pains and Labour do not make it capable to afford nourishment; even so this least and worst of Islands can promise

no more than the ill ground I compare it unto; but our Undertakers think by the Situation of it, that it will advantage us much against *Spain*, the impregnableness of it by nature consider'd, which we have help'd by Art.

The Island has these particular Benefits in it. A Port containing 18 Foot in depth, with good ground to ride in; it is environ'd with huge and high Rocks and Cliffs, and made impregnable against Landing; the Harbor on the Westernmost side of the Island, which makes it a safe Riding, by reason of the perpetual Easterly Wind that blows off the Shore. There's only one place to land in; for that excepted, it is encompass'd about with such Rocks, that a Boat cannot come near the Shore. If a Ship put but one Mile to Leeward of the Harbor, she cannot recover it again by reason of the Current; unless she put for *Hispaniola*, and disembogue betwixt it and *Cuba*, at least 3 or 400 Leagues, backwards and forwards; neither can they directly go from thence to *Cuba*, by reason of the Sholes and Flatts in their nearest Course. Therefore a Ship must stand over

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for the main Land 35 Leagues from *Providence*, and pass through a Chanel, not halfe a Mile in breadth, and yet four Leagues in length.

The Wind and Current sets to the Westward from *Providence*, till within 12 or 14 Leagues of the Shore, and then the Current sets to the Southward, though the Wind keeps its continual Course from the East; and were it not for the change of the Current, it were impossible for to fetch *Nombre de Dios*, *Portobello*, or *Carthage-na*. Our *English* Shipshave a great advantage of the *Spaniards*, by reason of their Fastness by a Wind, which the others cannot beat it up, because of their Leewardness.

Every 14 Weeks, the Climate wherein the Island is seated, produces an Harvest of Corn, Pease, Potatoes; and other Roots and Herbs: The Potatoes make a delicate kind of Drink, both pleasant and wholesome. The Sea affords such great abundance of Fish, that Two Boats and Ten

Fishermen will be able to feed 1000 Persons every day.

There are Two other Islands not above 16 Leagues from *Providence*, the one call'd *St. Andrew*, the other the *Mosquito*, not inhabited. These two Islands afford great quantity of Tortoises, which will be a great relief to the Island of *Providence*: They are not to be dwelt upon, because they cannot be made Defensible; and *St. Andrews* is full of Rocks and Shoals, and dangerous to come near, by any that do not perfectly know it; neither has it an Harbor, tho' in the Westermost part of it one may Anchor in safety. And thus much for the Description of the Island, as namely the Height, the Seat, the Distance, the Temperature, and distance from other places: Tho' there is cause for me to write more particularly of this Island, yet will I not here insert it, but speak more amply of it in my Fifth Book, to which I refer you.

The Fifth Book.

Containing divers Projects and Stratagems, tendred for
the Good of the Kingdom, &c.

Dedicated to the Projectors of this Age.

IF I could think of a more proper Word than Project, to entitle this ensuing Book, I would do it; for the name of Projects, and the Inventors of them, are grown so hateful, and contemptible, that all honest Men abhor and detest them.

There are no burthens which the sharpness of lewd Brains can invent, to vex the Common-wealth with, but they stile by the name of Projects, when indeed the name Promoter were more proper, as People sifter to be loathed than cherished in a well Govern'd Kingdom. Such Men are a Curse to the Country that breeds them; to their Friends and Parents that nourished them, and to God himself that created them; For there is no Man, directly or indirectly, but finds himself hindred or injured by them; their Courses incite God to punish, and Men to abhor them: A Father of the Church saith; It is a greater sin to project and lay unlawful things on the Poor, than a Merit to relieve them. A Favourite to Alexander the Great, whom we may rather term a Projector, advis'd him, after his great expence in War, and Wealth decay'd, to lay Taxes upon his Subjects: But Alexander Answer'd, That Gardiner did ill who plough'd up the Herbs and Roots of his Garden; for the King is like a Gardiner, Roots Trees and Herbs like the Kingdom. A Flatterer told Antiochus, That all things a King did, were lawful; Yea, he said, to barbarous Kings, but not to him that respects Justice.

St. Lewis, King of France, was angry with one that advis'd him to lay new Taxes upon his Subjects; saying, That God punish'd such examples in Kings. This King well deserv'd the Name he bore, who had more respect to his Subjects than to his Profit.

A King of Persia being desir'd by his Favorite, to Grant him an unjust Suit; he told him, No; But that he would give him the value of the thing he requested, because it would not make him poor; but said, I will not do what you desire, because it is unjust. Projectors should have as little Employment under this King, as they have Reputation amongst honest Men.

Tbo' Augustus Cæsar did not by name dislike the Condition of these People that vex the Common-wealth; yet in his Precepts given to the Governors of his Provinces, he intimated a Detestation of them, when he told them, I do not send you to Rule, that you should Envy the Innocent, or be a Hangman to Offenders; but that with one hand you should be an Helper to the Good, and encourage the Evil to Amend; that you be a Tutor to the Fatherless, a Pleader for Widows, a Staff to the Blind, and a Father to all.

I have heard of a Judge in our time, who by his Audacity, and forc'd Authority and Impudence, was able to pervert and wrest Laws to his Appetite and Liking: This wicked Judge had got a popular Applause, and Esteem amongst the ignorant Multitude, and by his Friends was commended to King James of Great Britain, for a good Minister to his State: The King answer'd, Yea, If I would become a Tyrant; intimating, that the Judge who misconstrues Laws, were a fit Servant for such, and not for Upright Kings. Solon was such an Enemy to the Projectors, that he establish'd a Law, That whosoever propos'd any thing to the prejudice of the Common-wealth, should Die. He also Decreed, That it should be lawful to revenge an Injury that should be offer'd to one another, that eve-

ry Man might have a feeling of the Party injur'd.

The difference betwixt the Projectors of our Age, And the Projects I tender in the ensuing Discourse, is this; They pretend Evil under the colour of Good; they set a fair Countenance on a Foul Face; they Smile on those whose Throats they would cut; they do, like Scipio, and all other Rebels, pretend Reformation, and taking away the Abuse of the Common-wealth, when themselves are Abusers of it.

In my Projects I have no other end but the common Good of the Kingdom; I neither ex-

pect or desire Gain; I set up no new devised Taxes or Tolls; I invent no Impositions, nor raise Contributions; I force no Man to undertake or compel People to adventure; but I persuade like a Philosopher, who advised Four things to be consider'd, before the taking of any important thing in hand; to examin the beginning, to consider the middle, to approve the end, and to consult with the wise.

If any of my Propositions prove profitable to the State, and acceptable to the Subject, I have obtain'd my Wish: If not, I desire they may die without any more appearing in the World.

The First Project shall be for the Safety of His Majesty's Navy; and the Conveniency and Inconveniency in keeping it at Chatham or Portsmouth.

AS there is no Man that builds a House but at the first ground work of his Building, will be sure to make his Foundation firm and staple, (for on the strength thereof all the rest of the Building must depend) even so it is with Kings and Princes; for that King who means to live in Safety, and to avoid Dangers at home, or from abroad, must first seek to make his State firm and sure, as well in Defence upon an Invasion, as before he Enterprize any Action of Offence upon his Enemy; or else his Building is upon Glass and Ice, and will suddenly fall for want of a settled Foundation.

Therefore, like a careful Builder that will provide to encounter a Danger, in my ensuing Projects I will first lay down a Means and Remedy how to secure this Kingdom against the Attempts of our Neighbours, if in time they become our Enemies, before there shall be cause of Hostility, or before we make any Enterprize upon them in a Warlike manner: And the first thing I will handle, as the greatest importance to the Kingdom, is the Safety of His Majesty's Navy, and the Conveniency or Inconveniency in keeping them at *Chatham* or *Portsmouth*, as I have said before.

The Conveniency of Chatham.

1. *Chatham* is so safe and secure a Port for the Ships to ride in, that His Majesty's Navy may better ride with a Hawser at *Chatham*, than with a Cable at *Portsmouth*.

2. The reason of the long continuance of the Navy at *Chatham*, is the conveniency of Docks, and all other places, for the con-

veniency of Ships; and considering that the Officers of the Navy are there seated with their whole Families, it would breed a great Innovation and Change to bring them to *Portsmouth*.

3. The nearness from *Chatham* to *London*; from whence they may be supplied with all things they shall stand in need of, for that *London* is the Storehouse of all *England*: It is necessary therefore that the Navy should be kept at *Chatham*, rather than at *Portsmouth*.

4. *Wolwich*, *Blackwall*, *Deptford*, *Limehouse* and *Ratcliffe*, yield more Docks for the Building and Repairing of Ships than all other places of *England*.

5. All *England* cannot furnish Sailors like to *London* and the *Newcastle* Trade, which once in Three weeks repairs to the Port of *London*.

6. No part of *England* can victual a Navy so conveniently, speedily, and at so small a Charge as *London*; all the Corn for Bread, Beer, Butter and Cheese, &c. is brought by Water from the adjacent Countries therabouts: And for Beef, Pork, and Bacon, *London* is plac'd in the Center, far more conveniently than *Portsmouth*, which has never a River to bring Commodities from other Shires; nor the Country of *Hampshire* so fruitful as to furnish it.

7. Our Trade to the *Eastland* returns their Commodities to *London*, which furnishes us with all Materials belonging to Shipping; as namely, Cables, Cordage, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Masts, Yards, &c. which cannot be done at *Portsmouth*, the place yielding nothing that creates a Trade.

8. The Water at *Chatham* flows sufficiently every Spring-Tide to Grave the greatest Ships; and it is a doubt whether it

it can be made to heighen so much in *Portsmouth*, as to do the like.

9. No Wind or Weather can endanger the coming home of an Anchor in *Chatbam*; and the River affords sufficient space for every Ship to ride, without annoying one another: As to the contrary, a Storm, with a Wind from the North-East to the South-South-East, will stretch the Cables of the Ships in *Portsmouth*; and if any of their Anchors come home, they cannot avoid boarding one another, to their exceeding great Damage and Danger, the Chanel being so narrow.

10. A Navy lying in the Harbor of *Portsmouth*, the Safety of them depends upon the Town of *Portsmouth*; and if *Portsmouth* should be surprized or taken at any time, the whole Navy falls into the Enemies hands.

11. Not a Cable, Anchor, Mast, Yard, Barrel of Powder, or any other thing that belongs to the furnishing a Fleet, but must be brought from *London* or *Chatbam* to *Portsmouth*, with an exceeding great Charge, and no less delay and danger, considering the uncertainty of Winds, the peril to be intercepted by Enemies, and the hazard of Shipwrack.

12. The excessive Charge in sending down Carpenters, Cawkers, and other several Workmen belonging to Ships, with Impress of Mariners; will amount to an extraordinary great Expence. All which will be eas'd by being at *Chatbam*.

The Exceptions to the Navy lying at Chatbam.

1. The several Winds to carry them to *Portsmouth*.

2. The hazard of the Shoals and Sands in going thither.

3. The distance from *Chatbam* thither, if the *French* should attempt any thing upon us.

4. And some there are that advise part of the Ships to be kept at *Portsmouth*, and the other part at *Chatbam*.

Whosoever shall alledge these Reasons, must distinguish of the Service in hand, whether it be Offensive or Defensive, or against *Spain*, *France*, *Holland*, or any part of the East Country.

If *Holland*, or the *Eastland* become our Enemies, then doth *Chatbam* lye most with advantage to annoy them, if they attempt any part of our North Coast, or *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex* and *Kent*, which are places of most peril, considering their nearness to the City of *London*.

If we have Wars with *France*, there is little advantage gotten betwixt *Chatbam* and *Portsmouth*; for being at the Downs at

Dover, we shall be over against *France*, and nearer to the *Ile of Wight* than *Brest* is, or any part of *Brittany*, where I suppose the Fleet of *France* will be made ready; and for the two Navies, *English* and *French* meeting at Sea, no place or time can be assign'd them; Ships being in continual action, and sailing one day on one Coast, and another day on another.

And whereas the several Winds are objected as an Impediment to our Navy at *Chatbam*, you must know that an Easterly Wind keeps in a Fleet at *Chatbam*, and so it doth the *French*, if they be in any part of *Brittany*; and our Ships also if they should be at *Portsmouth*, tho' they should be in the Chanel, yet with that Easterly Wind, they cannot go to the Eastward, so that you see, an Easterly Wind brings an equal inconveniency, as well to the one as to the other.

And whereas from *Chatbam* we must have two Winds to bring us into the Chanel, or to *Portsmouth*, the one Southerly or Westerly to carry us to the Downs, the other Northerly or Easterly to bring us to *Portsmouth*, in Three Tides, with fair weather, from the Downs we shall be able to fetch *Portsmouth* howsoever the Wind is; in which traverse we shall be as likely to meet a Fleet of *France*, as in any other part of the Chanel.

To answer the Objection of Sands and Shoals to endanger us in our coming about from *Chatbam*; we see that by the Care and Skill of Pilots, no Memory or Record can tell of a Ship of his Majesty's, so lost: As out of *Portsmouth*, it is fresh in old Men's Mouths; and the Ribs of the Ship I have often seen, call'd the *Great Henry*, a Ship-Royal of King *Henry* the 8th. there perish'd.

I likewise remember in the days of *Q. Elizabeth*, and in the year 1586. that the *Revenge*, (after taken by the *Spaniards*) was as near Destruction, coming out of the Harbour of *Portsmouth*.

And to satisfie the Advisers that wish part of the Navy to be kept at *Chatbam*, and the other at *Portsmouth*; this I say, That an Army on Land, or a Navy at Sea, which shall be divided, is easier to be cut off before they meet, than if they were met together in a main Battel; especially in so narrow a Sea as ours, where Fleets cannot pass without encountering one another.

Moreover, if the *French* should Anchor with a number of Ships, sufficient to encounter with either of our Two Fleets, divided, either at *St. Hellens Point* in the *Ile of Wight*, or the Downs, or *Gorend*, it were

were impossible for our Fleet to pass unseen or unmet withal; by which means they may cut them off before they meet.

But as I have said, the Country must be consider'd, with whom we have War; for if we have War with *Spain*, neither *Portsmouth* nor *Chatham* is so convenient as *Plymouth*; for in the Winter, which is the time that Ships must keep Harbour, they shall have space sufficient to make Provision against the Spring, and ease a great Charge in carrying the Ships from *Plymouth* to *Chatham*, and after from *Chatham* to *Plymouth*; which we cannot allow less than Two Months, if not more: And moreover, from *Plymouth* we shall put to Sea with our Ships nimble and clean, sooner, and better Mann'd and Victual'd, than either from *Portsmouth* or *Chatham*.

Therefore I conclude, in comparison betwixt *Chatham* and *Portsmouth*, *Chatham* is the best and safest place, and wish that our whole Navy may be kept at *Chatham*, and not make any continual Residence but there only, considering the former Reasons. Never Hurt befall any of them that made their Being there, either by Weather or attempt of Enemy; and yet I must confess, they are not altogether so safe and secure from the Assault of a Fleet, that shall be brought from the Eastward with an Easterly Wind; and therefore it behoves us to be cautious and wary of it, as follows;

In the Stratagems contain'd in my Third Book, I advis'd a General to provide to withstand an Enterprize to be made upon Ships in Harbor, where they are usually Mor'd with Two Cables, to which Directions I refer you; but with leave, somewhat I will say of the state of our Navy at *Chatham*, and the danger that may befall us from *Holland*, if they become Enemies to us, as also shew the way of Prevention.

Holland, by reason of their abundance of Shipping, the number of Soldiers Quarter'd in all the parts of their Country, and their daily and speedy use in gathering their Forces together for present Service, as they often do, will give us the less suspicion if they should intend any sudden Stratagem upon us; and the first thing that they will attend, is the opportunity of a settled Easterly Wind, to bring their Ships, without striking Sail, as high as *Gravesend*, and there suddenly put 8 or 10000 Men on the *Kenish* Shore, to march to *Upnor Castle*, 4 or 5 Miles from thence; where they shall find no resistance, the Castle being both weak and weakly provided; and having it, they

have an Entrance to the River, where the Ships ride.

The Ships having done so much as belongs to them, in landing their Men, they will, no doubt, repair presently to *Upnor*, which is the place they will principally shoot at; and the Castle being taken before their coming, their Passage is made for them to surprize our Navy, which they will find unprovided of Men, more than the ordinary Ship-keepers; their Ordnance commonly ashore, and without Powder or Shot; for unless there be Employment of Ships to Sea, the Ammunition is always kept in the *Tower of London*, and too late at that time to be supplied from thence, if this Devilish Design should prevail; I protest the very thought of it makes me tremble, and wish it may be prevented.

And for prevention it will behove us to seek, how by Art and Skill to raise Works and Fortifications, both by Land and Water for the Guard and Strength of *Upnor Castle*; and to order and appoint that a certain number of Trained Soldiers, thereabouts dwelling, upon every Allarm repair thither with their Arms, which will prevent any sudden surprize; and in the mean time we shall have leisure to draw a greater Army together, than they will be able to withstand.

And so much as concerns the defence of the River, by Booming, and making Sconces upon it, I have said sufficiently in my former Stratagems; but seeing this is a Matter of so great Import as the Safety of our Navy, and by consequence the Security of our Kingdom, I advise and wish that the Ordnance or greatest part of them, be continually kept aboard the Ships, both mounted and fitted with all kind of Ammunition belonging to them: That as in the Case of *Upnor Castle*, the Trained Soldiers of the Country, have Order to repair on board the Navy with their Arms: That the Ships themselves be Warp'd and Tow'd as low as the innermost Boom, and there to Moor themselves a Head and a Stern to welcome an Enemy with their whole Broad Sides. And if all these fail (as God forbid) then the Ships to sink themselves at an Anchor, to avoid falling into the hands of an Enemy; which Ships are easily after to be weigh'd without hurt or detriment.

Having left a Remedy, as you have heard, for the securing our Navy; my next Project shall be to hinder *French* Attempts upon us, they being a Nation of most danger, by reason of their nearness and greatness, and especially if they be assisted with
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the help of *Holland* with Shipping; as no doubt, but in matter of State *France* will labour to gain *Holland* from us, and to settle it, with a firm League and Friendship, with them, to redeem their loss of *Scotland*, who for many hundred years made their Dependency upon that Kingdom;

and if *Scotland* prove honest to *England*, they may fear by our Conjunction, of Foes we are become Friends; and that *Scotchmen* may as well turn their Swords upon their Breasts, as they have done heretofore upon ours.

A Project to prevent the French Landing in England, if they become our Enemies.

WE in *England* look upon *France* to be a strong and potent Country, the People in it to be both Warlike and Valorous; but it lying upon a main Continent, and ours an Island, divided with a Sea, we think we may easily offend them, and not be offended by them.

This Opinion is generally receiv'd, and indeed not to be confuted, but by such as understand the Sea better than the ordinary sort of Men: But for the explaining it, if ever there happen a War betwixt *France* and us, I will truly set down the danger that may redound to us by *France*, and the means how to prevent it, as I have already done, or will do, if a War happen betwixt *Spain*, or *Holland*, and us.

The general Position is, That *France* is no way to compare with us for number and strength of Shipping; and by consequence, we are to fear no danger from thence, upon any Attempt they shall make.

In Answer hereof, it is true, if the meeting and encountring a Fleet at Sea were certain, the strongest are likely to prevail against the other; but I have formerly shew'd, That there are Three principal things to be requir'd in a Sea-action: The First is Providence, to learn the Design of an Enemy to prevent him: The Second is Secresie, to keep the Enemy from Intelligence: And the Third, is how to work for advantage of Wind and Weather.

If the *French* intend to invade us, we may easily conjecture, by their preparation by Land and Sea, and the drawing down their Army to their Port-Towns; but where they mean to Attempt us, if they keep their Design secret, it will be hard to Discover, and the chief reason we are conceive, is according to the place where they keep their Rendezvous, the observation of Winds to bring them from thence to seize our Coast, and the weakness of our Harbors, where we may conceive they think to Land.

If there were no more difficulty, than

the vulgar and common Concept, it were probable not to be in the Power of *France* to hurt us; but speaking like a Seaman, for that Sea-actions must be govern'd by the Winds, thus much I must let you know, That a Southerly Wind, which brings them for our Coast, keeps our Ships in Harbor that we cannot budge; so that they shall neither fear our Force by Sea, nor our Ships be able to impeach them, unless by chance and accident they arrive in the same Harbor our Ships retire to; so you see it is neither the number or strength of Fleets, that can withstand them, if they observe the advantage of a Southerly Wind.

This is a peril that every Man conceives not; for if *France* can of themselves afford a quantity of Vessels, to Transport an Army; or by hiring Ships abroad, or compelling Strangers to serve that come into their Ports to Trade: It is not much material whether they be of strength, or no; for with a Southerly Wind they shall not fear any Force to meet them at Sea.

There was never Sore but God provides a Salvage; and this fearful Hazard must be Cur'd, by prevention (as thus:) Our Fleet must divide into three Squadrons; and being at Sea, and forc'd to seek the Shore, every Squadron be appointed a particular Harbor to repair to; by which means every Port on the South Coast shall be defended and guarded by our Ships, which will be a Force sufficient to withstand the strength of *France* by Sea, if they be not assisted by *Holland*.

The Ports being thus guarded, they are prevented of Landing; for an Invador is not so mad, as not to provide a Harbor for his Security; and no Road or Bay with an outwardly Wind, is able, without great danger, to give him conveniency of Riding or Landing, the Sea and Siege will be so great.

But it may be objected, That tho' this serve for the Southern Coast, yet the North part of *England*, *Scotland* and *Wales* lies open

open to their Landing. The Answer to this is, That if our Three Squadrons be divided, the one to make good the *Downs*, an other the West Country; no Fleet can pass betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*, but they of the *Downs* shall have a view of them; and the same Wind the others have, will serve them to follow, and to prevent their Landing; The Western Squadron will do the like upon any Attempt that shall be made upon *Milford-Harven, Wales*, or any that part of *England*.

But our surest Course will be with some Ships to beleaguer their Harbors of Rendezvous in *France*, a good distance from the Shore, for fear of Embaying: We must consider that such Winds as serve to bring them for *England*, make a secure Road upon that Coast to Ride in; And such Winds as are dangerous to keep that Shore, make it impossible for the *French* to put out of Harbor, as I will shew more particularly, when I Treat of the way to prevent the *French* and *Hollanders* meeting.

Thus you may perceive, That an Invasion out of *France* into *England* or *Scotland*, is to be prevented. But his Majesty has another Kingdom of more danger, the Conditions of the People; and the openness of the Harbors consider'd; and that is *Ireland*, which I will a little handle.

Ireland, as it is an Island, is in the case of *England*, tho' more dangerous, in respect the People are more Rebellious, and divided from *England*, that cannot be with Celerity reliev'd, if an Enemy do Land; Besides, the *Irish* Nation and their Natures do not so well Symbolize with the *French* as with the *Spaniards*; or if they did, the *French* have less advantage to invade that Kingdom than the others; for so much as the same Wind that carries a Fleet out of *France* into *Ireland*, the same Wind serves us to follow them out of *England*.

But seeing I am upon this Subject, I will let you know the difference betwixt the danger of a *French* Invasion and a *Spanish* into *Ireland*. You must consider that a Southwest Wind that brings a Fleet from *Spain* into *Ireland*, is not only against us, to go into *Ireland*, but keeps our Ships in

Harbour, that we cannot put to Sea; by which occasion the *Spaniards* may Land in despite of us.

Moreover, if with that Wind they Land to the Northward of *Ireland*, tho' it be no further than to the River of *Shannon*, We must have not only a North-East Wind to carry us to *Mizen-Head*, or *Cape Clear*, but when we are at either of the Two places, we must have a contrary Wind to carry us in pursuit of them that Land to the Northwards, which is a Southerly Wind; and how this is like to happen, and what danger may befall us in the mean space, is a main point of Consideration: And therefore it fell out very luckily to us, that in the *Spaniards* last Expedition to *Ireland*, they landed at *Kinsale*, to which place one Wind carry'd us directly out of *England*, to give a Relief to our Army, and to prevent a second supply from *Spain*.

If they had Landed further to the Northward of *Mizen-Head*, we should have had as I have said, Two contrary Winds; besides, they would have come to them, where they should have found Succor and Relief, far from our Army by Land, where our March had almost been impossible, considering the season of the Year, and the weak help that the Country would have yielded us.

My Advice therefore is, When an Enemy is feared in *Ireland*, that there be a care to keep our Fleet at Sea, off of *Mizenhead*, as a place to take advantage of all Winds; and that the Beacons be well watch'd on Shoar, with directions to the Watcher, that they give notice to our Fleet at Sea, to distinguish the Enemies Landing to the Northward or to the Eastward of that place; for our Ships lying open of the Cape of *Mizen-Head*, they will be able instantly to follow them, whether they shall go to the Northward or the Eastward.

But this Caution I give, that no occasion but necessity compel the Fleet to seek a Harbor: For I have shew'd before the inconvenience of it; and the difficulty to get them in again; that in the mean time an Enemy may work his Mischiefs.

How to prevent the French and the Hollanders meeting to rescue one another, if they become Enemies to England.

Considering how things stand, or may hereafter stand betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to the prejudice of *England*, for that every State changes with Time and

Advantage to themselves and Commonwealth; it will not be amiss, for prevention of Evil that may happen to this Kingdom, to follow the Practice of a skillful Physician

Physician in the Cure of his Patient, to give him Cordials to avoid the Disease, rather than afterwards, when it has seiz'd upon him, to go about with Physick to recover him; and according to this example, it will be better for us before-hand to withstand the peril, than seek to shun it when it is too late.

The Dangers are of Two kinds; the one by the encrease of Ships in *France*, that may in time prove prejudicial to the State; for it is perillous to have Neighborhood with Danger: The other is, the assistance they may find in Foreign parts by Sea; and above all other Nations, the *Hollanders*, who are nearest able to equal us in Shipping.

The fear of an Invasion out of *France*, our Ancestors never much dreaded; for our Ships were still the Walls and Bulwarks of our Defence, and ever made that Nation recoil with Dishonour and Loss, as our Histories do at large declare; and rather than the *French* ambitious Thoughts, should now aspire to Greatness of Shipping, it were far better, happier, and safer for us, to proclaim an everlasting War against them, than by a suffering Peace, they should attain to a strength by Sea; for Princes in Matters of most Importance, ought to govern by Rules of State, and to be directed by Precedents of Times.

We will not oppose the *French* Greatness amongst themselves at home, when it shall have no relation to us abroad. But if *France* will not be contented with what they have been, but labour to be greater than we think fit they should be; Wisdom bids us provide for the best, which we cannot better do, than to abate their Pride and Power in the beginning; for it is an old saying, That Peace and Power are incompatible, and live not long together; and the strongest Pillar of Peace is to take away the Occasion that may breed a War.

But in case, according to my Proposition, that *France*, out of matter of State, shall seek to give assistance to *Holland*, and we to impeach it at Sea, this that follows shall direct those that have the Command of so great and weighty a Charge, as the Government of our Seas.

Our Fleet, consisting of a number of Ships, must be divided into Three Squadrons, and appoint Three several places for their Rendezvous, (*viz.*) the Downs, the Isle of Wight, and Guernsey, all of them opposite to the Harbours in *France*, betwixt Calais in Picardy, and Ushant in Britany.

Our Squadrons are to work according

to Winds; for that Wind which is dangerous for us to keep the *French* Coast, is impossible for their Ships to put out of Harbor, as I have formerly shew'd; and therefore we need not put our selves to hazard, but upon a just occasion, when the Wind shall serve them.

Altho' some of their Ports are better than others, yet there is none of them in the distance aforesaid, but are bad Harbours, and dry from half Tide to half Tide, that a Ship cannot get either in or out, but by favour of a whole Tide.

And it is moreover to be consider'd, that there is no Wind that will carry a Ship out of those Harbours of *France* into *Holland* or *Zealand*, but a Southerly or Westerly Wind; for tho' they may put out to Sea with an Easterly Wind, yet being at Sea, they cannot recover the places aforesaid, and therefore had better keep the Harbours, and avoid the danger of meeting us at Sea: And besides that such Winds as aforesaid will carry them out of Harbor into *Holland*, we shall be as ready to take the advantage of them from our own Coast, as themselves can be from theirs; considering what time they must have to Embarque their Men and Provisions, and observe their Tides for going forth of their Ports. The Downs lie conveniently to guard Calais, Bullen, St. Vallery and Havredegrace; the Isle of Wight will have an eye over Deep, Sherbrook, and all the Creeks to the Hagg; the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey will do the like to St. Maloes, which is a Port of greatest importance on that Coast.

But the places of greatest weight, are Brest, Blavet, and some other Harbours for the Entertainment of their best and greatest Ships, which lie East and South East from Ushant, and not within the Chanel opposite to England.

But those *French* Ships that shall there remain, must have two contrary Winds to bring them into our Chanel; the one to get about Ushant, and that being done, the other is to sail into *Holland*, in which course they must pass our Three Squadrons aforesaid, and will find it impossible to escape us.

Havredegrace, which is the second good Harbour next to St. Maloes, lying betwixt Calais and Ushant, is in the same state of Brest and Blavet, which must have two contrary Winds to carry them to *Holland*; tho' they be nearer to *Holland* by many Leagues, yet they shall run the same hazard and peril of Brest, as I have declar'd.

Thus you see how easie a thing it is to prevent the *French* and *Hollanders* meeting,

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if a discreet and understanding Commander have the Rule of Things, and knows what belongs to it.

For the better Information of those

that shall be employ'd, I will set down the State and Condition of every Harbour in France.

The State of the Harbours in France.

THere is a Bank in the middle betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*, South from *Dover*, and West and by South from *Calais*, that has but 4 Fathom at low Water, and 4 Leagues long.

The *Old-Man* is a good Road for North-East, East or South-East Wind, 6 or 7 Fathom deep.

St. John's Road, nigh to it, is a good Road for the same Wind, and is 15 or 16 Fathom deep.

Bullen is a barr'd Harbour, and dry at low Water.

The River of *Somme*, where *St. Valery* stands, if it were not for a Bank that lies at the Entrance thereof, were a good Harbour.

From the *Old-Man* to *Diepe*, South-South-West, betwixt them, lies the River of *Hen*; the Town of *Treport* is upon it at low Water dry.

Diepe at full Sea 3 Fathom; there are 3 Boys to direct you at half Flood; small Ships may go in at low Water dry.

Feckban, 4 Leagues, West-South-West, a good Harbour, two Fathom at low Water.

Havredegrace, at high Water 3 Fathom, and at low Water one; there is no sailing from hence up the River of *Seine* to *Roan* without a Pilot.

Caen is 6 Leagues, South-West, from *Sand-Head*, a barr'd Harbour, and full of Sands going in.

Four Leagues Eastward lies the Island of *St. Mark*, and to be sail'd about, but foul Ground.

The Bay of *Hogs* is a good Road for North-North-East Winds, and indeed for all Winds.

Chebourg is a small dry Creek.

From thence is *Faux-Moberil*, a dry Haven.

A League from hence is *Cape de Hague*: West 3 Leagues from this Cape lieth *Aldernay*, West and by North, almost 3 Leagues long, East and West; the East is good to sail near the Shoar, but the West is bad, and the South side worse.

From *Aldernay* to *Guernsey*, West-South-West, 8 Leagues; the East end of *Guernsey* is flat, the West stoopey. Beware of the Island of *Aron*; it is full of Rocks; betwixt the Castle and the Land it is a

good Road at 6 or 7 Fathom, and which-out the Castle at 12 or 13 Fathom; it ebbs or flows here at 6 or 7 Fathom up and down; there is good Anchoring round about the Island.

From *Guernsey* to *St. Maloes* 7 Leagues, South-South-East, and to *Sacke*, East and by North, one League; you may anchor about it at 26 or 27 Fathom.

From *Guernsey* to *Jersey*, South-East, 8 Leagues: There is good Anchoring at *Guernsey* round about it, and yet there lie Rocks to the West side; on the North side there is a good Road for a North-West Wind. *Cateline* Bay, on the East side, is a very good Road. You may go between *Jersey* and the Rocks, called *Pater-Noster*, 11 Fathom, and Anchor at *Trinity* Bay.

From the West end of *Jersey* to *St. Maloes*, South and by East, 8 or 9 Leagues: In the way there are Rocks called the *Monks*.

The Course from the *Hag* to *St. Maloes* by *Grand Ville*, *Mount St. Michael*, and *Caucall*, is full of Rocks and Sands.

The Island near *St. Maloes*, called *Zezembre*, a Ship may go round about it safely.

The Tides hereabouts rise and fall 7 Fathom: There is no Entrance but for small Ships into *St. Maloes*.

About 5 Leagues West from thence lieth a great Sandy Bay, where one may ride 6 or 7 Fathom at all Winds.

You may ride about the Islands of *Brisack*: And a League and a half from hence are the Islands of *Pyckle*, Islands which you may sail about; as also the 7 Islands, at 4 Fathom; as likewise *Greveland*.

The Haven of *St. John's de Dieu*, three Leagues from *Morlaix*, is a barr'd Harbour, from whence you may go to *Morlaix* through the Rocks, and Anchor in 5 Fathom Water.

All Havens thereabouts are barr'd, but *Rosco*, which is deep Water, and has many good Ships belonging to it: It is the *Bas* that makes *Rosco* so good a Harbour.

Brest is the best Harbour in all France, and *Blavet* the next; *Odegerne* is a good Harbour; the Bank before it is 5 or 6 Fathom deep on both sides; there is 3 Fathom within at low Water.

West-Penmark is a good Harbour, 3 Fathom at low Water. *Bindett* is a dangerous Harbour for Rocks.

There is good Anchoring about the Island of *Mutton* and *Groye*.

Blavet is an excellent Harbour, 4 Fathom at low Water.

Morbeau is a good Harbour, but forceable Tides, 8 or 9 Fathom; within the East side is a bold Shore.

Behind the West Point of *Croisick* there is a good Road, at 5, 6 or 7 Fathom, and safe as in a Harbour.

The River of *Nancy* is a good Harbour, 7 or 8 Fathom Water; but you must have a Pilot.

The Island *Heyes* has no good Road; but the best is a South-West or West-South-West Wind.

St. Martin, 12 Leagues, East-South-East, from *Heyes*.

From *St. Martin's* to *St. John de Luz*, is 54 Leagues, and never a Harbour in the way, but *Bourdeaux*, worthy to be accounted, being all of them barr'd Harbours.

A Project how to War upon Holland, if they give Occasion.

IF the *Hollanders* shall neglect our Favours and Friendships, or become obstinate, perverse and insolent, and so proud withal as to disdain us, I have not that mistrust of the Force of *England*, but that it will prove the Revenge, and punish their Unthankfulness, as well by what I have said in the precedent Project, as by this that follows: For as in natural Bodies, the longer they live in Health, Sickness is the more dangerous when it assails them; so it will prove in an unsuccessful War of the *Hollanders*, who have so long sail'd with a prosperous and fortunate Gale, when at last they taste of the Perverseness of Fortune.

What can they value themselves upon, (to speak truly) but *England* deserves the Honour of it? We were the first that gave them Life, and it is such a Life, if they would consider it, that if we feed them not, they faint and famish. Let them remember an old Observation of State, *That he who entertains an Army of Strangers, takes a Wolf by the Ear*; for as it is dangerous to detain them, so it is more perillous to let them go: And if his Majesty at any time call home his Subjects from their Service, that have been the Wolves to their Enemies, they will soon become silly Sheep for others to prey upon; for things easily and unlawfully gotten, are soonest lost and consumed, if they be not supported.

If *England* at any time excepts against their ill Usage, and calls them to account for Injuries, they will find that we are the stronger, and able to give them Laws, and they the weaker to accept of the less Evil; for where can they Trade but they shall find Interruption by us, laying aside their Passage through our Seas; that without our Leave and Harbours, they cannot subsist in their Navigations. But now to my purpose to what I have in hand.

I will imitate the Marquis of *Sanctia Cruz*, a Man eminent in *Spain* for his Experience, Employment, and good Success in Sea Actions, who, upon the breach of Peace with *England* in 85. presented to the King his Master a Relation how his Territories should be defended, and the *English* annoy'd.

And as an Imitator of the Marquis, I advise, seeing we know not how soon Matters of Unkindness may burst out betwixt *Holland* and us, that in the mean time we inform our selves of the true State of their Provinces by Sea, and that there be a Choice made of two sufficient Seamen to be sent in a secret manner into the *Low Countries*, to take a view of their Shipping; as namely, the number of Vessels, their Ordnance and Quality of them; to enquire of their Ships abroad, and the Conditions of them at large; of their Number of Mariners, and to distinguish betwixt the Fishermen and Sailors; to enquire of the Decay of their Trades, if their Men and Ships be employ'd in Warfare; to observe how a War with *England* will relish with the Multitude, and where and how they think most to annoy us; for these things are necessary to be known from an Enemy.

The next must be to supply and guard our Forts and Castles on the Sea Coast; for it is a main and important thing to keep the *Hollanders* from the Succour of our Harbours; and if they be forc'd to keep the Sea in foul Weather, with contrary Winds and long Nights, the length and narrowness of our Chanel, the Cliffs of *England* and *France* will be enrich'd with their Wracks.

Such Towns seated opposite to *Holland* and *Zealand* ought to be extraordinary guarded and fortified, but especially *Sandwich*, *Harwich*, and *Tarmouth*, in respect of their Harbours and Roads to entertain

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Fleets,

Fleets, their natural Situation for Strength, and the Number of People there resident that are descended from *Holland*.

But how all these Places should be guarded and defended by Shipping that are so far distant and remote from one another, there rests the Difficulty.

In this case we must work according to the Winds; for all Sea Actions are guided by it: And suppose the *Hollanders* with an Easterly Wind direct their Course for *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, or other Northern Parts of *England* or *Scotland*, and that our Ships with that Wind lie in the *Downes*, which is our ordinary Rendezvous, this Northerly, or North-East Wind, is full in our Teeth to pursue them.

Or by keeping the Sea with our Ships, our meeting is as uncertain, the Sea being wide and spacious; and if we be taken with a hard Gale of Wind, and put to Leeward, whilst we seek to fetch it up again, they shall have time and leisure to land where they list, as I can instance in this case many Precedents.

And therefore, instead of the *Downes*, I conclude *Yarmouth* to be the only Road for the Rendezvous and Seat of our Shipping; for there we shall be ready upon all Occasions to set sail, what Wind soever shall bring an Enemy from *Holland*, tho' it were into the River of *Thames*, or the Northern Parts, having the least warning, which we cannot fail of with Fire-Beacons, or Pinnaces to be kept at Sea. And as the Advantage of an Invader is to work with the Advantage of the Wind, so must the Defendant seek as well to prevent them by the same Advantage of Wind.

The next thing I would wish to be put in execution, which rather should be the first, as of most Importance, as I have already declar'd, is, the Guard of his Majesty's Ships in Harbour at *Chatham*; for the Prosperity and Welfare of *England* consists in their Safety: And if *Holland* should prove an Enemy, now that *Flushing* is in their Possession, and within 14 or 15 hours sail from *Chatham*, gives them a brave Opportunity.

I think good to give this Caution, That an Attempt upon the Navy is more perillous for an Enemy to the Eastward of us, as *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Germany*, than from the Southward, as *France*, *Spain* or the *Streights*; for Ships from the Eastward are able to come directly with one Wind from the Countries aforesaid; as those from the Southward must have two contrary Winds, the one at South-West, to bring them to the *Downes*, and

after, an Easterly Wind, to carry them to *Chatham*, which perhaps will not happen in an Age.

And it is not unworthy Consideration, how fatal those Easterly Countries have been to this Kingdom, first by the *Saxons*, and after by the *Danish* Conquest.

My next Advice is, That we strive by all means possible to possess our selves of the Town of *Flushing*, being of more Importance to our State than any Town of *Europe*, as I will declare in my next Project: First, we shall be strengthen'd with as many Ships as belong to *Middleburgh* and *Flushing*: Secondly, it will draw all the rest of *Zealand* into our Subjection, the principal Harbour being *Flushing*: Thirdly, it will be a Bridle to *Holland*: For they can no more maintain their Navigations to the Southward, than a Subject to live under a King, and disobey his Laws; for we having *Flushing*, and guarding the *Downes* in *Kent*, all Succours and Safety for their Ships upon that Coast is taken from them.

Now to proceed to the *Hollanders* encountering us at Sea; for that it must come to, not once but often, if Wars ever happen betwixt us.

They will in reason labour to put their Fortune upon the first Battel at Sea, because their State cannot maintain a long and lingring War with us: Secondly, their Ships and Mariners, by which they live to support their State, their Revenues being Contributions raised out of Trade, necessarily must fail, when their Ships and Men are converted to any other use than Merchandize; but especially when the same Ships and Men must be maintained out of this kind of Revenue, that was wont to bring in Gain.

Thirdly, the Victory first gotten redoubles the Courage of the Victor; it astonishes and disheartens the Vanquish'd; it shakes the Fidelity of Subjects, many whereof are too much enclin'd to the *Holland* Faction; it gets Reputation, and gains Friends and Alliances abroad, who commonly sway with good Success: And therefore I wish we never present them, at the first Encounter, with less Force than to determine the Quarrel.

The Benefit the *Hollanders* shall make upon our Coast, is, the use of our Roads, tho' we debar them our Harbours; which Roads are open, spacious, undefensible, and will succour them in all Winds and Weathers; as namely, the *Ile of Wight*, *Portland*, *Torbay*, &c.

And to prevent them herein, must be to divide our Fleet into Three Squadrons, as

I have often said before; and being so divided, no Ship can escape us; for tho' they shall pass one Squadron in the night unseen, or in a Fog, they cannot avoid falling into the lap of one of the other two: And we shall make our *East-India* Voyage no farther than our own Chanel; for their Ships must pass it going and coming.

I will not omit to put in execution a Stratagem when our Fleet shall be thus divided, *viz.* to place along the Sea Shoars Fires like Beacons, from the Cape of *Cornwal* to the *Northforeland* in *Kent*, with a Care they be well watched and guarded; that when a Fleet shall be descry'd at Sea, or Ships arrive in the Road aforesaid, the Beacons next adjoining to be fired, and like a running Post one Fire to take it of another, that in a little space an Easterly Squadron shall have Notice what happeneth to the Westward, and the West to the East; so that howsoever the Wind is, one of the Squadrons shall come round upon the other, and upon the Ships in the Roads aforesaid.

But perhaps some will say, That if so few Ships as those of *Dunkirk* did so great a Spoil to us in time of War, what can we expect but Destruction from the *Hollanders*, that have 100 Vessels to one of the others in those days.

To which I answer, That tho' the *Dunkirkers* took many Ships in the *Queen's* time, yet they never lessen'd ours nor the *Hollanders* Numbers; for by reason their Harbours were not to be entred at all Hours and Tides, but only at a half Flood, they use'd to take out the Masters and Merchants as Pledges, to perform such Conditions as they agreed upon for releasing the Ship and Goods: And at that time they stood in that danger of our Ships, and the *Hollanders* who guarded the Coasts, that they durst not keep their Prizes longer than they had made this Contract aforesaid.

But with us it will be otherwise; for all such Ships as we take we shall be able to enjoy without Danger or Fear, our Coasts and Harbours being nigh us, our Ports capable at all Times and Tides to receive us. And I dare boldly affirm, that if his Majesty will give free Liberty to his Subjects to take and spoil, as many *Hollanders* as they can, in their Trades at Sea, in a little space they will be able of themselves, without His Majesty's help or assistance, to take or destroy the better part of their Vessels within their Provinces..

For let us compare them with the Pirates of *Argiers* and *Tunis*, who till of late years that they were instructed by *Christi-*

ans, were ignorant in what belong'd to Ships or Mariners: And if we consider'd in what little space they encreas'd to the number they are now of, being all of them Ships of *Christians*, and not one of their own, it is to be marvell'd, and our Case to be compar'd with it.

For if we Fit, Furnish, and Man such Ships as we shall take from the *Hollanders*, and employ them against the *Hollanders* themselves, the natural Inclination of our Men at Sea consider'd, the small Expence in Rigging, Victualling, and Furnishing them; the little distance they shall sail both outward and homeward; and the continual Supplies from Land they shall receive; for one Ship the Pirates of *Argiers* have taken, as aforesaid, we shall become owners of Forty, and make one of them the destruction of another, without farther help, either at home or abroad.

For securing our *Newcastle* Trade, it must be to fortify our Ships with Ordnance, to go in Fleets, and to Sail near the Shore, that if they be chased, or in danger of taking, to run on Land. The Countries upon the Sea-Coast must be Commanded to keep a good Watch in the Day time, and to be ready to rescue any Ships that shall be so distressed.

And because I have nam'd the Ships of *Newcastle*, I will say something of them, and compare them with the Ships of *Holland*, which some of my Country men so much Magnify, and hold so terrible, that they are frighted with the name of them, and desire to fright others.

What I shall say, may perhaps be wondered at, and my Judgment by some taxed; but if well consider'd, it will not seem so great an Error, as upon the first apprehension.

I will compute 200 Sail of Ships, betwixt 2 and 300 Tuns in burthen, belonging to the Trade of *Newcastle*; Vessels for their strength in Building, for their spaciousness within Board, for the Decks to place their Ordnance, and all other conveniency to make Men of War, I dare say *Holland* has not the like.

If these Ships be fortify'd with *English* Ordnance, which *Holland* affords not, but with Grief I may say, is supplied from us; and if 100 of our Trained Soldiers be put on board every one of them, which we may do of our own Nation; and which *Holland* cannot do, unless they dissolve their Land Army, and put themselves into the mercy of the Enemy; I will be bold to say, that these Ships alone, will be able to encounter the whole Force of the *Netherlands*; and as I have computed,
but

but 200 Ships, by a Project contain'd in this Book, we shall double the number of 200. and by consequence be as strong again.

Tho' this Trade seem to be but of small account, in respect of the grossness of the Commodity; That it is amongst our selves, and in the Kingdom; and that the Ships return from *London* unladen; yet we may account it of most Importance and Consequence to the State of *England*; considering the multitude of Mariners it breeds, and the readiness of them for his Majesty's Service, when he has sudden Occasion to use them; for every Three Weeks these Ships never fail to make their repair into the River of *Thames*, if they be not hindred by Wind; as all other Trades but this is out of the Kingdom, and upon their Voyages in Summer, that if his Majesty have need to furnish but Two of his Ships to Sea, there will not be found Mariners sufficient to Man them, if it be not for the *Newcastle* Trade. Leaving this, I will once more return to our Annoying the *Hollanders*.

And if we go further from home to seek out the *Hollanders*, yea, as far as the *East-Indies*, a place that has puff'd them up with Pride, and has bred a Heart of Disdain against us, more for the number of their Ships that resort thither, and the length of their Navigation, than for any profit they find there: The next Voyage we undertake, shall be to seek them in their Return from thence, in a desolate and unhabited Island, called *Mau-*

ricius, after the name of the last Prince of *Orange*, lying in the Course betwixt those places of the *Indies* they Trade to, and the Cape of *Good Hope*. This Island affords them great Comfort and Refreshing, which makes their Navigation much the easier and commodious: And as the meeting of Ships is more certain in a Harbour than at Sea; so is ours the more sure to find, and take them there.

If it happen that the *Hollanders* sail falling in with that Island, which must proceed more out of Negligence than Will; for they are to expect a great Succour in their way home by that Island, then they to repair to *Saldana* Bay, near the Cape of *Good Hope*; or missing that, then to the Island of *Sta. Hellena*, well known to us, and long frequented by the *Portugueses*; for no other places can succour their unsufferable wants.

And tho' we should fail to meet them in any of these places aforesaid; nevertheless they cannot account themselves safe at home, when they remember the long distance they have to Sail, and the dangers they are to pass through our Chanel, if we become their Enemies; unless they avoid us, by going into the North part of *Scotland*, which in my Fishing Project I have handled.

There are many other ways to offend the *Hollanders*, which I forbear to speak of, referring them to my Breast, till there be occasion; and I will prosecute my Design upon the Island of *Wakerland*.

A Project how to get Possession of the Island of Wakerland, if the King of England will Compound with the Natives.

IN my former Project I wish, as a matter of greatest Importance to our State, to seek and get the Possession of the Island of *Wakerland*, wherein *Flushing* is seated; the Reasons whereof I have in some kind declar'd; and now shall follow the manner how to compass it with Consent, and liking of the Inhabitants, if they will accept and hearken to Reason, before we attempt them with Violence or Force; For it is a Maxim, *He that is Master of the Sea, shall be able both to Take and Defend Flushing, or most Islands.*

The First thing we must put in execution, we must have a Book Printed and Divulged in the name of some Person, pretending to be born there; and advising the Inhabitants of the Island to hearken to his Reasons, being moved to write out of a natural Affection he bears his Country.

His First Reason is for them to consider the end for which they have so long fought (*viz.*) their Religion, their Liberty, their Security, and their Commodity, and have not as yet attain'd them; nor like to do, so long as the King of *Spain* is made able to subsist in that War.

The Second Consideration is, how to compass these Four Ends by a more gentle, and easie course than by War, which may be effected if they will judiciously weigh the ensuing Reasons.

The Book must make it appear, what Discourtesies and Oppressions *Holland* imposes continually on them; which indeed is unsufferable; but that both their Security depends upon their mutual Agreement, because of the Third that is Enemy to them both.

To wish them to consider, That tho' their Payments in the Island of *Wakerland* do equal *Holland* in their proportion, and that their Men of War of *Zealand* are esteem'd and known to be more Warlike, and to have done braver Exploits than the *Hollanders* by Sea; yet notwithstanding what Service is done, either by Land or Sea, is all attributed to *Holland*, for *Zealand* and *Wakerland* is not once mention'd; and therefore to advise them to divide themselves from *Holland*, that their Worths and Virtues may appear to the World.

The way to attain to Happiness must be, by the Countenance and Assistance of some Powerful neighbour Prince to rely upon; and *England*, above the rest, would be able to obtain that for them, in a peaceable manner, which with the loss of their Blood, they could not enjoy in 70 or 80 Years of War: And if the ensuing Conditions may be yielded to, by the King of *England*, they may boldly sheath up their Swords, and never have Cause hereafter to draw them again.

The Conditions on which the Inhabitants are to Contract with the King of England.

The beginning of all Men's Actions must tend to the Service of God, every one according to his private Conscience; and no other King in these parts of the World, but the King of *England*, does maintain the Religion by them profess'd; and for the better Proof thereof, his Majesty's Father of Famous Memory, shew'd himself a principal Pillar, and the absolute Cause to settle the true Religion in their Provinces; as it appear'd by the Council of *Dort*, against the Innovation of the *Armenians*; which Sect *Wakerland* was never known to Favour or Embrace: Nor will his Majesty assume the nomination of their Elders, or Preachers, or meddle with their Church Discipline, but refer it to themselves.

Whereas they are over-charged with Contributions and Excizes, in the Government they now live under; they may Condition with His Majesty, to ease them the moiety of what they now pay, and the other Moiety be reserv'd for Defence against an Enemy; or in Fortifications or Maintenance of Garisons; all which Soldiers to be *English*, as People that are no strangers to them in Acquaintance or Conditions, as they have made proof when they lived together, without any kind of Discourtesies.

Forasmuch as many times they appeal to the general States, residing in the *Hague*, or upon occasion they are often call'd

thither, to their great Expence and Discontent; they shall be eas'd of that Trouble and Charge, and determine all Questions, and settle their Affairs, amongst themselves, by Authority from His Majesty, without having relation to any other Provinces: This will prove a greater freedom and liberty, than they could all this while compass by the Sword; or can otherwise do by any way they can think of.

His Majesty by this Grant, and other Immunities he may give, without Innovation or infringing their Ancient Laws and Customs, will make them freer than ever they have been; and his Protection will be so strong a Defence to them, that no Prince or Nation dare offer to injure them, either at home or abroad.

It is apparent what Benefit they shall reap by these Privileges; First in easing them of the moiety of their Excizes; but most especially, if his Majesty will be drawn to grant them the Privilege of his Subjects in their Customs within his own Dominions; and to have a Freedom of their Ships to take Freights within His Majesty's Ports, which the Laws of the Land prohibit to any but his own Subjects. This will be much greater to their advantage and profit, than ever they shall attain to by living under the Government they now do.

Perhaps his Majesty may be drawn to consent to the remove of the *English* Staple from *Delft* to *Middleborough*, where it had long continued heretofore, to the Commodity of the whole Island, as themselves best know.

In yielding their Obedience to his Majesty, is no new Precedent amongst themselves; for in the Year 1424. after *Holland*, *Friesland* and *Zealand*, with the Island of *Wakerland*, had continued in the Line of *Thier* of *Aquitain*, the space of 600 Years; *Jacoline*, Widow and Heiress of these Provinces, resign'd them to *Philip* the First, Duke of *Burgundy*; by which Resignation these three States became join'd to *Flanders* and the rest of the Provinces, and still continues in the Line of *Philip*.

If these People may enjoy their Religion quietly, their Liberties freely, their Security peaceably, their Commerce, Trade and Wealth plentifully, and have the Honour to be subject to so mighty a King; no Man can justly pity them, if by refusing it they fall into the hands of Enemies.

And if their Pride and Obstinacy refuse this solid Advice of a Friend, as the State of *England* now stands, that by our permission

mission the *Hollanders* are grown to so great a strength by Sea, it behoves us to seek a Remedy for our Safeties; which cannot be better done, than by possessing the Island of *Wakerland*, which does more concern us than any plot of Ground elsewhere.

And if we be put by force to enjoy it,

there is no more to be said than I have often repeated; that so long as we are stronger by Sea, that we keep our Ports Guarded and Armed, and prohibit their entrance into them; not only all *Wakerland*, but *Holland* and *Zealand*, will be at our Devotion as aforesaid, as may appear by the Project that went before.

Of the Harbours of Holland, Zealand, and Flanders; in order, if we have Wars, to take Advantage of them.

THE *Texel* has Three Channels, whereof the *Spaniard's* or the King's is the best; when you are within there is a good Road under the Island of *Texel*; and from thence you go up to *Amsterdam*, and all places within the *Zurick Sea*.

To the Northward of the *Texel* lies the *Vlie*, a good Channel, but narrow; for Ships that come out of the *Zurick Sea*, there are Two Channels going out at the *Vlie*.

From the *Texel* to the *Maese*, S. S. W. 24 Leagues. The *Maese* goes into the *Brill*, and has Three Channels, whereof one is better than the rest, and has 16 Foot at a full Sea: Within the *Brill* the Channel carries them to *Skedam*, *Rotterdam*, *Delph Haven*, and other places thereabouts: The old *Maese* carries them up to *Dort*.

From the *Maese* or the *Brill* up to *Goree*, Two Leagues S. W. The *Goree* hath 18 Foot at low Water; and so you may go up at *Helvoet-Sluyce*, where you may Ride with the greatest Ship of *Holland*.

From *Goree* to the Island of *Wakerland*, 6 Leagues S. W. The Island of *Scowden* is betwixt them; and *Bruers-Haven* is in that Island.

Flushing is the best Harbor in all *Zealand*, and lies in the Island of *Wakerland*; the Channel has 4 Fathom, at the Water going in.

From *Flushing* to *Graveling* 24 Leagues W. S. W. These Harbors following lye betwixt them; and all upon the Coast of *Flanders* (*viz.*) *Ostend* 12 Leagues; from thence to *Newport* 3 Leagues; from thence to *Dunkirk* 5 Leagues; from thence to *Graveling* 4 Leagues; *Mardike* lies betwixt the Two last, and is the best Harbour upon all that Coast, as it is now made.

From the *Texel* to the *Foreland* in *England* S. W. 47 Leagues.

From the *Texel* to *Yarmouth* W. 32 Leagues; from the *Maese* to *Harwich*, W. a little Southerly, 29 Leagues; from the *Maese* or *Goree* S. W. and by W. 36 Leagues; from *Flushing* to the *Foreland* W. 24 Leagues.

A Project how to make War upon Spain, written in the Queen's time, and presented to Sir Robert Cecil, by Her Majesty's Appointment.

THE continual Annoyance our small Ships of War have for many years offered the *Spaniards* upon their own Coasts, makes them of late more provident than before they were, by drawing home their Ships in Fleets, that were wont to come straggling; as may appear by the *West-Indies Trade*, whose Ships strove to be first at home, to take the better Market; but now they use to repair to the *Havana*, where they attend the coming of the Plate Fleet; into which Ships they put their Silver, Gold, and things of value; and are wasted themselves by the same Fleet; by which means few of the *India Ships*, have been of late Years taken into *England*.

The *Portuguese Trade* is more general than the *Spaniard*; as namely into the *East-Indies*, *Brazil*, *St. Thome*, *Castle de la Mina*, and other parts of *Guinea*; from the two latter they use to send their Gold Brigantines to *St. Thome*, and Transport it into *Portugal* with the Fleet, which returns in *September*, both into *Brazil* and hither; they freight the Boats of *Holland*, and the *East Country* that are of good force, which defend themselves, and their lesser Ships in their company from the *English*.

These Fleets of later Years have avoided touching at the *Tercera Islands*, which were wont to afford them Relief and Succour, because they were continual-

ly haunted by the *English*; and such Armada's as were wont to be sent to those Islands, now keep off the Headlands on their own Coast, as the surest means to defend them; for whosoever seeks a Coast, will first fall with a Headland or Cape.

How to employ our Fleets against Spain.

The last Summer's good Fortune that *Holland* and we both had, in taking each of us a Carrack, may encourage us both to employ our Sea Forces against *Spain*; being a means to work us both Security, and for *Holland* to prosecute their Wars with more advantage: And if by one Consent we agree together, we must resolve upon the Employment of Two several Fleets; the number, the time and manner how to employ them, with the hopes of what we are to make by them, are as follows.

The Carracks outward: The Plate Fleet homeward.

The *Firm Land* and *New Spain* Fleets outward.

The Carracks and *New Spain* Fleet homeward.

The Carracks departure from *Lisbon* is certain; for if they exceed their 15th of *April*, they are commonly forc'd back, not being able to double *Abrollos* Shoals on the Coast of *Brazil* in the 18th. Degree.

And as I have said before, That the meeting of a Ship or Fleet is more certain upon a Headland nigh a Port whither they are bound, than in an open Sea, where they may escape by night, by Fog, by being to Leeward, or many other casualties; therefore, besides the grois Fleet that should make good the Coast of *Spain*, it were fit the Enemy were busied in both his *Indies*; and how to offend him in his *East-Indies* I have set down in this Book, to which I refer you. Our Second and most material Hope is upon the Plate Fleet, whose coming home is uncertain; tho' for the space of Four or Five Years past, they have observed the Months of *March* and *April*: The Ports whither they resort, are *St. Lucar*, or *Cadix*; the likeliest place of meeting them is *Cape St. Maries*, the Headland they commonly make before they put into *St. Lucar*.

The greatest doubt of meeting this Fleet, is the Intelligence they may receive out of *Spain*; considering the small distance betwixt them and the *Indies*, and the certainty of the Winds, whereby they may give warning to their Fleet to Winter there, if they see cause; and therefore the subtlest and securest course to prevent them, is to send Two or Three Pinna-

ces, excellent choice Sailors to lye before the *Havana*, to attend the coming out of their Fleet, and alter to pursue them a-stern, till they bring them into the height they mean to hail in; which done, one of the Three Pinnaces may repair with all speed to our Fleet, where they shall have Directions to find them, and give relation in what state, and in what height they left them: The other Two Pinnaces are not to leave company of the Fleet, unless the Fleet alter its height; which if they do, one of the Two Pinnaces is to follow the same Directions the other did, with this caution; That if they find themselves in danger of being taken, they throw their Instructions over-board.

The Third and last hope of our Fleet, is the Ships of *Terra firma*, or the *Firm Land*, which go for the next Years Plate, and are commonly to depart from *Spain*, at the coming home of the other Fleet: The place to meet them is 18 or 20 Leagues from *Cape Canteen* in *Barbary*. We may know by the Wind, within a Point or two, how they will steer, as also the time of their departure from *St. Lucar*, by the Moon, for they must observe the Spring-Tides to come over the Barr: We may likewise provide to have Intelligence by the way of *Mamora*, or *Sally*, Two Towns in *Barbary*, opposite to that part of *Spain*.

If we should prove so unhappy as to miss this Fleet, if Her Majesty will purpose this Squadron to the *Indies*, they will not fail meeting with them at the Northernmost part of *Dominica*, where they use to Water; or being departed from thence, their course is certain to *Cape de Vela*; and after to *Nombre de Dios*, where commonly they take in their Treasure, and where they may be easily surpriz'd.

I will suppose our Second Fleet to be at Sea, upon return of our first, who have these several hopes likewise: The Carracks and *New Spain* Fleet homeward; and the *New Spain* Fleet outward. If her Majesty will resolve to keep a continual Fleet, as is propos'd, few of these Ships can possibly escape us, either going or coming, seeing we know the course they sail, the Season of the Year they must needs pass, and the Harbors whither they are bound.

The *New Spain* Fleet outward, is to depart from the same Part, through the same Seas, and in the same Course, the *Terra Firma*, or *Firm Land* Fleet doth; only they differ in the time of the Year; for they exceed not their Midsummer-day to set sail from *Spain*, because of their safe getting to the Port of *St. John de Ulva*, be-

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fore the entrance of the Northerly Winds, which are perillous upon that Coast.

Their Watering-place is *Guadalupe*, where a small strength were able suddenly to surprize them; their Men and Ships being out of Order and Frame, by their romaging them, and doing other works about them when they come to water; and their Force consisting but of Two Galeons of War, the one Admiral, the other Vice Admiral.

The Security to our State.

These Undertakings being follow'd according to the Designs set down, and taking that good Success that is hop'd for, are one great means to breed Security to our State; the Enemy being impoverish'd, and we enrich'd.

Our only Security must be to cut off *Spain's* Forces by Sea, seeing their means of Invasion and Strength of Defence depends upon their Shipping: How this Service may be effected, and the Benefit that will arise by it, is here briefly handled.

First, and principally, we must keep employ'd Two main Fleets upon the Coast of *Spain* 8 Months in the Year, that is from *March* to *November*; every Fleet to consist of 45 Ships, to be divided into 3 Squadrons; one to lye off the Rock to intercept all Traders of *Lisbon*; the Second at the *South Cape*, to stop all Entercourse to *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz*, and to and from the *Indies*; the Third to the Islands, lest they should there stop, and put their Goods ashore, having intelligence of our being upon the Coast of *Spain*.

Our Fleet being thus divided, no Army at Sea can be prepar'd, or at least gather'd to a Head, but we shall intercept them; we shall not only debar the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* their own Trade, but all Nations to them; they will not be able to Feed without our permission; nor no Nation can be brought to greater extremity, than they will be.

Perhaps the number of these Ships will exceed the proportion her Majesty is willing to employ; but if *Holland* will be drawn from the Trade of *Spain*, and join with us, the number may be easily rais'd by them and our Maritime Towns in *England*, so that her Majesty needs employ but six Ships of her own in each Fleet, to serve for Admiral and Vice-Admiral of every Squadron.

It is not the meanest mischief we shall do the King of *Spain*, if we War thus upon him, to force him to keep his Shores still Arm'd and Guarded, to the infinite Vexation, Charge and Discontent of his

Subjects; for no time or place can secure them, so long as they see or know us to be upon the Coast.

The Terror is so great they conceive of her Majesty's Ships, that few of them presenting themselves in view, do commonly divert their Actions, as may appear by these brief Observations following.

In the Year 1587. Sir *Francis Drake* with 25 Ships prevented an Expedition for *England* that Summer, which they attempted the next year, 88. because they were not molested, as in the year before.

Our Action to *Portugal* following so suddenly upon the overthrow of 88. made the King of *Spain* so far unable to offend, that if it had been prosecuted with Judgment, he had been in ill circumstances to have defended it, or his other Kingdoms.

From that time till 99. he grew great by Sea, because he was not busied by us, as before, as it appear'd by the Fleet that took the *Revenge*; which Navy it is very likely had been employ'd against *England*, if it had not been diverted by my Lord *Thomas Howard* in 92.

And for Four Years together he employ'd his Ships to the Islands, for the guard of his Merchants, which made him have no leisure to think of *England*. The Expedition to *Cadiz* in 96. did not only frustrate the intended Action against *England*, but destroy'd many of his Ships and Provisions that should have been employ'd in that Service.

In 1597. he meant a Second *Revenge* upon *England*, but was prevented by the Expedition of my Lord of *Effex* to the Islands; which Action, if it had been well carry'd, and that my Lord would have believ'd good Advice, it had ruin'd the King of *Spain*.

The next Year that gave cause of Fear to the Queen, was 99. the King of *Spain* having a whole Year, by our sufferance, to make his Provisions, and brought his Ships and Armies down to the *Groin*, which put the Queen to a more chargeable Defensive War, than the value of an Offensive Fleet would have been maintain'd upon his Coast.

This great Expedition was diverted by the Fleet of *Holland*, which the *Adelantado* pursu'd to the Islands.

The Year that follow'd was 1600. which gave hope of Peace; for nothing was attempted on either side, till the Year 1601. that he invaded *Ireland*, but with ill success, as you have heard.

The last Summer, 1602. he was brav'd by her Majesty's Ships, in the mouth of his Harbors, with the loss of a Carrack, so that

that he was not able to prosecute his Affairs against Ireland; for no sooner was Sir Richard Lewson return'd, but I was sent again upon that Coast, as you have heard, who kept the King's Forces so employ'd, that he betook himself only to the guard of his Shores.

The sequel of all these Actions being duly consider'd, we may be confident, that whilst we busie the Spaniards at home, they dare not think of invading England or Ireland; for by their absence, the Fleet of their Indies may be endanger'd; and in their Attempts they have as little hope of prevailing.

Thus have I ventur'd to deliver to your Honour, so much as you desir'd at my hand; and so much as I think is convenient for our present Actions.

How to work for Intelligence out of Spain, I have shew'd in my First Book; but will proceed to the state of the Harbors in Spain, for us to take advantage of.

Of all the Harbors in Biscay.

From Cape Machibaca to Cape de Peñas, lies the Coast of Biscay.

From Cape Machibaca to Bilboa 13 Leagues S. S. W. Barrea is in the way, a bar'd Haven.

Placentia, W. from it, a bar'd Haven.

Bilboa, a good Harbour; but in it there is a Sand called *la Barfe*.

Castro, 5 Leagues from Bilboa; no Safe-guard for Ships but with a S. W. Wind.

From Castro to Lavedo 6 Leagues, W. a good Harbour for great Ships.

From Bilboa to St. Antonio W. and by N 9 or 10 Leagues.

From St. Antonio to Cape Kefgo W. 3 Leagues.

From Cape Kefgo to St. Ander 5 Leagues W. and by S. a good Harbour.

Between St. Ander and Cape Peñas 37 or 38 Leagues W. and these Havens between them;

The Haven of St. Martin W. 5 Leagues from St. Ander; a bar'd Harbour.

St. Vincent, 5 Leagues, a bar'd Haven from St. Martin.

To Chares 3 Leagues in a bar'd Harbour.

Rio Sella ——— 5 or 6 Leagues, a bar'd Harbour.

From thence to Villa Vicioga 2 Leagues, a bar'd Harbour.

From thence to Sanfon 7 Leagues, between it and a little Island, there is a good Road.

In the W. side of Sanfon is likewise a good Road.

Orion, where Fishermen lay their Nets.

Torres, a good Road for a S. W. Wind
The Cape Peñas 3 Leagues.

From Cape Machibaca to Cape Peñas, 68 Leagues.

But coming from St. John de Luce in France, Puenterabia 4 Leagues; from thence a good Road for a N. W. Wind.

Passage is the next, a good Harbour, at 7 Fathom.

St. Sebastian 3 Leagues W. from it, a good Harbour, 5, 6, or 7 Fathom before the Town.

From hence to Cape Machibaca 13 Leagues.

It is good Anchoring in all the Bays upon the Coast of Biscay, 20 Fathom.

The Coast of Galicia.

From Cape Peñas 3 Leagues S. S. W. to Aviles, a good Harbour, and a good Road without, 7 or 8 fathom within the Harbour.

From Aviles to Ribadeo, 3 Leagues S. W. and by W. a good Harbor, 3 Fathom VVater.

N. W. from Ribadeo 8 Leagues, Cape Brilo; and within Vivero, a good Harbour, one may go about the Island of St. Cyprian.

From Vivero to Ortegal 9 Leagues, W. N. W.

St. Marks, in the way a good Road, at 7 or 8 Fathom without; safe for a S. W. and a W. VVind, all the Coast along.

A good Road under Ortegal for a N. W. VVind, and a S. VV. VVind.

To Cape Prior S. VV. 11 Leagues; between them is the Haven of Sequera, a good Harbour, 10 Fathom within.

Three Leagues from Cape Prior lieth Ferrol, an excellent Harbor, at 12 Fathom.

S. and S. and by VV. to the Groyne, 3. Leagues, a good Harbor.

It is foul about the Island of Cizzarke.

Queres is a good Harbor for great Ships.

From Cizzarke to Mongie, S. VV. and by VV. 13 Leagues.

Cocobayno hath 8 or 9 Fathom.

Rio Roxo, full of Rocks; but being in a good Harbor.

Ponte Vedra, 8 or 9 Fathom, in some places 40 Fathom deep.

You may Anchor under the Island of Bayonne, 10, 11, or 12 Fathom

Vigo, a good Harbour, 10 or 12 Fathom before the Town.

Bayon, 5 Fathom, but a blind Rock before the Town.

Portugal.

Viana, a bar'd Haven, a narrow Chanel, but a good Road without.

Villa de Conde, a bar'd Harbour.

Metelena, 2 Fathom full Sea.

Porto, Two Channels, the S. is the best, but alters sometimes before the Town, 10 or 12 Fathom.

Aveiro, 2 Fathom; but within 4 or 5 Fathom.

Peniche, a bar'd Haven: The Islands *Berlengas* off at Sea, a good Road, at 10 Fathom.

Lisbon has Two great Channels going in, before you come to *Belem* Castle.

Cizimbre is a good Road, 15 or 16 Fathom.

Setural has 3 Fathom and a half at half Flood.

Cape St. Vincent, a good Road for a Northerly VVind.

Algarva.

Lagos, *Villa-Nova*, and *Faro*, all bar'd and small Havens.

Tavila, a crooked dry Haven, and alters every Year.

Andaluzia.

Ayamonte parts *Portugal* and *Spain*, and is one of the best Havens in all the *Con-dado*, 3 Fathom half Flood.

Lepe, or *St. Michaels*, not to be entred without a Pilot, the Chancel alters so.

Palos, or *Saltes*, 6 Fathom within; at

the Bar 3 and a half, at half Flood.

St. Lucar has a great Bar, but deep within, for any Ship.

Cadiz, a brave Bay, at 8, 10, 12 or 15 Fathom: From thence to the *Streights* Mouth 11 Leagues.

Barbary.

Opposite to this part of *Spain* lies *Barbary*, tho' the King of *Spain* has most Harbours in it, as namely *Oran*, *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, *Alaracke*, *Mamora*, *Afamor*, and *Marragoa*: The *Moors* have only *Sally* on the N. and *Safin* and *Santa Cruz* on the VV.

Arzila, the North Chancel, good Ships may enter.

Alaracke, the River crooked, but a good Road without, at 15 or 16 Fathom.

Mamora, Two Fathom at entrance, but a good Harbour within.

Sally, a bar'd Harbour all that Coast; a good Road at 14 or 15 Fathom.

Marzagao must have a Pilot to bring in a Ship.

To *Cape Cantyn* 13 Leagues, only a Cape to Ride under.

Safin, a good Road, 10, 11, or 12 Fathom.

The Island of *Magadore*, a good Road for small Shipping.

Santa Cruz, such a Road as *Safin*.

A Project how to encrease 200 Sail of Ships.

Leaving the Voyages usually gone in to Forreign Countries by our Nation, the next I will undertake, shall be to Sail to *Newcastle*, which we may properly call our *North-Indies*, because of the Commodity and Strength that ariseth to the Kingdom by it; as shall appear by what follows.

The chief Trade we have now-a-days to increase Mariners and Shipping, is our Trade to *Newcastle*: There are yearly set to work in that Trade 200 Sail of Ships; which Ships and Mariners are once in Three weeks in the Port of *London*, ready for his Majesty's Service, if there happen any sudden occasion.

All other Trades are out of the Kingdom, and upon their Voyages in the Summer time; so that if His Majesty has occasion but to furnish two of his Ships with Men, the Kingdom cannot afford them at that time of the Year, if it were not for the Trade of *Newcastle*.

The Course how to effect this Project must be by encreasing this Trade, whereby more Ships may be set to work, (as

thus) To prohibit all Strangers To fetch Coals at *Newcastle*; and for us to make our Staple at *London* or *Woolwich*, for all Strangers to fetch their Coals from thence, after we have with our own Ships brought them thither: For whereas there are 200 Sail of Stranger's Ships set to work to the Trade of *Newcastle*, the same number of Ships would be encreased, if his Majesty's Subjects had the bringing of them for *London* or *Woolwich*.

I will now prove it to be rather beneficial than burifull to Strangers.

1. The Stranger will be able to perform this Voyage in 10 or 12 days to *London*, when many times he is 5 or 6 weeks to *Newcastle*; so that he shall make 3 returns for one.

2. Whereas the Stranger carries only Ballast in his Ship to *Newcastle*, because that Country cannot vent such Merchandize as they would otherwise carry, they need not come empty to *London*, for that *London* will take off all such Commodities as they bring, to the encrease of his Majesty's Customs.

3. Where

3. Whereas most of the Strangers that come to *London*, go away in their Ballast, by which means they carry out of the Kingdom such Moneys as they receive for Freight; if the Staple of Coals be settled in *London*, they will be glad to employ their Moneys in Coals, which will be profitable to them; and we keep our Moneys in *England*, which is now carry'd away.

4. The Bar, going into *Newcastle*, and there lying on ground with their Ships, consumes and weakens them, having their weight of Coals on board; I mean the Strangers Ships, that are not built with the strength that ours are: As in *London*, their Ships will Ride and Float, and take in their Coals out of one Ship into another, which will lengthen their Ships Four Years in the ordinary age of Ships; so that they will gain the Third part of a Ship in change in their Ports.

5. They shall not be subject to the spoil of Pirates, as hath been of late years to *Newcastle*; for Pirates never resort into the Narrow Seas, because his Majesty's Ships are continually there.

The Stranger cannot except against this, because the like is us'd in other Countries.

1. The *Venetians* have a Law, That no Strangers shall take in Goods into their Ships, in any of their Ports, before their own Ships be laden; or else they will take the Lading out of other Ships to Lade themselves.

2. In *France* there is a Penalty, That our *Englishmen* may not bring Salt for

ther own spending; if they do, it is Forfeiture of Ship and Goods.

3. In *Calais*, they will not suffer any Passenger to go for *England* in other Vessels than their own.

4. In *Dunkirk* they have lately taken up the *Venetian* Law.

5. In *Holland* they will not suffer any Ship of another Town to take in Goods from one Town to another, but they must Transport it in a Ship of their own Town. As for example, a Ship of *Flushing* to go to *Rotterdam*, to carry to *Flushing*; but it must be sent in a Ship of their own Town: And this they do, because they will make an equality in setting their Ships and Men to work.

6. The *Biscayners* have the same Privilege over all other *Spaniards*, the *Venetians* have over Strangers; and the reason is, because *Biscay* affords all the best Mariners in the Kingdom of *Spain*; and to encourage them to Sea, this Privilege is granted them.

Now I have strengthened this Kingdom with Defensive Forces, to withstand the power of an Invasion, and shew'd the means how to invade our Neighbouring Enemies, if they become so; I will not contain my self in the temperate Zone, but seek what Projects may be produced in the Torrid Zone, where the Sun has such a scorching Power, that the Philosophers thought it was uninhabitable; and I will take *Guinea* in my way to the *East-Indies*, it being the place from whence they were first discover'd.

A Project in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, for the Settling her Subjects in Guinea, shewing of what Conveniency it would be. Writ in the Year 1597.

THE neglecting the opportunity in times past, by refusing th Offer made by *Columbus*, to *Henry* the 7th. for the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, which *Spain* then accepted of, has made *Spain*, which was one of the most Inferior Kingdoms in all *Europe*, now become the mightiest in Wealth, Greatness, and Esteem; and to think to lessen them in those parts where they are grown so mighty, is now too late, their Footing is so strongly settled in *America*, and especially between the Two Tropicks, which naturally affords Gold and precious Merchandizes; for in colder Climates we can expect little Gold, by what we have found in *Norrenbega*.

But many are erroneously carry'd away with an Opinion of *Guiana*, and the plenty of Gold in it, which makes them forward to settle an Habitation in that Country. The only Reason I conceive Men can have to induce them to it, is the Climate, that may afford Gold, but no proof of any hitherto found there; and I have given my Reasons of the unlikeliness of finding any there, in my Fourth Book.

My Reasons for disapproving our Planting in *Guiana* are these: First, it is in the Continent of *America*, fronting upon the *Spaniards*, whom we shall find very ill Neighbours to us. The Second, is, the Men we send must be by Sea, and that far

far off; and the number cannot be so great to cope with the *Spaniards* that are there already: And it will so much concern them, not to accept of our Neighborhood in those parts, that they will rather employ their whole Forces to remove us; it concerning them so deeply, not to have any Partakers with them in their *Indies*.

Thirdly, we shall enter upon a poor barbarous Country, the People wild and rude, that can give us no assurance of their Fidelity, being void of Understanding: The Provisions we must live on, must be carried by us; the Country having no strength but by nature, no Towns or Houses to lye in, and requires a long time, and great Charge to be furnished with Vistuals, Fortifications and Buildings.

But leaving *Guiana* for the Reasons here given, I will a little handle the Planting and Inhabiting of *Guinea*, and will prove it the most convenient place for us, now in time of War, to possess and keep.

The Country is nearer to us than *Guiana*; the Trade certain to the *Portugueses* for Gold, and other Commodities, which *Guiana* affords not; our settling in it in times past, was so much feared by the *Portuguese* Kings, that they sought by all means possible to divert us; and King *John* the Second understanding of a preparation of a Fleet in *England* for a Voyage to *Guinea*; doubting it would prove prejudicial to him, sent *Rui de Sousa*, a Principal Man of his Country, Ambassador into *England*, to confirm the old League with *Edward* the 4th. and to acquaint him with the Title he had to the Signiory of *Guinea*; desiring him to lay aside his Fleet that was preparing for that Coast, under the Command and Conduct of *John Tjnter*; as also not to suffer or permit any of his Subjects to Trade for *Guinea*.

The King was willing to yield to his Request, and desirous to accept of his League; for in respect of his Domestick Troubles at home, he could not have leisure to seek the enlargement of his Kingdom abroad: Thus for necessity sake our Country lost the opportunity of Trading and Inhabiting part of *Guinea* in the days of *Edward* the 4th.

And since the year 1553. there was a Voyage undertaken by the persuation of *Antony Ames Pinteado*, who being a Man of good regard with the King of *Portugal*, by false Suggestions was cast out of his Favour, and forc'd to fly his Country; and coming into *England*, he discover'd

to certain Merchants the Benefit and Commodity of *Guinea*; he having liv'd there some years himself.

The King of *Portugal* hearing of this Fleet, sought by all means to take off *Pinteado*: First, by promise of great Rewards to procure his Return; which failing, his Death was practis'd by some *Portugueses* in *England*, which he having knowledge of, prevented.

Lastly, the King thought to frustrate his Designs, and Arm'd a Galeon to intercept him at Sea: This Galeon met the *English*, but durst not offer any Violence.

The Voyage was proceeded on with great hope of Good to follow; but through the wilfulness of *Windham*, who had the Command of it, a Man both Rash and Headstrong, preferring his own Stubbornness before *Pinteado's* Experience, the Voyage was overthrown; for after they grew Rich by Trade, *Pinteado* persuated their return for that year; alledging the danger of Sicknes by their longer stay upon that Coast: But *Windham* neglecting his Council, in few days after there grew a most contagious Sicknes amongst them, that they both dy'd, and many of their Company, before they could recover home.

Doubtless if this Voyage had been discreetly carry'd, as it was projected, it had return'd great Profit for the present, and had settled a continual Trade into *Guinea* in a small space: For the Negro Kings offer'd them many Immunities, and a place to Dwell and Fortifie; and this hapned at the beginning of the *Portuguese* Plantation, which in little time it would have been occasion for us to have eaten them out of their Trade, and given us opportunity to discover new Lands and Trades within the Country, as the *Portugueses* did from thence into the *Indies*.

Many more Voyages have been attempted by the *English*, upon that Coast, with profitable Returns: But at the chief place, which is the *Castle de la Mina*, we could never attain to have a Trade; But if her Majesty please, yet there is no time overpast, but that the Country may be subdu'd, her Subjects settled in it, and the Trade maintain'd, with a yearly and certain Benefit to her Majesty, as now it is to the King of *Spain*.

The place of importance for Strength and Wealth, is the *Castle de la Mina*, the taking whereof makes all the rest of the Country Tributary of course; it being the only place defended by the *Portugueses*, and where they have settled the chief Trade of the whole Country.

John Baptista de Revolasco, at my being in *Portugal*, had the Country of *Guinea* in Farm from the King, no Man having Licence to Trade thither but himself; whose course was not to seek the Negroes in their own Ports, and make the Voyage long and uncertain, but he sent his Merchandize to *Castle de la Mina*, whither the Negroes resorted, as well from the inward part of the Country, as from the Sea side, to utter their Commodities; by which means he made *Mina* a continual Mart, being always furnish'd with great quantity of Gold.

The Place being taken, the Wealth in it will be great, the keeping it not chargeable, and the living in it secure, it being strongly fortify'd to their hands, with helps that we shall add unto it; it yields plenty of Victuals; the Town is fairly built, the People civil, the Country not unpleasant; all these are sufficient Encouragements and Motives for us to inhabit it.

Tho' many object the Sickness of that Climate, by example of divers Ships of ours that have felt it; yet the true Cause has grown for want of Experience: For there are divers Observations to be follow'd by them that shall resort there to live.

The First is the time of the Year in going, which is in *September*: The Second, is the time of staying, which must not exceed *March*: And whilst they abide there, they must keep and observe a certain Diet; for there are three things principally to be avoided, (*viz.*) the unmeasurable eating of Fruits, the Serene or Dew that falls Morning and Evening, and the company of the Negro Women.

I have examin'd the Voyages made thither by our *English* Nation, and find the greatest Death of our Men is in their return home, coming out of the hot Countries into the cold; which proceeds principally from want of Cloaths in the poor Mariners; and this is ordinary in our shorter Voyages: But such as shall live in the Country, no time of the year is to be respected for their Health; for it is to be suppos'd that no Man is so gluttonous as to over-eat himself, where he shall find so great plenty, and so good a choice; for nothing breeds a Surfeit so soon as, after a Scarcity and Want, to come to plentiful Feeding, and want of Government and Discretion, to temper themselves in their Diet.

Moreover, those that live ashore in *Guinea*, shall have Houles to defend them from the Serene, or other Infection of the Air. And in answer of the Negro Women, I think no *Englishman* so barbarous as to offer it.

By possessing the *Mina* it may give us a great encouragement of other Discoveries; neither do I see any reason but from thence we may find a way by Land to *Tombagoro* and *Gago*, that would afford as great plenty of Gold to the Queen, as *Peru* does to the King of *Spain*.

The King of *Morocco* has a Trade to those places; and the chief Merchandize carried thither, is Salt: If we could get thither by Land, I doubt not, but from thence, or near thereabouts, we shall find some River to fall into the Sea, that in time we may come at it by Water; and then shall her Majesty become as Great and Rich in the Eastern parts of the World, as the King of *Spain* is now in the Western.

Her Majesty having *Guinea*, may turn it to her best Profit and Commodity, as to Plant such things as the Earth will bear; the Soil affording as great plenty of Merchandize, as the *West-Indies*, (as for example) *Guinea* and *Brazil* yield as good, and as great store of Ginger, as the other doth; but the King of *Spain* Commands that no Ginger shall grow in either of them both, but such as they preserve for their own use, and call it Green Ginger; for if he would give leave to Plant it in *Guinea*, the increase would be so great, that he would make it of no value in the *West-Indies*: Likewise the *West-Indies*, *Guinea* and *Brazil* will yield a better Grape, and a greater Quantity of Wine will be made there than in *Spain*; but the King will not grant it, nor permit the general Planting of Grapes. Thus does he politickly keep one Country under another in their Commodities, and bars the Earth from bringing forth the increase for the use of Man, as God has appointed.

There will be requir'd for this Voyage 500 Soldiers, and convenient Shipping to Transport them; with all things necessary for such an Action. The Men that go, must be choice in their abilities of Body, and clear from Sickness and Diseases; for infected Men carried from home, have been the overthrow of many Enterprizes.

The greatest Force the *Portuguese* presume upon, is their number, and the Valour of their Negroes, whom they make believe, we desire to Conquer and Kill; and that our quarrel is their defending them.

But to prevent this Policy of theirs, we will carry Negroes with us that speak their Language, and have liv'd in *Europe*, and seen the difference of our using of them, and of the *Portuguese*, for in *Portugal* they buy and sell them, as we do Horses in Markets.

When

When these things shall be known to the Negroes, it will be a means, not only to desire Peace and Friendship with us, but to animate and provoke them to rise against their Masters.

In this Journey there must be special care and choice in Victualing, both for the Goodness Quantity and Diversity; for our ordinary Victualing with Salt Meats breeds a putrefaction of Blood in hot Countries, and is one great cause of their Sickness in those parts: The Men that go, ought to have shift and change of Apparel; for the nature of the Serene, is to rot any kind of Garment.

Tho' this Voyage was not undertaken in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, which was the active Age for such Enterprizes, and the time gave great advantage, by the weak Provision the King of *Spain* had thereabouts; yet since the War ceas'd,

by our laborious Endeavours we have attain'd to a profitable Trade on that Coast of *Guinea*.

I must confess I much labour'd to put this Voyage in execution at the time we were Authoriz'd by a War with *Spain*, to justify our doings; and to shew my willingness the more, at my release out of my Imprisonment in *Spain*, in 1591. I procur'd a Rutter of the Coast of *Guinea*, that shew'd the Distance, the Height, and Course from Port to Port; the Dangers, and how to shun them; the Conditions of the People; the Commodities the Country affords, and what they desire from us; which I think not fit to insert in this Book, for making the Volume too spacious and great, but will proceed to a Design of the *West-Indies*, which was presented by me, and promis'd by the Queen to have it undertaken, as I projected it.

A Project of a Voyage to the East-Indies, with a design to have had Footing in the hithermost part thereof.

I Will prosecute my Voyage from *Guinea* to the *East-Indies* with my ensuing Projects, as *Bartholomew Dias* proceeded in his Discovery; and the first Port I will arrive at, shall be *Mosambique*, a place of great importance and relief to the *Portugueses*, both going, and coming from the *Indies*.

If her Majesty will please really of her self, or by joining with her Merchants, to undertake a Voyage to the *East-Indies*, it will prove a great Annoyance to the King of *Spain* and his Subjects, if the Projects following be well undertaken and prosecuted.

The only good we are to expect of this *East-India* Attempt, must be the provident proceeding in our first Voyage; as well to settle a certain and secure Trade, as to have Habitation in the Country.

And therefore to go abruptly, and to offer them a Trade, considering we are, or shall be disgrac'd by the *Portugueses* and *Hollanders*, were a thing uncertain, and full of hazard; for tho' those two Nations love not one another, yet to bar us of our resort thither, they would not stick to cast many foul Aspersions on us.

For prevention whereof it were necessary her Majesty made choice of an able and well experienc'd Gentleman, who, besides the Charge of the Voyage, should have the Employment of an Ambassador.

His Message and Letters should import

the Greatness of her Majesty's State, her Power by Land and Sea, her Protection of the *Netherlands*, and the several Disgraces and Overthrows she has given the King of *Spain*, whereby it is to be suppos'd, that some of the *Portugueses* his Subjects, in their secret Hate to our Nation, not being able otherwise to revenge themselves, have most unjustly scandaliz'd our Proceedings: Therefore wishing them that they would receive, what she writes for a Truth, coming from so Mighty a Prince; and to give no further Credit to the *Portugueses*, than as the behaviour of her Subjects shall deserve.

What Presents or Obligations of Friendship, her Majesty should send in sign of her Love, I will omit; only there must be care to win such Persons as have most Credit with the Princes with whom you shall Traffique: And the Conditions and Articles settled, we desire that an Ambassador may be sent to her Majesty, with offer of Pledges for his safe Return.

The Exceptions against this Voyage, are, the great Distance from *England*; the Danger of the People, having no Religion to engage themselves by; the Force of the *Portuguese* by their long continuance there; and the Commodities we must send, which are fine Silver and Oil, the one we may ill spare, the other our Country doth not naturally yield.

The method to provide against these Inconveniences, is, whilst there is no Suspicion

cion of us, to possess and keep some Town of the *Portugueses* nearest us, it will prove a great refreshing to us, and make the journey both short and pleasant. Secondly, we shall be the more respected by the People, when they see we have footing so near them. Thirdly, we shall weaken the *Portugueses*, and prevent their Carracks wintering at *Mosambique*, if they fail doubling the Cape of *Good Hope*. The reason I prefer *Mosambique* before the rest of the *Indies*, is the nearness to us, and where their Carracks certainly Water, in their way to the *Indies*; and the time is so certainly known to us, that we shall undoubtedly intercept them.

The Riches of the Town are both Gold and Merchandize; for the Governors and Dwellers of *Mosambique* are allow'd only the Trade of *Sofala*, lying under that Jurisdiction. The keeping of the Town will be easie, the dwelling in it safe; for it is seated in a strong and defensible Island; it has plenty of Victuals, Corn excepted; the Town is fairly built, with many Commodities to it, and in every point like the Castle *de la Mina* I have formerly describ'd.

When we are Masters of the Town, and have fortify'd it, and possess'd our selves of the Carracks, the Enemy will be weaken'd and unprovided of Entertainment in their way to the *Indies*; for that it is the only place where they have Refreshment.

The *Portugueses* use this place for their Refuge and Succour, not for Trade, but

only what the Governor drives with *Sofala*, as I have shew'd; but we will make it our chiefest Town of Mart, and thereby our Voyage shall be made short and easie; for our Ships that go thither, shall fetch away the Goods that our Ships bring from *Goa* and other parts of the *Indies*; by means whereof, every 12 or 13 Months, we shall have a certain return of our Adventures.

The way of proceeding upon this Expedition, must be to send an extraordinary number of Sailors, besides the Soldiers, the Sailors to Man the Carracks, the Soldiers to defend the Town; they must depart from hence in *February*, and be at *Mosambique* by the last of *June*, which will be 20 days before the Carracks arrival.

The Money and Goods taken in the Four Carracks, may amount well nigh to 6000 Tun in Bulk, which may be there unladen and kept in Store-houses, and vented into the *Indies* by our Ships yearly; for they are such Commodities as will keep, and the Return of them in Truck will be more commodious than five times the bringing of them for *England*.

Our hope is no less in meeting their Carracks in their Return for *Portugal*, at the Islands of *Sra. Hellena*, where they never fail to water; and if we have the happiness to enjoy them both going and coming, we shall be Masters of an inestimable Wealth, and bring the *Portuguese* Dwellers in the *East-Indies* to such an Extremity by it, that they must be forced either to Revolt, or accept of our Trade.

A Project and Reasons against our East-India Voyage, fully Answer'd before the Trade began.

THE *Hollanders*, who are a People both Apprehensive and Laborious in what they conceive or undertake, having light given them by the Two Voyages of Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Candish*, what the *East-Indies* and *South-Sea* afforded in Wealth; and being likewise Seconded and Encourag'd by the Solicitation of some of their own Nation, who put themselves into the Service of the *Portugueses* trading into the *East-Indies*, and whilst they were there, understood the Depth and Secrecy of it, revealing it at their Return; were so far prevail'd upon, as to spare no Cost to make Tryal where there was likelihood of Profit; and accordingly began a Trade into the furthestmost part of the *Indies*, and have yearly since continu'd it with various Success.

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Not long after, we, who are rather Imitators than first Enterprizers of things, where there is not a present return of Profit, finding by the Success of the *Hollanders*, that the Voyage was worth our Embracing, by the Rumour of Gain spread abroad; tho' in this, as many other Reports, Fame proves as often false as true; thought fit to venture something upon it: And accordingly our *English* Merchants gathered their Joint Stocks together, and from thence forward to this very day they have settled a Trade in the *East-Indies*; and what it has produc'd you shall understand at the end of this Argument.

But forasmuch as every Innovation commonly finds opposition, from some out of partiality, and from others as enemies to Novelty.

Novelty; so this Voyage, tho' at the first it carry'd a great name, and hope of Profit by the word *India*, and example of *Holland*, yet was it writ against, and answer'd, as in the ensuing Discourse shall appear.

1. Object. *This Voyage will be an occasion of exhausting our Silver, which is already too much diminish'd by the Irish Wars, and by the Hollanders drawing of it and our Gold over into the Low-Countries.*

Answer. I confess this is the strongest Reason of the Seven, that are alledg'd; yet I think not but there may be means to draw out of other Countries, such a quantity of Silver, as would furnish this Voyage yearly; if there could be means to keep our own Silver from Transportation into the *Low-Countries*: For it is to be fear'd, that the best part of Silver the *Hollanders* send into the *East-Indies*, is drawn out of *England*. But this Objection is fully answer'd by the Project of *Mosambique*.

2. Object. *It will be the decay of many a good Mariner, in the Climate there, and by the way being so untemperate, that either the one half, or the Third part of our People cannot but perish.*

Answer. This Trade, in my Opinion, will be so far from diminishing our Seamen, that no Voyage will or can breed better Mariners; for long Voyages make the skilfullest and best Navigators. But whereas the unnatural Heat is alledged for the cause of Death of Men, we find by Experience, that the greatest Infection and Death of People is not whilst they abide in the Hot Countries, but in the entering into the Cold out of the Hot, which comes principally for want of Cloaths in poor Mariners, as I have said sufficiently in my Discourse of *Guinea*.

3. Object. *It will be the decay of Shipping; because, unless they be sheath'd with Lead, they prove so Worm-eaten, that they are never after serviceable, except it be for one voyage only.*

Answer. I cannot see how this can any way prove the decay of Shipping, but rather the maintainance of greater Ships than have been us'd among our Merchants; for if they mean to maintain an yearly Trade, they cannot have less than 8 or 9 Ships of 1000, or 1200 Tun each; which upon occasion of Service, are of greater strength than the whole Shipping of *London*; and where there are so many good Ships set to work, it will be a maintenance both of Ships and Men; for as People dye, double the number will be bred and harden'd by these Voyages.

All this while we speak by Conjecture, not by Experience; for what greater Tri-

al can there be, than of the *Portuguese* Ships, who make their Voyage a Year and a half long; and yet most of them make 12 or 13 Voyages: After this proportion they continue much longer than ours; yea I have known one Carrack make 24 Voyages.

But if you allow that sheathing them will continue them the longer, we may better do it in *England* than *Portugal*, because our Countrey affords it.

4. Object. *It will hinder the vent of Cloth, for whereas now our Merchants may put over their 6 Months Bills of Debts, as well for Spices as other Merchandize, thereby to make the more speedy Return; our East-India Merchants will be able to afford them so cheap at our own doors, that our Merchants and Adventurers shall be forc'd to abstain from bringing in of Spices, and so want oftentimes present Commodities to make return of.*

Answer. Here we speak generally, that it will hinder the vent of Cloth, because the Merchants may put over their 6 Months Bills for Spices; but the Spices being afforded better cheap at home, the Merchant must be forc'd to leave off his Trade, as tho' our chief vent of Cloth were in exchange of Spices: But I conceive that in most Countries where they utter our Cloth, Merchants do not return Spices; as into *Barbary*, *Italy*, *France*, &c. From some parts of the *East-Country* we have some Spices, but very little, which was wont to come from *Turkey* to *Venice*, and so dispers'd into the *East Countries*; but since our Trade to *Turkey* it has not been much.

What inconveniences can then grow of this Trade, but to our *Turkey Company*? which if they cannot have other Commodities, than Spices, to exchange for our Cloth, it were better for the Common-wealth to dissolve that Trade, than that to the *East-Indies*, which is the Spring-head from whence Spices flow.

As we are now serv'd with Spices, it is at the Third hand, and at an unreasonable Rate, which enriches some private Men only; but surely if this Trade to the *East-Indies* were encourag'd, and carry'd with equality, the Common-wealth would be the better for it; insomuch that all manner of Spices would be far cheaper than now they are. If any find prejudice by this Trade, it will be the *Turks* themselves; when they shall see all *Europe* serv'd with *Indian Commodities*, directly by Sea, their Trade will be overthrown.

5. Object. *They will bring in such quantities of Spices as will lye too long upon their hands, and not be vented in due time; as*

was seen by the Pepper of the Carrack, which notwithstanding a general Restraint against the bringing in of all other Pepper, to the hindrance of many a Merchant; yet it was a Year before it could be made away.

Ans. Allow that our Trade will decay in Turkey, especially for Spices; and that we be serv'd with no other Spices than shall be brought out of the East-Indies, all Casualties excepted, for you must understand they will sometime stay long for their Lading; some of their Ships, it is likely, may miscarry, others not return justly at the time appointed; so that I make no doubt but England, Scotland and Ireland will be able to take off a great part; if not the East-Country and Russia will utter more than we can spare.

Whereas you refer your self to the example of the Carrack, it is thus to be answer'd: They that bought the Spices of the Queen in the Carrack, condition'd, that till they were vented, none should be brought into England; by which restraint, and they having engros'd the whole quantity of the Spices, before they made Sale of them they provided that the whole Store should be spent within the Realm, and then they forc'd every Man to pay what they list'd, knowing we could not otherwise be supply'd; and this proceeded out of Abuse, for when the greatest quantity of the Carrack's Spices was unsold, then were they at the greatest rate: And to the contrary, if there had been no Spices in England when the Carrack came in, and that they had not been Engros'd by some few, no doubt but in a Year they had been wholly vented.

6. Object. The Original of this Voyage was secret Malice of some against the Turkish Company, and a greedy desire of private Gain; the effect whereof will be such a molestation to our Neighbours the Hollanders, and such Harred we shall reap at their hands, as all our Gain shall not be able to countervail this one Inconvenience.

Ans. We are not to enter into the Hatred or private Grudges of Men, but into the Commodity or Discommodity that will arise to our Nation by this Trade: If it be more profit to maintain Traffique into the East-Indies than into Turkey, I see no reason that for the benefit of some private Men of the Turkey Company, we should nourish the one and neglect the other; But methinks if there were no more reason of Gain than out of Spleen to some Merchants of the Turkey-Company, they should not adventure so great a Stock, without a hope of Profit.

We see by Experience what Commodity the Portugueses have made this Hundred and odd Years, by that Trade, and we conceive the Hollanders find a great Commodity by it, which may give us satisfaction in it: Neither do I see that the Hollanders have more advantage to persevere in that Voyage than we.

For Offence to be given the Hollanders, I see not how in Right and Justice they can except against us; for they can challenge nothing of Discovery, since of the Two we gave them light thereof by the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Mr. Candish, who had been there before there was ever mention of Holland or Hollanders.

Secondly, they are not Subjects to them, with whom we shall Traffique, but free Princes of themselves, that may make Election and Choice with whom they will entertain Leagues.

Thirdly, we may with better Reason, and we have better means to bair the Hollanders of Traffique with Turkey, Barbary and Russia, than they to restrain us of this; for we were the first Light-givers of those Trades.

And therefore if all her Majesty's Gracious Respects to them, should in the end be recompenc'd with Ingratitude, the World would confess their Unworthiness and evil requital of so many Favours; but suppose they should do their worst against us, we know how to be even with them by many advantages we have over them, as before has been declar'd.

7. Object. Lastly, the Money thus Transported pays no Custom at all to her Majesty; nor are the Merchants bound to return home so much Treasure in value or quantity, but only upon their bare words.

Ans. Tho' the Money, upon the Transportation of it, pay no Custom, yet the Merchandize which is bought with that Money, pays a great and extraordinary Custom; and Her Majesty's Custom will be increas'd by it: But to take away all Exceptions to this Point, the Merchants offer to become bound to bring in to the Land so much Silver as shall be Transported in this Voyage.

And seeing therefore the particular Objections are answer'd, of exhausting our Treasure, consuming our Mariners, decaying our Ships, hindering the vent of our Cloth, bringing in Commodities not utterable in due time, that Malice was not the cause of it, that in Justice it cannot be prejudicial to the Hollanders, that it will be no decreasing of Customs, and the Silver we send not to be our own; all these things being rightly weighed and

Q q q 2 considered

consider'd, I refer my self to to the Censure of any indifferent Man, whether the Objections be fully answer'd, or not.

What was written in the former Discourse, as well by the Objector as the Answerer, was but conjectural, till Time and Experience, which are the Discoverers of Truth, resolve the Question doubted of.

But now having 20 and odd years Trial, what this Voyage to the *East-Indies* has produc'd, a time sufficient to judge of the Conveniency or Inconveniency to the State, or the Commodity or Discommodity to the Common-wealth, and the Profit or Disprofit to the Adventurer; I will thereupon collect out of the Reasons aforesaid, betwixt the Objector and Answerer, and how near their Opinion forced to the Truth; as also what Errors, and by whose means they prov'd prejudicial to the Subject.

The first Objection of exhausting our Coin was answer'd, and confels'd to be the strongest Argument of all the rest: But a Third Person, whom I term the Moderator, says, That if the Company had provided, as they promis'd, and as they might easily have done, to have brought the quantity of Silver out of Foreign parts, and have put it ashore at *Dover*, for all People to behold, till their Ships of the *Indies* had passed by, and then had imbarqu'd it, this would have taken away all occasion of repining by the Subject, that their Coin was Transported out of the Kingdom to uphold the *East-India* Trade; if this had been really done, without evasion or cunning, the Objection had been salved, and our Moneys found no Impediments to the Voyage.

The Second, was the Death of our Men; and tho' this was answer'd fully, yet to confirm the Opinion of the Answerer, there cannot be a better Proof than Experience, that Peoples Bodies do as well agree with, and return from the *Indies* in health, as from shorter Voyages; and that whosoever has been there once, desires to go thither again: Some there are that have made 6 or 7 Voyages, and found no distemper or difference in their Bodies; and if there were no greater Objection than this of Health, it were tolerable, and worthy to be encourag'd.

To the Third, that it will decay Shipping, the Answerer disproves it very suf-

ficiently; but indeed the greatest abuse of the Voyage shall now appear in the covetousness and desire of Gain in our Merchants, according to the nature of *Englishmen*, who strive to be presently rich, and have not patience to stay a time for it.

The bane of our *East-India* Voyage was, that they exceeded the Proportion of 8 or 9 Ships, trebble, to the number of those that were projected: This was the decay of Timber, which this Kingdom will hereafter smart for; for the loss of Men and Money, it will be regain'd in an age, when Timber must be growing many Ages.

This Proportion of 8 or 9 Ships would not have overcloy'd the Trade, either there or here; nor have brought the Commodities of the *East Indies* to so great a price as now they are there; Neither would it have drawn so mighty Stocks of Money by the Company to maintain it, whereby all the Kingdom find themselves agriev'd, imputing the want of Money to this cause: Thus it is apparent, that the Voyage is not the cause of the Inconveniency, but the ill ordering and managing of it by the Merchants.

The Fifth Objection is imputed to Malice against the *Turky* Company, and the Molestation we shall offer the *Hollanders*. The Moderator alledges, that there are very few of the *Turky* Merchants that are not admitted with their Stocks into the *East-India* Company, and all Questions accommodated; whereby their Malice ceas'd: And to the point of the *Hollanders*, we see that it is not that Trade alone, but all others in general they seek to deprave and deprive us of; and it is true, that it is Trade that sets their Hearts against us, not only in our own Traffique, but that of late we have debarr'd them of their Trades, which before, out of cunning, they only Engross'd and possess; as namely, that of *Spain*, and the King of *Spain's* Dominions, whilst they had subtly engag'd us in a War; but now that our Peace debars them of it, and that we enjoy it our selves, these are the motives of their Hates to us; and as for their Love it is to be valu'd according to the Profit or Use they can make of us, as in the next and last Book I have at large declar'd.

This shall suffice for our *East-India* Trade; but I will still have relation to the *East-Indies*.

A Project how to intercept the Ships of Cambaya, that Trade yearly into the Red Sea.

Tho' the Trade of the *East-Indies* was first found out and prosecuted by the *Portugueses*, and in these later times frequented by us and the *Hollanders*; yet can we not say, but that the Natives of these remote parts had use of Navigation, Commerce and Traffique with one another, long before the resort of the *Europeans* amongst them; as is apparent by the continual Intercourse and Trade to this day, betwixt those of *Suratt*, Subjects to the Great *Mogul*, and *Ziden*, a part within the *Red Sea*, which is commonly called the Fleet of *Mecca*.

The Vessels which pass these Seas we cannot properly call Ships, because their Built is much differing from Ships; they are neither able to brook the Waves of a grown Sea, or of Force to withstand the Power of an Enemy: These Vessels are carry'd with a certain settled and constant Wind, both outward and homeward, as I have declar'd, when I had occasion to speak of the nature of the Winds called the *Monsons*; yet as ugly, and as unshapely as these Vessels are to our Eyes, they Transport inestimable Riches and Wealth, betwixt the places aforesaid.

And whensoever his Majesty shall please to prohibit the Trade of his Subjects to the *East-Indies*, and that the Merchant shall be weary of it, which will be according to their Loss or Gain: For the nature of a covetous Merchant is like an Usurer that values and esteems his own Profit, more than the conveniency or benefit of the State; they are not satisfy'd with abundance, for the more they have the more they desire.

But leaving the Passion and Humour of such Men who are only for themselves, let us enter into the true Condition of this Kingdom, and the way to benefit his Majesty, as well as his Subjects have been benefited, by the *East-India* Trade; and here I present a Design to his Majesty, if he shall prohibit the Trade of the *East-Indies*, as have said before.

It is not like other Sea-Actions, that Enemies are Authoriz'd to take from one another in a broad and Ocean Sea, where Ships are hard to be met, or shall contest with Force and Strength; or in such weather as shall forbid Ships boarding; or such

Winds as shall make it difficult in fetching up a Chace; or such Vessels as shall make a doubt of the Riches of their Lading.

My Project is to encounter the *Cambaya* Fleet, in their return out of the *Red Sea*, in their Course, from thence to *Suratt*: These Vessels are not freighted with Merchandize of mean and bale condition, but with the richest that *Egypt* and *Turky* can afford: Their strength not able to resist; their sailing in a Sea that never endur'd Storm; their Winds and Seasons so certain, as some of our *East-India* Ships can put us out of doubt of, who have heretofore friendly visited them.

The Wealth in them, and the ease in taking them, being thus known, we are to think of the hurt and mischief that may ensue upon it, and to balance indifferently, whether it is to be embrac'd or reject-ed for conveniency sake.

There are Two sorts of People, and both Infidels, that will find themselves agriev'd if this Design be set on foot: The one is the *Grand Signier*, into whose Country they resort, to barter their *East-India* Commodities, and make a return of Merchandize there exchanged, to the great increase of Customs, that accrue to the Great Turk by it.

The other is the Great *Mogul*, King of *Cambaya*, but of late years known to us by the Traffique of our Merchants; they are the Subjects of this King that trade into the *Red Sea*, who besides his Customs and other Adventures in the Voyage, will receive detriment by the loss of his Ships, which no doubt will exasperate him.

These are the Considerations on which depends the conveniency or inconvenience to ground this Voyage upon; whether the forbearance of that Trade by us, or the Profit that will redound by it, will carry away the stronger Force.

Two Ships of his Majesty's, for Countenance and Strength, will be sufficient, with choice of Victuals, and other Provisions for Health; the rest of the Ships to be Rated in Tunnage, according to the proportion that may be judged to contain the Goods taken in the Ships aforesaid.

A Project of the Genoeses to have brought the East-India Commodities into Muscovy by Land in 1520.

AS Commerce and Trade draws a Concourse of People where Commodity appears, and by consequence Acquaintance, and Civility, Knowledge of one anothers Customs and Countries, and the ways and means to direct them thither; so did this Trade of the *East-Indies*, most especially being so lately discover'd, and yielding such great Wealth and Riches, a thing not dream'd of, till time gave light thereof, by the *Portugueses* new Discovery.

The way, and the nearest way that could be thought of, to attain to the *East-Indies*, was after attempted by several Nations, sometimes by the Cape of *Good Hope*, other some by the Streights of *Magellan*, and then again from *New Spain*; and lastly, by the North-West Passage, which shews a great willingness and desire People had to search out the Secrets of those Countries, which they found so plentifully stored with all manner of Riches.

And because the *Genoeses* were a People not much accusom'd to Voyages in the Ocean, wanting both Ships, Sailors, and Harbors for such Navigations; yet because they would not be accounted slothful or idle, and seeing it was an Age of

Wit, in which every Nation sought to exceed one another; They in the Year 1520. propos'd a Journey by Land from the *East-Indies* to *Muscovy* and *Russia*, and one *Paul Centeraneo*, a Merchant of *Genoa*, was employ'd in it, and went with Authority from that State to *Basilus*, then King of *Russia*, with offer to bring that Trade thither: He shew'd the Rivers and Countries they should Travel through, and acquainted him that the *Portugueses*, who serv'd all *Europe* with Spices and Drugs, brought them by Sea, whereby they became mouldy, and lost their true Operation and Virtue; tho' indeed it was otherwise; for after the *Portugueses* loaded their Goods in their Carracks, they never mov'd or unship'd them, till they arriv'd at their Port of *Lisbon*; as on the contrary, if they should come to *Muscovia*, they were to pass many Rivers, where they should unlade and lade again, to the spoil and loss of their Merchandize, besides many dangers they should suffer by the *Arrabian* Thieves; which the King of *Russia* did wisely foresee, and consider, and therefore refus'd and rejected that offer made by *Paul Centeraneo*; and it was never after attempted or propos'd.

A Project how to attain to Tombagatu and Gago, the richest parts of the World for Gold, seated in Africk, and never yet Discover'd by Christians.

MAny and several Attempts have been made by the *English* Trading into *Guinea*, to arrive at the Two places aforesaid; being incited to it by the Fame of the Abundance of Gold they yield, and the fineness of it, by the daily proof that is made of it in *Barbary*, whither it is brought in Truck of mean Commodities.

The King of *Morocco* or *Barbary* yearly sends certain Camels, which pass with much Hunger, Pains and Peril, in going and coming thither; and many times they are taken with violent Storms and Southerly Winds, which swallow and devour them, like the Sea; but yet this danger does not hinder the Trade, because the Profit is so great, that a Camel laden with Salt will return his Load in Gold. And this is the Encouragement our *Englishmen* have had to attempt it by Rivers, but have still failed, either by death of the

Undertakers, by want of Viſuals, by the Encounter of the wild Negroes, or shallowness of the Water to hinder their Passage.

I will set down the Errors I conceive of the former Undertakings, and deliver my Opinion, how it is fitting to Enterprize it with little Charge or Hazard to the Actors or Adventurers, by example of the *Portugueses* happy and honourable Attempt made upon the Discovery of the *East-Indies*, which gave the first light to all succeeding Discoveries, as I have touch'd in my Fourth Book.

King *John* the Second of *Portugal* wisely imagining with himself, that the Riches of the *East-Indies* brought to us of *Europe*, by the way of the *Red Sea*, might have a Passage from thence by an open Sea, if it could be discover'd, and the Trade convey'd from thence directly to *Portugal*, without

without being beholding to Infidels, as then we were; he caus'd Timber to be Fell'd to build Two small Ships for that Discovery of the *East-Indies*.

In the mean time whilst he was employ'd in furnishing the Pinnaces for this Voyage, he employ'd these Persons following to discover by Land the State of the *Indians*, and to get what Light he could to encourage his Sea-intention.

The first Man he employ'd was a Franciscan Frier, who for want of Language return'd from *Jerusalem*, without effecting any thing. The next he sent were Two Servants of his own, both of them skilful in the *Arabick* Language; the one call'd *Pedro de Govillam*, the other *Alphonso de Pairva*. They left *Portugal* the 7th. of May, 1487. and coming to the *Red Sea*, parted company: *Alphonso* went to *Prester John's* Country, where he died: *Govillam* travell'd to *Calicut* and other places of the *East-Indies*, where he fully inform'd himself of those Countries.

In his Return from thence he met with Two Jews, the King of *Portugal* had sent to meet and advise him to inform himself thoroughly of the State of the *East-Indies*.

One of these Two Jews he sent back to the King, with a Relation of the State of those Countries; the other he carried with him to *Ormuz*, from whence he sent him likewise to the King with a further Relation, and himself travell'd to *Prester John's* Country, where the King whose Name was *Alexander*, treated him courteously; who dying, the succeeding King detain'd him Prisoner, where he died, and never sent more to the King of *Portugal*.

The King being truly inform'd by the Relation of the Two Jews, he hasten'd the Preparation of his Two Ships; which Voyage prov'd successful by the Discovery of the *East-Indies*. By the example of this Land Undertaking, we are to prosecute our Intention for *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, and to labour how to arrive at them Two Places by Land, that we may with more ease, after we are there arriv'd, find out a Passage by a River when the Country is made known to us.

The Men by whom we are to work our Design, must be the Black People of that Country, whose Complexions are suitable to those of *Africk*; for White Men would seem Monsters to them, and soon be destroy'd by them: The Climate of the Country, the Diet, the Travels, the avoiding other Dangers and Inconveniencies, the Negroes can better

suffer than White Men can undergo.

Therefore I advise, seeing what we do, must be by the Travel and Endeavours of the Negroes of the Country that every *English* Ship that goes yearly to *Guinea*, may be enjoyin'd to bring from thence Three Negroes, with Care to treat them civilly and kindly, that at their return they may have just cause to commend our usage of them.

These Negroes being arriv'd in *England*, may be sent into several Cities and Corporations, Two or Three of them in company together, where they may be set into Free Schools, to be taught the *English* Tongue, to Write and Read, and the true Worship of God, with necessary Provision for their Apparel and Diet; and when they are thus made capable to perform so much as they shall be employ'd about in their own Country, then to send them back again, there to follow such Instructions as shall be give them, for finding out the way and passage to the Two places aforelaid; and after they return from thence, to assign them a place where they shall find a Ship and Men to entertain them: For the only thing that is to be requir'd in this Voyage, is to discover a way to *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, and to know the true State of that Country, and a means how to settle a Trade with the People thereof.

The Rivers by which we must make this Attempt, are *Senega* and *Gambie*; and tho' there be two Entrances into the met they make but one River, and betwixt them compass an Island.

I confess there have been many Undertakings by the *English*, to find a Passage by the River, to *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, but to little purpose, as it has been carry'd. Therefore my Design and Desire is, that what follows may be put in execution.

Besides the ordinary Ships that trade to *Guinea*, and make their Return for *England*, I wish that two Pinnaces, each of 20 Tuns, and two substantial Shallops, be appointed to follow the Discovery in the Rivers, to be well Mann'd, sufficiently Victual'd and Arm'd, to stay out a whole Year, with several Commodities the Negroes desire to have, to allure and entice them to us.

These Two Barques are to Sail so high into the Rivers, till they be stopp'd by Shoals, and then to cause the Two Shallops to proceed further with their Oars; for the greater way they go by Water, the less Journey the Negroes shall have to travel by Land.

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These Ships and Shallops are to make their abroad thereabouts the space of 9 or 10 Months, and to employ themselves in Traffique, to know the State of the Country, to learn the Condition of the People, to win them by Civility; and by consent

of them to obtain a place ashore to inhabit and fortifie, and make it a Rendezvous for a yearly Course and Trade ever after, as the *Castle de la Mina* is to the *Portugueses*.

A Project for a Private Voyage to Guinea.

There is much more use to be made of the Country of *Africk*, than either we, or any other Nation have labour'd to find out, which I do impute to the unhealthfulness of the Climate, and the neglect of People in not labouring to bring the Blacks to Civility, by courteous handling and treating them; as I have touch'd in my precedent Project.

And because I would have nothing attempted that may not bring a possibility of Profit, I here present a Private Voyage with one Ship of 200 Tuns, and 4 or 5 Shallops, to be quarter'd and carry'd in her.

It is not unknown to as many as Trade to the *East-Indies*, what Succour they find in the Bay of *Saldana*, near the Cape of *Good Hope*, especially of Oxen, where there are the greatest Abundance, and the biggest of Body in the World; and the Seas thereabouts afford great quantity of Whales, out of which may be made Train Oil.

My Directions in this Voyage are to buy and freight a *Holland Ship* of 200 Tuns burthen, with the number of Shallops aforesaid, to carry in her to the value of 2000 or 3000 *l.* Cargo, 200 Tun in Cask, with all things necessary to kill and boil the Whales; and 3 or 4 Butchers to fley their Beefs.

The place whither they must first resort, is the Bay of *Saldana* aforesaid; but in their way, to touch at the Isle of *May*, at *Cape Verde*, there to take Salt to save their Hides they shall truck for: At their coming to this Bay, some of their Men must be employ'd in Traffique with the Blacks, some in killing their Cattle for their Hides; and others in Fishing the Whales, and making Oil of them: And as they shall find a decay of either Oxen or Whales, then to remove to the Northward, where I doubt not but they shall find a sufficient store of both; as also Gold and other rich Commodities, to settle Trade ever after.

A Project how to Trade to the West-Indies for Tobacco, with the Consent of the King of Spain, or some one Merchant his Subject.

THE Colour of our *English* Ships resorting to the *West-Indies* in time of Peace, is to seek a Trade for Tobacco; and under that pretence they have committed divers Piracies, tho' the King of *Spain* has us'd all the strict means and courses possible to avoid that mischief: He has made it Death by Law, if any of his Subjects either directly or indirectly Traffique, or have Commerce with any Forreign Nation; and has often us'd the Rigour of that Law, as well upon his own Subjects that have offended in that kind, as upon Strangers with whom they have traded; and yet Gain is such a Temptation, that in some places the *Spaniards* will not forbear Traffique, tho' they run into imminent danger.

But to take away the occasion of this abuse, and that *England* may be serv'd

with better Tobacco than any other growing elsewhere; and that the King of *Spain* for his part, receive no prejudice in his Customs for Tobacco, this is the way that I devise.

That a Merchant of *Spain* and another of *England* do make a Contract, that the *English* shall take off such a quantity of Tobacco, and at a certain Rate agreed on, and to receive it at one of the *Tercera* Islands, which will be an ease to the Navigation, having the less way to sail, and by consequence, the less danger of the Sea and Pyrates; and this to be done with a Ship of the *Spaniards*, and mann'd with *Spaniards*; and for such Commodities as shall be brought out of *England*, to deliver either at the Islands aforesaid, or in any Port of *Spain*, at the election of the *Spaniards*, whereby the King of *Spain* shall

shall not be deceiv'd of his Custom, either going or coming.

When the *Spaniards* have a certain vent for their Tobacco, which is the thing they desire, they will not hazard to Trade with any strange Nation by stealth; and when the *English* perceive they are out of hope to truck for Tobacco in the *Indies*, they will be disappointed of Trade, and in a little time make them become Strangers in those parts; and this is the reason that must be us'd for the King of *Spain* to grant his consent to it.

And when we shall be served with Tobacco, and shall have proof of the goodness of it, in comparison of the beastly stinking Tobacco that comes from other places, People will desire it for wholesomeness, and detest the other; which when our Planters at *Virginia*, and other Colonies, shall find their Tobacco undervalu'd, it will be a cause that the People will apply themselves to more beneficial

Labours than they now do in Planting, Tobacco only.

And because Tobacco shall be better us'd and made up, to make it the more vendible in *England*, (for the Goodness and Badness of Tobacco consists in the ordering of it) we desire that two or three *Englishmen*, practis'd in that Art, of making up Tobacco, may be hir'd by the *Spaniards*, and carry'd to the *Indies*, to make it Merchantable there where it grows; so shall we be sure to serve *England* with none but choice Tobacco, where it will give a better Prize to the Seller, and more Content to the Buyer.

Both the Kingdoms and Subjects of *England* and *Spain*, will receive Benefit by this Project, if they be govern'd by the Directions aforesaid; and if there be a question of the King of *Spain's* consenting to it, it is no more than Merchants within themselves may contrive, without making Request or Suit to either of the Two Kings.

An Answer to a Project of the Hollanders for surprizing the Island of Canaria, and that of St. Thome, under the Equinoctial, An. 1599. in reproof of some of my Country-men, who seek to prefer their Actions before ours.

IT is wonderful to behold and see the Mutability and Uncertainty of this envious spiteful Age of ours; and amongst many intolerable Vices that Reign, Emulation is most rise: For let a Man be advanc'd by Virtue, in his Vocation, as namely a Scholar to Promotion and Dignity by his Learning, it breeds a secret Hate in all Scholars against him: The Soldier for his Service, makes all Soldiers Envy him inwardly: The Courtier, preferred by Favour of the Prince, makes all Courtiers repine at his Fortune, and enter into examination of his Merit above others; as tho' they should be Judges of their own worth. This shews the Corruption of Mens Minds in our time; for Virtue was never envy'd but by Men of Vice; nor Honour despis'd, but by them that could not judge of it.

Envy stops not at private Grudges; for very often it enflames the Hearts of Princes against the greatness of other Potentates; it Reigns in one Kingdom against the Prosperity and Welfare of another; but this kind of Emulation I confess to be tolerable; for the example of one good Prince may make another Virtuous; and the example of one Kingdom, make another strive and endeavour to equal it.

But the fault I find, is with this malicious Humour you shall find in my ensuing Discourse; where, in this Expedition of the *Hollanders*, my Countrymen are apter to give them Honour, and to attribute good Success to them, it being an Action of their own, than if they had join'd with us.

I know not what to impute it to; whether Envy to others, because they could not be Actors themselves; or a natural Love to the *Holland* Nation, not perfectly knowing them; or to their popular Government, because they have cast off all subjection to Monarchy: But sure I am, that their Partiality has discover'd a great deal of Envy, as they shall know by what follows; for I will so unmask them, that they shall not deny it.

After their engaging us in a War with *Spain*, it is known to as many as know any thing, That notwithstanding our Prohibition of Trade with *Spain*, which continu'd 18 Years, they never committed any hostile Act by Sea against *Spain*, nor had Encounter with Fleet or Ships of *Spain* but to the contrary, supply'd them with all manner of Provisions and Ammunition against us.

Then seeing there appear'd no Act of theirs, to commend either their Sufficiency or Valour, it is strange to me that my Countrymen should extol them above our Selves, only out of an Imagination of what they would do, but not by Proof of what they have done.

This Trade of theirs into Spain continu'd all the Reign of King Philip the Second; but he dying, and his Son succeeding, hecaus'd a general Embargo and Arrest of all Ships within his Dominions, which belong'd to any parts of the Netherlands, that were not obedient to his Father's Government; and publish'd an Ediēt, That it should be lawfull from that time forward to use the same Law upon any such Ships as should be found in his Country.

This was effected accordingly, and the *Hollanders* being certifi'd thereof, knew it was not their advantage to suffer their Ships to lye and rot without Employment: Neither had they means to maintain so many Mariners as were in the Country, without they had the use of Navigation. For these Two Reasons, and a desire they had to annoy the King of Spain, they sent this present Year, 1599. 73 Ships to Sea; the General whereof was *Peter Van Doest*.

Whilst this preparation of theirs held, there was an Overture of Peace made to her Majesty by the King of Spain, and Arch-Duke *Albertus*, which the Queen was inclin'd to hearken to; but upon the earnest Intercession and Request of the *Hollanders*, with promise to secure her at home, with their Fleet abroad, from any hurt Spain should intend against her that present Year: She, out of a Gracious Respect to them, was willing to surcease Speech of that Treaty for a time.

And now in answer to a Book they Publish'd at their return from the *Canaries*, which they entituled thus. *The Conquest of the Grand Canaries made this last Summer by 73 Sail of Ships, sent out by the Command and Direction of the States-General of the United-Provinces, to the Coast of Spain, and the Canary-Island; with the taking of a Town in the Island of Gomera, and the Success of part of this Fleet in their return homeward, which set Sail from Holland, the 25th of March, and return'd home the 10th of September 1599.* When you read the Two first words *The Conquest*, you will not think there followeth less than a Kingdom; for commonly it is not a Phrase us'd to any State but to a Kingdom.

The *Grand Canaria*, which they think to blind the ignorant People with, to be a place of so great Fame and Renown, be-

cause of the length of the word in pronunciation, is an Island of 12 Leagues in length and breadth; many Villages in it, and one Town bigger than the rest, call'd a City, where the Bishop's Seat is, for all the other Islands.

There are in *Nombre* 7 Islands, *Grand Canaria*, *Teneriff*, which is the biggest, wealthiest and strongest; *Palmo*, *Gomera*, *Fuerteventura*, *Larezarose*, and *Ferro*.

Upon the first Discovery of these Islands, they were call'd the *Fortunate*, and now the *Canary Islands*, and by setting down the *Canaries*, he would have the World think, that they had Conquer'd all the Islands, whereas, if he would have spoken Truth, and according to Sense, he should have Entituled his Book, *The Surprise, and Taking of the City of Palmes in the Island of Grand Canaria*; The Title of this Book is as Ridiculous, as if we should write the Story of the *Sack of Cadiz*, and Intitle it *The Conquest of Spain*, because *Cadiz* is a City in Spain: Thus you see they are People that will set a great Gloss upon a small Show.

Their Promise made to her Majesty at their setting from home was, to view and search all the Harbours upon the Coast of Spain, and to destroy the King's Ships, whereby she should be secur'd at home.

The first Port they fell withal was the *Groin*, being guided with a favourable and large Wind; for from *Holland* thither, they were Sailing but 11 Days; but when they came before the Harbour, they behav'd themselves so unadvisedly, that the Town took the Alarm, and was provided to withstand them.

Here lay divers of the King's Ships, which they would not attempt, but Dishonourably departed; tho' I must confess they perform'd half their Promise made to the Queen, in viewing the Harbours; but not the other half in destroying their Ships.

If her Majesty had rested upon their assurance of Safety, and not otherwise provided to stand upon her own Guard, I am of opinion the *Spaniards* had sooner visited us, than they them; and yet they stick not to boast, That they cast Anchor in 12 or 13 Fathom Water, and that the Town shot 200 Cannon Shot, but killed never a Man; They also say they tow'd out their Ships with Boats, in despite of their Shot; whereas it appears, they lay so far off, that they were in no danger of their Shot, or that they were in Fee with the Gunners not to hurt them, as any Man may conjecture.

But

But it seems they were so much discourag'd with looking into this Harbour, that they never offered the like to any other upon that Coast: But forgetting their Promise to the Queen, the General made known his purpose to his Captains, that he meant to attempt the Islands of *Canaria*.

If this Project was design'd him from home, or that it was left to the Discretion of the General, to undertake what he thought fit; in the one the States shew'd themselves Ignorant in Marshal Sea Affairs, or the General had no disposition to Enterprize the Service that might bring danger; for the *Canaries* are known to be of such small importance, that we never held it worth our labour to possess them, tho' it were many times in our power.

Says the Author, 'The place of Landing was discommodious and difficult, but that most of the Enemies were slain, to the number of 30, or 36. The Lord General leaping first on Land was thrust into the Leg with a Pike, and had in his Body Four Wounds more, being in great danger to lose his Life, but that one of the Soldiers slew the *Spaniard* that did it; but his Wounds were of small moment.'

Gentle Reader, First you are to observe, That by their own Confession, they had very great difficulty to Land; and that before they Landed, they slew most of the Enemies, which were to the number of 30, or 36. then let us think whether it was greater Valour in the 36. to withstand the 24 Companies, as they report of themselves after; or for the 24 Companies to overcome the 36 Men: After this proportion it was Three *Spaniards* to Two Companies of *Hollanders*.

Then follows a Report of their Lord General's Valour; a Lord we will allow him, because the Author gives him the Title, tho', if it were examin'd, he was no more Lord, than they have Authority to make a Lord; he was the first Man, the Author says, that leap'd ashore, and received a wound in his Leg with a Pike, and Four in his Body, which put him in great danger of his Life, but that a Soldier slew the *Spaniard* that did it; and that his Wounds were of small moment.

Mark the Improbability of the one, and the variety of the Report of the other: For how is it likely that one Soldier should come to the push of Pike, upon the General's leaping ashore, and give him so many Wounds; having his Troops so prepar'd, that they would not suffer the Head of a Man to appear; this Man's Valour far exceeded the 36. for he undertook their whole Force, being 24 Companies.

The Author says the General was in great danger to lose his Life; and in the Line following, his Wounds were of small moment: These Two are contraries, and for my part I know not which to believe; but considering the probability of the manner of his Hurts, and the contrariety of the state of his Wounds, I do verily think the 36 Men could not make the Resistance they speak of. Secondly, the General came not to the push of Pike at his first Landing; and Thirdly, he received not so many Wounds, as for his Glory they Report of him.

After they had thus Landed, they follow'd the Victory with great loss to themselves, and little to the Enemy, by their own Report; for they say, they neither found Wealth nor Prisoner in the Town, their Goods being all carry'd into the Mountains, and the People having quitted it, and escap'd.

The memorablest thing they did in the Town, was the delivery of 36 Prisoners, who reported that Two others, one an *Englishman*, the other an *Hollander*, were carry'd into the Mountains, being censur'd by the Inquisition, whom they had not the means to Redeem for want of Two *Spaniards*.

The Author reports, That after the taking of the Town, their People committed such Disorders in the Country, the Passages being known to the *Spaniards* and not to them, that at one time Twenty of them were kill'd; another time they return'd with the loss of 70 Men, and in the poor Island of *Gomera*, 80. and made the rest retire; besides, at divers other places they received Loss.

This proceeded rather out of Disorder amongst themselves, than any unlawful Act of the *Spaniards*; for those thus slain, were no less than Freebooters that went a Robbing, without leave of their Officers; tho' the *Hollanders* rail and exclaim against their Cruelty, alluding to their Names, that the *Canaries* were so call'd, because of *Canes*, the abundance of Dogs then found in the Island; they say that the People would run as swift as Dogs, and were as Tirannical and Blood-thirsty as ravening Wolves, which they sufficiently manifested; for as soon as they could lay hold on any of their People, like to mad Curs agreeing with their Names, they would presently worry them; and they, I confess, had no other remedy but Patience; for they took never a *Spaniard* to exercise accusom'd Cruelty.

But tho' they did not sufficiently revenge themselves upon the People, as you

heard, yet they neglected not to rife their Cloifters, Monafteries, and Churches; and not being content with the Spoil of them, they destroy'd and burnt them down to the ground. This example they never learnt of us, in the Actions they have been with us; for we ever had a Refpect to the Churches, tho' we diff'red in Religion, and held, it was a House of our God as well as theirs, tho' we serv'd him, not both in one kind.

The *Hollanders* are People that will omit nothing for their Glory; and amongst many Famous Acts they have achiev'd in this Expedition, they set down the taking of Seven Filhermen by one of their Pinnaces, Fishing under *Fuerteventura*, and the General's committing them to Prison.

These Seven *Spaniards* flood them in great stead for their Reputation; for had it not been for the taking of these Seven Men, they had return'd without manifesting their Landing in any part of the King of *Spain's* Dominions; not having taken a Man before to have testify'd to the World they had met with an Enemy.

After the Sack and Spoil of the City of *Palmes*, the General imbarqu'd his Army, and was willing to perform some other Service, that was not of Danger; and call'd a Council of his Captains and Pilots, enquiring of them which was the weakest Island, for there he meant to land; you see he was not desirous to know the Wealthiest but the weakest Island; making account where there was Wealth there was Strength that would resist them: But he wisely considering that the taking an Island, tho' it was of no Importance, yet it would carry a great Shew and Gloſs to the World, (for Men would not enter into the Value and Worth, but into the name of an Island) did hereupon courageously resolve upon the Attempt of *Gomera*, a place of so small account, that they might have been asham'd to undertake it, but especially to publish it in Print.

If all our Deeds, according to that computation were publish'd to the World, we have had many Ships, not above Three in company, that have perform'd greater Service; and yet the *Hollanders* stick not to boast that they left the Island of *Gomera* burning, which was never done before by any Nation.

Some Man that knows not the state of this poor silly Island, would think it were to be compar'd with *Vienna*, which the *Turks* have often assaulted with huge Armies, and never had Power to prevail against it. And in the same case Men may imagine, seeing they did that which

was never done by any Nation, That it was a place of that invincible Strength, as tho' many Armies had attempted it, yet they had never Power to prevail against it; whereas in very truth, this Island is poor in Wealth, and weak in Power, readier to yield to a weak Enemy, than to withstand a mean Army.

This Island was subdu'd upon the first Discovery, without Fight: All the rest withstood the Conquerors; which it is like the General well knew by his Demands, which was the weakest Island, which embolden'd him upon the Enterprize.

Here he found no Resistance; for all the People abandoned the Town and fled to the Mountains, and committed many Murders upon the *Hollanders* by their undiscereet Stragling.

Once again the General Embarqu'd, and dispatch'd 34 of his Ships back for *Holland*; and himself with the rest meant to proceed to the *West-Indies*: Those Ships that return'd took Two Prizes of small value, that had but 30 Men in both, which takes up a long Discourse in this Book I have answer'd. If all our Prizes were estimated, and the number set down, since the beginning of our Wars with *Spain*, there have been at least 600 greater and richer Vessels brought to *England*, which we think not worthy to boast of: But indeed they are to be excused; for the taking of these Two Barques, and the 30 Men, are the only Deeds they did in their Project to the *Canaries*.

You have heard, upon the division of the Fleet, the General resolved for the *West-Indies*; which Resolution was suddenly altered, and he directed his Course to *St. Tome*, an Island under the Equinoctial Line: What becomes of them I am not very Inquisitive to know, till I see it Published in Print, as this was; neither in my Opinion can they expect any thing but Death, the Country and Climate exceeding all parts of the World for Sickness: And I verily believe this latter Project to *St. Thome*, was design'd by some Traitors amongst themselves; for the *Portugueses* that live in that Island confess, That no Man born in *Europe*, ever liv'd there so long, as to have a white Beard, or attain to 50 Years of age.

And to conclude, seeing how indiscreetly the *Hollanders* have carry'd themselves in this last Action, wherein they have deceiv'd the Expectation of all their Well-willers, that are not too much transported with Partiality; I would not have my Countrymen hereafter to magnify them above their worth; but that in Reason
without

without Affection, they will compare the managing their Actions with ours, which in Discretion they are bound to do; and they shall undoubtedly find great difference betwixt us.

What I have here Writ, I protest is neither in Malice to the *Hollanders*, nor in Partiality to our selves, but out of a sincere

love of Truth; for I am so far from any detracting Humour, that if I can see Amendment in them and their Actions, I will be as ready to do them Honour therein, as I am now willing to defend my Countrymen from the Scandal of spiteful Tongues.

A Project how to Ruine Spain, with the Assistance of Holland, if his Majesty enter into a new War with that Crown.

IF the King of *Great Britain* Declare himself Enemy to *Spain*, no Man need doubt but that he shall have Assistance of *Holland* to join with him in any Action against that Crown; and then it may be suppos'd what hurt in time may redound to *Spain* in the *Indies*, if both the Nations do really join together, and their Designs be well grounded; by example of what hurt the *Hollanders* alone have done the *Spaniards* in *Brazil* and the *Indies*, without the help of any other Nation.

And to descend to Particulars, there is lately an occasion, and an unavoidable opportunity offered, never thought on by *England* or *Holland*, when they both had Wars, and studied how to vex the Kingdom of *Spain* by their hostile Actions: Now I say there is anew Discovery wherein the *Indies* may be hazarded, the *Spanish* Nation subverted, and all the Rule, Government and Riches settled upon us and *Holland*, if we join mutually together, as we have done in sundry other Actions heretofore.

The ground of this Design stands upon the Peopling and Planting of an uninhabited Island, Eighty odd Leagues from *Carthagera*, in *Terra Firma*, and not above Ten or Twelve Miles in length, and as I formerly said, Six in breadth; Five hundred Leagues West from the other Islands the *English* now possess; and where there are already seated Six thousand able and sufficient Soldiers, with their Arms, and other Abiliments for War; and are like daily to encrease by the forwardness of People that willingly put themselves into such Actions.

Such Islands as the *English* are seated in, are in the hithermost part of *America*, and by which all Ships that go to the other Islands aforesaid, or to *Terra firma* are to pass by, with a certain and settled Wind which never fails; and the Men that there Inhabit, their Bodies are made able and fit to live in such unnatural Climates to their former Breeding; their hard and evil Diet,

with Drinking Water, is made familiar to them, and they are become excellent Soldiers.

These People thus Planted will much forward any Enterprize that shall be made upon the *Indies*, by the Conveniency and little Charge to Transport them consider'd; as likewise the Ability of them, which we may account Treble to as many as we shall carry out of *England*.

But now I will proceed to the Design, and to the way how to put it in execution, which may prove the most dangerous Plot that was ever intended against *Spain*, since the first Discovery of the *Indies*; tho' at the first apprehension, it may seem ridiculous, and rather to be contemn'd than fear'd by the *Spaniards*: But if they will call to mind the Precedent of other times, they shall find that their King Don *Rodrigo*, and his Country, was Conquer'd in Two Years, by a few barbarous *Moors*, not worth naming, and could not be recover'd in 770 and odd Years of Wars after. The like may be said of *England*, when it was subdu'd, and subverted by less than 400 *Saxons* at the beginning; things not to believ'd, but that Times and Stories make it manifest; and in reason this Island may prove as dangerous to the *Indies*, as the others have been to *Spain* and *England*, for it is like a spark of Fire, out of which greater Fires may be kindled and made unquenchable.

This Island which I have spoken of in my Fourth Book, is near *Carthagera*, and not far from *Perto Bello*, and *Nombre de Dios*, whither the Treasure of the *Indies* is brought first from *Peru*, by Sea to *Panama*, and after to the Places aforesaid by Land, before it be embark'd for *Spain*.

This Island has of late chang'd her Name, from *Carthagera* to *Providencia*, out of a foreseeing Providence and Care, that some well-minded *Englishmen* do owe to their Country, that have so named it; thinking to work the Effect, for which they possess and so call it, as may

be gather'd out of a Discourse ; it being of that Importance, by reason of that impregnableness, and the Commodity of an Harbour, to receive some Shipping of a reasonable bigness, and being naturally encompass'd about with Rocks and Shoals, that it is impossible for any Barque or Boat to make an Enterprize upon it, but only in the Harbour, which is so Fortify'd, that no Force is able to assail it; insonmuch that it may be said of this Island, That God has plac'd it with his Finger, to impede and forbid the Trade of the *Indies* upon that Coast, as aforesaid.

And tho' this Island affords nothing but Water for the Sustenance of the People that shall Inhabit it; yet in a short space it may be supply'd from the *Tortugas*, which we enjoy, near *Hispaniola*, with Hogs and Beeves, sufficient to relieve as many Men, as the Circuit of the ground can contain.

But now to the use that can be made of the Island: It is to be considered, as aforesaid, how dangerous a thing it will be to the *Spaniards* Navigations thereabouts. Secondly, that whereas in all our Voyages and Expeditions in the *Queens* time to the *Indies*; we have still quailed, because our Fleets never made their aboard out of *England* above 6 or 7 Months, going, coming, and staying there, for want of Provisions to abide there any longer, but were still forc'd to Return when their greatest Service was to be executed.

The use we must put this Island to, is to make it a Magazine to relieve our greatest Enterprizes upon the main Land, without either sending or turning back into *England*; for every thing that *England* can supply us with, this Island may receive from thence without Charge; and the Ships thus Freight'd may return laden with Salt that shall cost them nothing, to countervail the Expence of their Transportation.

Here shall we be fully furnish'd, and all difficulties taken away, to further our Enterprize upon the main Land; which upon our first Landing we must divide our Armies into Two parts, the one to go to *Panama*, and possess the Port of the *South-Sea*, whilst the other enjoys *Cartagena* and the North Coast; that betwixt them they shall give the greatest blow to all the *Indies*, as ever was projected by Man, as well *Peru* as *New Spain*.

These Places being taken, as it will prove no great Difficulty, by example of fewer Forces that have done far greater Exploits in the same Place, Seas and Towns; this is the way for *England* and *Holland* to become Masters of that Land and Sea:

For the Strength of the *Indies* consists in the People and Inhabitants of *Peru* and *New Spain*; the one North the other South, Thousands of Miles from thence; which distance will debar them of Succours, and all that Coast will be left to their own Defence: whose weakness the *English* have found in sundry Actions heretofore: Or if it be alledg'd, That their Ports and Towns are better Fortify'd than they have been, it may be answer'd, That if it were so, yet our Army and Strength will be Twenty times double to that in former times: And that moreover, a Country invaded, (that relies upon the Force of Towns and Fortifications) by an Enemy that Commands both Land and Sea, tho' it be never so impregnable, in the end must yield.

Leaving some Attempts, formerly made by our *English*, before they were warrant-ed by the War with *Spain*, who then join'd with the *Shemeerones*, which are Negroes Revolted from their Masters, betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, a place where they seized upon the King's Treasure ashore in those times; I will recite some particular Exploits done upon Towns of the *Indies*, during the War of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Drake, with fewer than a Thousand 1585.
Men, took *St. Jago* in *Cabo Verde*, *St. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, *Cartagena* in *Terra Firma*, and *St. Antonio*, and *St. Hellena* in *Florida*.

Drake and *Hawkins*, with 750 Men, took 1595.
El Rio de Hacha, *Rancheria*, *Tapia*, *Santa Marta*, *Nombre de Dios*, and *Porto Bello*; and were forc'd for want of Supplies to return for *England*; as if the Island of *Providencia* had been theirs, the Advantage of it foreseen, and they supply'd from it, as is now intended, they had taken *Panama*, and by consequence had an Entrance into the *South Sea*; which would have prov'd the most dangerous Design against *Spain* that ever was projected.

If we call to Mind Private Men's Undertakings, Captain *Preston* with 150 Men 1594.
took *Puerto Santo*, *Clacbo*, the Town and Fort of *Chapa*, the City of *St. Jago de Leon*, and the Town of *Camena*.

Captain *Parker*, with Two small Ships 1596.
and 180 Men, took *St. Vincent* in *Cape Verde*, *Porto Bello*, and a Fort call'd *St. Jago*, with the King's Treasure, in *Terra Firma*. The same Captain *Parker* in a Voyage before, and with fewer Men, took one Town of Importance, call'd *Campeche*. I could repeat many more, but these shall suffice.

The Earl of *Cumberland*, with fewer than 1000 Men, took *Puerto Rico*, a Place of great

great Strength and Defence, with the loss of 28 Men. These precedents shew what these Places are, or may be made in strength.

And if so few Ships and Men could surprize and take so many Cities and Towns without the Countenance or Help of the Queen, or the Assistance of other Princes or Countries, and in time of War, that gave continual Alarms to them to provide for Enemies; What may *England* and *Holland* now do, joining their Forces together, that have the Command of more Bodies of Men, more number of Ships; and to be furnish'd with greater Celerity to second their Actions, than all the World besides; but especially, having this Island that will serve for a Key to open the Lock of the *Indies*?

But to end with the Design of the *North Sea*, which is so distinguish'd by the *Spaniards*; I will now Sail into the *South Sea*, and *Peru*, the Fountain, out of which the Treasures of the *Indies* flow, and will set down the last Resolution taken by the Projectors, Counsellors, and Adventurers of this Action, which in my Opinion seems to be a thing of great Reason. They conclude, as upon a matter of greatest Consequence, to take away all occasion of Help or Succour from *Spain*, is to forbid the ordinary Trades of their Neighbour Countries into *Spain*; which being done, the *Indies* is hopeless of Help: And the way to put it practice, as they conceive, is, to put out a general Proclamation throughout *Europe*, for all Nations, Towns and Cities, to take notice of, That if such Countries, Towns and Princes, will from thence forward desist from their Traffique with *Spain*, with Ammunition, Victuals, or other Abilliments for the War; that then from that day they shall enjoy the Immunities and Privileges of Trade into the *Indies*, as freely as now they do, or have at any time done, in their Commerce, of *England* or *Holland*: As to the contrary, if they relieve *Spain* with the Commodities aforesaid, they are to stand upon their perils, and not to expect Favour. This will debar *Spain* of Foreign Helps, and be a means to unfurnish them of all Materials to fit out Fleets; so that the *Indies* will be left to themselves, and the Dwellers there to defend them.

The Conference and Resolution of the Treaty aforesaid provided for all things to be presently put in execution, and to forecast all Doubts that might be Impediments to them; and they consider'd, how easie a thing it was to go through the Work they had projected: So on the

other side they weigh'd, That the Substantice of the Wealth of the *Indies*, was Thousands of Miles from *Panama*, whither it was brought by Sea, not having Means or Passage to Transport it by Land And therefore conclude, that the Ruine of *Spain* in the *Indies*, was to have an Entrance and Command of the *South Sea*.

They know the Condition of that Sea, and all the Harbours and Towns inhabited and possess'd by the *Spaniards*, from *Chile* and *Peru*, till they arrive at the Ports of *Navidad* and *Acapulco* in *New Spain*; which are the Harbours whither *Mexico*, and all that Coast send their Commodities, as well into the Ports of *America*, as into the *Philipine* Island, and that by the taking those Ports, the whole Country of *New Spain* must necessarily submit and yield.

They are not ignorant, That tho' that Sea affords Ships for Trade from Port to Port, yet they and their Ships are shut up from any other Traffique out of that Sea, by reason of the *Straits* of *Magellan*; and that the Ships there built, are made only for Merchandize, not for Defence and Strength, not one of them carrying one Piece of Ordnance.

They likewise know, That the *Spaniards* thereabouts are Rich and unaccustom'd to War; that if they may have good Conditions for Life and Goods, they may be easily drawn to live under our Subjection and Government.

They moreover know the evil disposition the People of those Countries bear to the *Spaniards*, and how willingly they will be drawn to join with us against them; and to join the one and the other more heartily to the Invader's Party, they resolve to make a Publick Act and Decree, That all Indians, as well the one as the other, shall be freed from their Labours; their Slaveries, and forc'd Tiranies. And because the *Spaniards* shall have no Dependency or Necessity of the help of *Spain*, it shall be lawful for all Men to Plant Wine, Oil, and other Commodities they desire: It shall be also as lawful for them to enjoy their Religion as in former times: These will be Motives and Reasons sufficient, as well to draw the one as the other to the Government of *England* and *Holland*, when all the possibility of Relief shall be taken from them.

For the effecting of this they determine to send 40 or 50 Warlike Ships into the *South Sea*, by the *Straits* of *Magellan*, which shall carry a sufficient number of Men to perform their Design, with all manner of Ordnance, with Ammunition

to strengthen the Shores and Ships; no part but shall be possess'd, strengthen'd and inhabited by us, till we come to *Panama*, where they shall find it Planted and Enjoy'd by their Countrymen, in as good a manner, as tho' they should arrive in *England* or *Holland*; and from thence they may easily pass to the Ports aforesaid of *Navidad* and *Acapulco* in *New Spain*, and conclude an absolute Conquest of the *Indies*; they may say as *Julius Caesar* said, *I came, I saw, and I overcame.*

And because this Council and Resolution shall not seem vain, by example of the *North Seas* aforesaid, where I have made a repetition of such Towns and Ports as have been taken by the *English*; so I will do the like in the *South Sea*, by one Ship alone that departed *England* in 1586. and

upon all Occasions and Services could land but 80 Men.

The first Exploit he did, was by taking away certain Ordnance from a Port, built by *Peter Sermiento* in the *Streights of Magellan*, where he found all the People dead, except Three only; Sailing from thence to *Chile*, he took *Santa Maria*; he took and spoil'd *Marmaroma*, *Arica*, *Pisca*, *Paraca*, *Cheripa*, *Paito*, the Islands of *Puna*, a place of great Importance for the Building and Trimming of Ships: And arriving *New Spain*, he took and spoil'd *Acapulco*, the Port of *Navidad*, the Port of *St. Jago*, the Bay of *Compostella*, the Island of *St. Ambrose*, and the Bay of *Massaclam*. And therefore let no Man doubt that any part of that Coast, or Seas, can resist 40 or 50 Sail of Ships sent from hence.

Projects for the Spaniards to annoy the Hollanders in several Trades.

The First Project.

THE *Hollanders* have compassed a great and beneficial Trade into several places of *Guinea*, which antiently belonged to the *Portugueses*, as the first Discoverers of them: The *Hollanders* now resort thither daily, and are well accepted of by the Negroes of that Country, who bring them Gold, and divers other rich Commodities, in truck for their slight Merchandice.

The Project to hinder the Trade of the *Hollanders*, and quite to banish them from that Coast, is, to furnish, as Men of War, 6 or 7 of those Ships they ordinarily send to *Brazil*, well Mann'd; and these in their way to range along the Coast of *Guinea*, where they shall undoubtedly meet and take the *Holland* Ships that trade there in several Parts and Ports, as is apparent, having neither Port nor other Strength to resist them. Or if it shall happen that they have made any Defence on shore by the Assistance of the Negroes, they may easily supplant them with the Soldiers they carry with them; whereas by giving them a longer time to inhabit that Coast, it would become a more difficult Enterprize to subdue them: By the Example of the of the *Hollanders* possessing divers places in the *East-Indies*, which at the first might have been prevented.

If the *Hollanders* be but once thus serv'd, it will be a means to make them quit that Coast, and clearly thrust them out of *Guinea*: For *Guinea* is not like the *East Indies*, where the *Hollanders* maintain 100 Ships by their several Trades in sundry parts, as well those places they enjoy, as the others

that accept of their Commerce; whereas in *Guinea* the Traffick is but in particular places, whither the Merchandice is brought them by Negroes from afar off within the Land, which cannot be of any great Bulk, for want of Carriage of Ships or Boats; neither are they designed any particular Harbour, as the *Portugueses* are at *Castle de la Mina*.

The *Hollanders* have as little Hope of robbing and spoiling the *Portugueses*, because their Trade is but small, and their Ships few; whereby they are not able to maintain Footing in that Country without greater Expence than the Profit will countervail: Six or Seven Ships of *Portugal* will be a sufficient Strength to drive them out of *Guinea*, those Ships to range along the Coast, and cut them off where they shall find them trading in their several places.

My Project is, after they are thus destroyed, That the 6 or 7 Ships of *Portugal* stand over to *Brazil*, and there take their Freights of Sugar and other rich Commodities, which considering the Safety and Wastage by those Ships of War, will be a means to ease the Expence in Furnishing the Ships of War.

The Second Project, to Russia.

The North Part of *Russia* was but a thing imagined, till *Sebastian Cabot*, by his Persuasions in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, drew *England* to the Discovery of it, Anno 1553. which enjoyed the absolute Trade thereof for many years, till the *Hollanders* encroacht upon us, as they have done in all other Trades,

Trades, as I have said in my Sixth Book. In continuance of time the *Hollanders* have encreas'd from 2 Ships to 100. as is apparent by so many as they yearly send; and have made a greater use of the Country, than to Merchandize alone; for they have set up a Trade of making Cables, Ropes, and other Cordage, in such abundance, that they out-do all other Places in the *Baltick Sea*; and from hence they directly serve *Spain* with those Commodities: And because, the Passage being through our Channel, in time of War they feared to be intercepted by us, they directed their Course to the North Part of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, purposely to avoid us.

The Advantage *Spain* is to take of them in this Project, is to carry their Designs discreetly and secretly; to be provided of Pilots without Suspicion or Noise, which must be done out of *England*, for no other Christian Country trades into *Russia* but we and the *Hollanders*; and tho' their Harbours are dangerous at their going in, by reason of their Bar, yet it is familiar with the Pilots that use it. The Force the *Hollanders* have to guard their 100 Sail of Ships, is commonly 3 or 4 Men of War, who suspect no Annoyance from *Spain* at any time; and by these 3 or 4 Ships you may judge of the Strength you are to employ against them: Tho' I advise you to carry no less than 30 Sail of Ships, well Mann'd, to Man the *Hollanders* after you have taken them.

Besides the Command you shall have over the Ships aforesaid, you shall possess their Storehouses, Sellars, Yards, and what else belongs to them, and spoil them, that they be never able to erect more, without an infinite Charge.

The Third Consideration is the Season of the Year; for they must cast to be at *St. Nicholas* by the 10th or 12th. of *July*; for no longer than the 17th. of *August* they can well abide there, by reason of the Winter so suddenly coming upon them: Or if they shall arrive earlier then the 12th or 14th. of that Month, perhaps they may come with the soonest, and find their Goods not Shipp'd; but tho' they should, it will not be very material, for they may Row up with their Boats to *Polmogro*, 80 Miles distance, where the greatest part of their Commodities are made, and shall either meet them in their Transportation to the Ships, or possess them on Shore, where they shall undoubtedly find them.

Or if upon any other accident the *Spanish* Ships shall not arrive at the Port of *St. Nicholas*, before the others put out to

Sea, then they may stand to the North Cape of *Norway*, and there lye off and on the Headland, which the *Hollanders* must of necessity see and double, before they can direct their Course for *Holland*.

If *Russia* were a Country in League with *Spain*, or otherwise had Correspondence or Friendship with them in Commerce and Traffique, then I confess it were against the Laws of Nations and Honour, to offer violence to an Enemy within the Port of another Prince, when they are under his Protection. But I could never understand, that ever Leagues were Treated of, or Trade maintain'd betwixt *Russia* and *Spain*, or Ambassadors employ'd, or other Obligations of Friendship, since King *Philip* was King of *England*; and therefore the King of *Spain* can be no more tax'd or blam'd, if he us'd this opportunity upon his Enemy, that is offered him by this Proposition; especially when none of his Subjects can receive Prejudice or Fear of Hurt, or Imbargo to be made upon their Persons or Goods.

Let the *Spanish* Commander at his arrival in the Road of *St. Nicholas*, have a care to summon such *English* Ships as he shall there find in Harbour, and to admonish them to forbear off'ring Violence, or making other Resistance in defence of the *Hollanders* Ships, and to let them understand in a friendly way, how they are to carry themselves by the Articles of Peace, which they may carry and shew them; and withal to tell them roundly, if they exceed their Commission therein, that Justice will be requir'd at their hands by their Ambassador residing in *England*, who will be sure to prosecute it with all Rigour and Severity: And in the *Spanish* Fleet's behalf, let the General give assurance, no way to impeach the *English*, or by any direct or indirect means to trouble or molest their peaceable Traffique.

This Project prevailing, the *Spaniards* will be enrich'd with 100 Sail of *Holland* Ships, and their Lading; great part whereof is Cordage, and other things of considerable value, which *Spain* has most need to be furnish'd with, and need not hereafter be beholding to Friends for them.

A Rutter of Russia.

He that will direct his Course from *Spain* to the North Cape of *Norway*, must steer a Northerly Course, till he arrive to *Iceland*, where upon occasion he may refresh himself with Butter, Flesh and Fish, and from thence steer away E. N. E. for the North Cape.

From the North Cape to the North *Kave*, E. and by S. 13 Leagues.

Thence to *Marcroft*, E. S. E. 12 Leagues.

Thence to *Wardhouse* S. E. 15 Leagues

Here you may have your self from *Wardhouse*, to the point of *Kegro*, E. S. E. 11. Leagues; no good Road for great Ships.

From *Kegro* to *Zoufe* S. E. 9 Leagues.

From the 7 Islands to *Swetnos*, 21 Leagues; there are Islands where you may Anchor.

From *Swetnos* to *Lombasco*, S. S. E. 13 Leagues.

From thence to *Orgoloufe*, S. S. E. 7 Leagues.

From *Orgoloufe* to *Cape Caudenos*, N. E. 47 Leagues; but you must Sail from the Three Islands to *Cross Island*, S. S. W. 13 Leagues.

From thence to *Calmouse Arkangel* S. and by W. 17 Leagues on this side of *Arkangel* is *St. Nicholas*.

The Third Project,

That the *Spaniards* may practice against the *Hollanders*, and to be as easily effected as the rest, and of greater consequence than all the others, is a Design against their Fishing, which all Men know is a means to uphold their State, to increase their Ships, and to multiply their Wealth; in which, if at any time they be prevented or intercepted, they become more miserable than all other People, in that they shall be made a prey to their Enemies.

This Fishing I formerly Treated of, with the Condition of the *Hollanders* that only enjoy it by our permission: Now will I proceed to the design upon them, for the *Spaniards* to execute, so it be with the Approbation and Sufferance of the King of England.

I have already declar'd the place of Rendezvous, where the *Hollanders* meet; as also the time of the year, the Month and Day when they begun to Fish, with the Profit they make of it: The place of Rendezvous is *Blazownde* in *Sbutland*, an Island in his Majesty's Jurisdiction of *Scotland*; thither commonly resort 1000 or more Fishing Vessels, call'd *Busses*, which

by a Law made amongst themselves in *Holland*, cannot put forth Line or Net to Fish, till the 24th of June.

And therefore the *Spaniard* must so cast, as to be at *Blazownde*, before that time, or at least Two Days to take their opportunity before the others going out of Harbour, which if they have a care effectually to accomplish, they shall bring both the Persons of the *Hollanders*, and their Ships, to their Mercy. And after this is effected, I need not teach the *Spaniards* how to carry their business, or what Conditions to make with the *Hollanders*; for they shall have time sufficient to compass their ends, after they have them in their Power.

The Fourth Project,

Is for the King of Spain to keep a constant Squadron of 10 or 12 Ships, choice Sailors, upon his own Coast: They will be able to keep the *French*, the *Hollanders*, and the *Turks* Pyrates, from the Incursions they usually make upon that Coast, and put them to look their Prey in a vast and open Sea, which is as uncertain of meeting Ships, as the finding a Needle in a bottle of Hay: For I have often shew'd, if Capes and Headlands be well defended, the others will not be worth the Cost and Charges they shall be put to.

Besides the Service done against Ships of War in this manner aforesaid, they will secure their own Trades, and impeach all such *Hollanders*, that shall go in or come out of the *Streights*, if they keep a Squadron 12 or 14 Leagues South from *Cape St. Vincent*, and spread themselves N. and S. a League and more in distance from one another; one Ship of *Holland* that shall be taken in their Course out of the *Streights*, will countervail the Charge of a whole Squadron for many Months; and the example of it, seeing their good Success will encourage the *Spaniards* to keep Ships continually thus employ'd.

Here I end my Projects, till I have occasion to speak of them again; and now shall follow my Stratagems.

Stratagems to be us'd at Sea.

1. A Fleet that is bound to a Port, and fears to meet an Enemy, may avoid him by this Stratagem following: Besides such Pinnaces as must be sent to look out the Ships expected, to give them warning of an Enemy, they ought to have other Pinnaces, choice Sailors, that should attend the Enemies Fleet; and finding they lie in a height, the others have Order to Sail

in, to draw near them, and to entice them to chase them; and in pursuit of them, they will be drawn to Leeward, and give passage for their Fleets Entrance.

2. But if this prevail not, they may cause one of their Pinnaces to be purposely taken, to deceive them with false Instructions, as for example; If their Fleet have Order

Order to come home in 37 Degrees; the Enemy finding those Directions, will not suspect a Deceit, but will stand into 37 Degrees, when the others will come home in 36. the height formerly assigned them, and so avoid them.

3. Or if a Fleet be sent out for guard of those Ships expected, and not so good of Sail as their Enemy, to force them quit their Coast; it were better such a Fleet should lye in a contrary height to that their Ships have Directions to sail in, than otherwise; for the Enemy finding in what height they lie in will verily believe they have Orders to come home in the same height, and will strive to meet them in that height, before they shall join together, when the others have Directions not to come within 40 or 50 Leagues of them.

4. If Fleets shall meet in the Night, or after an Encounter they forbear Fighting when it is dark, and one of them have a desire to quit the other, they may cause so many Lights as usually their Admiral, or other Ships carry in the Night, to be carried by Pinnaces in such a height as may equal the Poop of their Ships; and the Enemy accompanying those Lights, will not suspect the flight of the Fleet, who in the mean time may convey themselves away, and leave only the Pinnaces behind them.

5. If a Fleet will deceive an Enemy of a less Force, that is so far to Windward, that they cannot fetch them, they may do it with counterfeit Flags, and working like Merchants Ships; and for a Bait, may appoint part of a Fleet to chase another astern, and the Chaser to wear the Enemies Colours. The Ships must shot, but miss one another, which they to Windward spying, will come home in hope to have part of the booty, and so be brought into the wake of the Fleet, and entrapp'd.

6. This Stratagem will serve as well for a Road, to cause in the like manner one Ship to chase another, as tho' she that is chas'd, labour'd to recover the Road; and a Flag seeming to be a Friend, may embolden them to go forth to the rescue of her, and so fall into the Laps of the Enemy.

7. People are not so easily deceiv'd with counterfeit Flags as they have been; for the often practice of such Stratagems, makes Men more cautious: We were wont to make it a common Custom, after we had taken a Spanish Carvell, to Cloth our Men with the others Garments, and to send them into the Harbours of

Spain to be inform'd of the State of their Shipping.

8. In 87. and the first time I went to Sea as Captain, I had Two Pinnaces, and one Spanish Frigate with me: The Frigate took a Portuguese, and after was robb'd herself by a French Ship of War; out of necessity this Frigate was forc'd into the Harbour of *Setuval* in Portugal, and the People seeing her Portuguese built, and the Men attir'd in the Habits of the Portuguese they had formerly taken, and having a Portuguese aboard with them, that came out of England, and whom they trusted, they were supply'd with what they wanted from the Shore, and departed without suspicion.

9. One night I came into the Road of *Cefimbra*, pretending to be a Flemming bound to *Setuval* to lade Salt, and desired a Pilot; under which colour I deceiv'd the Pilot, and divers other Boats and Barques that came aboard me, by whom I understood the state of the Fleet at *Lisbon*, ready to set to Sea in pursuit of me. I could recite many Stratagems of this kind.

10. If a Fleet intend an Attempt upon an Harbour, where a strong Fort may impeach their Entrance, by example of *Lisbon*, and the Castle of *St. Julians*, the Stratagem is to set 2 or 3 old Vessels on fire, fitted with all manner of necessaries to make a Smoak, and to run them ashore under the Castle, that the Gunners may not see a Ship, much less have any aim at them, and so they may pass without danger.

11. What Stratagems may be us'd against such Ships, as are entred a Harbour, and how to prevent it, I have expressed in the Second Book, where I treated of the last Expedition at *Cadiz*, in 1625.

And because I have named *Lisbon*, I will set down a Stratagem I had in mind after my Imprisonment there.

12. Both many years before and after I was Prisoner in *Lisbon*, the *Hollanders* had a free Trade into all parts of Spain; which I took advantage of in this Stratagem following: I devised that 20 *Holland* Ships freighted with Merchandize, under the colour of Merchants, should repair to *Lisbon*, and that every Ship should have a number of Men secretly hid in them; and when they came to Anchor at *Belem*, which they generally do, and are viewed by the King's Officers, these Men should not appear; and after their Discharge from *Belem*, I had order'd that every Ship should ride as near the King's Palace at *Lisbon*, as conveniently they could; and

that in the night when there was no suspicion of them, and the Galleons had no more Men on board than the Ship-keepers, the *Hollanders* should sheer aboard, possess and burn them, for they were sure to find no resistance: After this was done, there was no danger of their coming out, for it is an ordinary thing for Ships to pass *Belem* in despite of the Castle.

13. If a Ship fall into company of a Fleet at night, it is necessary to have a sudden and a ready Answer; as also 2 or 3 of the Nation to speak as they shall be directed, as for example, and as you shall read in my last Voyage in the Queen's time, how in the Night I lighted amongst 24 Galeons of *Spain*, and being so nigh the Admiral, I could not avoid her, had I been known to be an Enemy, I commanded a *Spaniard* that serv'd me to call the Admiral, and tell him there was a strange Ship entered amongst our Fleet, which of all others he could not suspect mine, because of the warning I gave him; and in the mean time I tack'd from him, and so escap'd in a secret manner, making no noise.

14. In the *Island Expedition* I met the *Indies Fleet*, and it blowing little Wind, I went off in my Boat to descry them; when I perceiv'd what they were, I made my self and Ship known to them, urging them to pursue me, which if they had done, I had brought them into the Wake of my Lord of *Essex* and his Fleet, from whom I departed but Three Hours before, where they had been taken, and the state of *Spain* utterly destroy'd.

15. It is a common use when Ships are scatter'd, and chance to meet in the Night, not knowing one another, to hail one another in a strange Language (which I disapprove) as a thing dangerous, for the other being satisfy'd by his Tongue, not to be his Consort, or of his Country, prepares to Fight; and thus had it like to fall out with me: The *Mary-Rose* and I meeting one Night, after we had lost company, one of my Company hailed her in *Spanish* without my Privy, whereat I was angry, and caus'd her to be call'd to in *English*, even as she was giving fire to her Broad side. It is Folly in this case to counterfeit, for no good can come of it, seeing the one cannot part from the other, without knowing what they are.

15. The Signs that direct a Fleet in the Day time, are Striking or Hoisting the Top-sails, shewing their Flag, or Shooting their Ordnance; by shewing Lights in the Night. Many times I have known when a Ship hath lighted in company of an En-

my, that by chance she has made the very same Sign given by the General, by which means she has escaped; and in the like manner Ships have been taken by the same fortune: Therefore there cannot be a better Stratagem than when a Ship shall make a Sign, to be answer'd by the same; and the contrary Ship begin a new Sign, before the other make any; for it is not to be doubted, but the other Ship will answer every Sign that shall be made by her that makes the first.

17. I once knew an unlikely Stratagem take good effect, in this manner; After Three Days Chace of a rich Ship, my Lord of *Cumberland* was out of hopes of fetching her up, she was so far to Windward, only a Pinnace kept her company, and in the Night carry'd a Light for us to follow; I advis'd my Lord to fire a Culvering at her, tho' we could not fetch her at twice, saying, that perhaps she would yield to the Countenance of the Ship, that would not for shame do it to a Pinnace; this seem'd ridiculous, and I had much a-do to persuade my Lord; yet upon my importunity he yielded to it, and the Ship, as I foretold, submitted her self.

18. A Ship that is chas'd and desires to shew Fear, thinking to draw her that chases into her clutches, must counterfeit and work as tho' she were distress'd, and lye like a Wreck in the Sea; she must cast Dreggs, Hogheads, and other things overboard to hinder her way; she must shew no more Men than an ordinary Gang, and hail in her Ordnance, and shut her Ports, that her Forces be not discern'd, till the other Ship come within Command of her.

19. As Ships ought to observe their Admirals working in the Night, by his Light, so ought they to be more careful when they are nigh a Shore, lest they mistake a Light on Land, instead of their Admiral; by example of 97. when the *Adalanto* drew down his Fleet from *Lisbon* to the *Groine*, and coming nigh the North Cape, the greatest part of the Fleet steer'd with a Light on the Shore, mistaking their Admiral, and cast away 36 Ships and 5000 Men.

20. As Lights direct one another at Sea, so are they Directors of Ships from the Shore, as I can instance in many cases, some of which I have already declar'd, to which I refer you.

21. Lights kept in the Night, off of a Headland, as the *Lizard*, or such Capes, are a safeguard to Ships in their passage, that are in view of them. Lights likewise give warning of an Enemy that is upon a Coast,

Coast; and for that use Beacons were invented.

22. Ships that are appointed for more readines of a Service to ride in the Sound of *Plimouth*, in the Range of *Dartmouth*, or other Roads upon our Coast, and in the Night are suddenly taken with a Storm at South, which is a deadly Wind in those Roads, if Lights be plac'd on either of the sides of the Point of *Catwater* or *Dartmouth*, will be guided into the Harbour be it never so dark.

23. In a barr'd Harbour, such as *Dunkirk*, that is continually Beleagu'd by an Enemy, by keeping Lights from half Tide to half Tide, he that enters, is directed how the Tide encreases or decreases, and thereby how to avoid the Enemy.

24. Ships riding at the *Downes*, and fearing a Surprize from an Enemy in the Night, with a Southerly Wind, by placing two Boats with Lights on either side of the Brake, will direct one how to pass the Chanel and avoid the Sands, which being done, and the Lights taken away, the Ships that pursue them will run upon their Death if they follow.

25. The cutting down Mills, Trees, taking away Buoys, or other Marks that direct the Pilot, is a great Safety to any Port, or Place, such as the *Thames*, where many Sands must be pass'd.

26. The placing of Ships for the advantage of Wind, is a Matter of great Consequence; as for Example, if an Invasion against *England* be intended from the Southward, that Wind that brings an Enemy for *England*, will keep in our Ships in Harbour, that they cannot stir out; only one Place is advantageous to us, which is *Limehouse* near *Plimouth*; for that Wind that brings an Enemy from the Westward or Southward, will serve our Ships that lie in *Limehouse* to follow them, if they pass into any part of our Chanel to the Eastward.

27. Prospective Glasses, if they were not so common, were an excellent Stratagem to be used in many cases at Sea, and yet it is no hard thing to deceive those that use them; for a Merchant Ship that carries not above 10 or 12 Men, may have the Shapes of Men made, and seem to be 100 afar off; they likewise may have counterfeit Guns made of Wood, which the Glas cannot discover from Iron, to the terror of the Assailant. It may as well serve for a Man of War, to stow his Men in Hold till a Ship come near him.

28. The best and the greatest Ship in the World may be sunk by a Bark of 20

Tun, by this Stratagem, viz. To place a Cannon in the Hold of a Bark with her Mouth to the side of the Ship, the Bark shall board; and then to give fire to the Cannon which is stow'd under Water, and they shall both instantly sink; the Man that shall execute this Stratagem, may escape in a small Boat hauled on the other side of the Bark.

29. Two Galleons may be Mann'd, and furnished in the manner following, and will be as great a Guard and Safety to a Fleet of Gallies, as the Wings of an Eagle to little Birds, or a Castle to a Ship.

The two Galleons shall carry each of them 1000 Men, with all kind of Arms for Offence and Defence: There shall be placed aloft such kind of Fowlers as I will invent.

Their Hatches shall be made with Trap Doors, and Pikes placed under them, that as fast as Men enter they shall fall upon the Pikes so placed; all the Deck, shall be strew'd with round Pease tallow'd, that treading upon them, no Man shall be able to stand upon his Feet; the Ships on the Outside to be stuck with Tenter-Hooks, that they shall take no hold to enter with their Hands, and their Cloaths will stick upon the Tenter-Hooks, that they shall not be able to enter: There shall be Barricadoes, and close Fights made with all advantage, and all Parts of the Ship be made Musket proof for the Safeguard of Men.

Aloft by the Water and without Board they shall be fortify'd with Packs of Wooll, that no Shot shall pierce them, or Gallies be able to board them; Every Ship shall have upon his Yard-Arm, a Barrel or two of Gunpowder mixed with Bullets, that as the Gallies shall approach the distance of the Yard, the Barrel of Powder shall be let fall with a Pulley, and matches about the Barrel, that shall give fire upon the Fall, and breaking of the Barrel: In this manner will the Galley be burnt, and the Men slain, all at one instant.

30. If Gallies attend a Fleet of Ships, thinking to cut off some stragglers, as they did to Sir *Francis Drake*, and after to us at *Cadiz*, where they took some few Vessels; in such a Case, the great Ships must be a Guard of the outside of the Fleet to the lesser Ships, and if the Fleet chance to Anchor, to place the least and weakest Vessels outermost of the Fleet in the Day time, which will imbolden the Gallies in the Night to assail them; but when the Darkness of the Night shall approach,

approach, then to remove them, and in their place to cause the best and the greatest Ships of the Fleet to anchor where the others did, that if the Gallies attempt them they shall be entertain'd to their loss.

31. If a Ship will board an Enemy under a Castle, let him that boards bring the Ship boarded, betwixt him and the Castle, for then dares not the Castle fire for hazarding their own Ship boarded.

32. Sinking of Ships full of Stones is an old Invention, and used as well to defend one's self in a barr'd Harbour, as by an Enemy to keep in Ships from going out; but it is to little purpose to him that possesses a Harbour; for when the Water is decreased, such Ships sunk may be waded to, the Stones taken out, and the Ships burnt without hurt to themselves or Harbour.

33. Booming Harbours for the Safeguard of Ships is usual; but at each end of the Boom, Sconces must be built to defend it: For this I refer you to my first Book, which will give you more particular light.

34. One of the known Dangers in a Ship of great Burthen, and in a great Storm, that carries weighty Ordnance, is, the breaking loose of one of her Pieces in the Lower Tire; for before she can be muffled, or overcome by force of Men, what with the rowling of the Ship from one side to the other, the Piece will carry the Ship side, and founder her in the Sea.

35. For avoiding these Perils, there is but one Remedy, if it take effect, which is suddenly to heave up the Hatches of the Deck, that in her recoil she may find the Deck open, and fall into the Hold, where she shall be easily over-master'd.

I am of Opinion, if any had escap'd aboard the King of Spain's Ships that were wreck'd, which was impossible, they would confess the breaking loose of their Ordnance was the occasion of their Destruction; and no marvel, for they use to carry their great Ordnance upon Field-Carriages, which makes them the more Dangerous and Unserviceable, when they come to traverse them.

36. If there could be made a Ball of Wild-fire, as I have heard some take upon them to do it, which Ball should burn without quenching, then were it an easie thing to convey one of them Balls secretly into a Ship, and privately to hide it till the Party be gone out of the Ship, which then being set on Fire, will not only burn the said Ship, but all others near her.

37. In passing a Fort in the Night, it is good to make both the Ship and Sails black, with a Care that no light be seen in her; but the way for an Enemy to prevent her entrance is this, to make a Fire opposite to the Fort, and to lay the Ordnance point-blank with the Fire, that when they shall see the Shadow of the Fire taken from them by the Ship and Sails, then to discharge their Ordnance, and be sure to sink the Ship.

38. A Ship that will keep another from boarding her, she being to Windward and may board her, the Remedy is, to put forth two Masts at two Ports, that the Ship coverting to board, she shall light upon the Masts, and keep her from coming near the Ship.

39. It is a good Stratagem to board a Ship though she presently fall off again; and during the time she is on board to appoint the Carpenters with their Axes to cut the Port-ropes of the Ships boarded, that at her coming off again, when she shall begin a new Fight, her Pieces may serve for no purpose, because her Ports will be cloged, and not able to put forth a piece of Ordnance, but lie to be annoyed by the Enemy.

40. A number of Ships lying in an Harbour dry, from half Tide to half Tide, may be thus destroy'd, as I will make a Comparison betwixt *England*, *Flanders*, and *France*, where two of them have Wars with one another, and the Third Peace with both, I will suppose that a Ship of *France*, and a Man in her that I will trust, freighted for *Dunkirk*, where *English* Barks are forbid to go, the Bark is to be laden with Deals, and other dry substance apt to burn, and under her Boards there must be stow'd Pitch, Tarr, Rosin, and other Ingredients not to be quench'd: The *French* Man that shall execute this Stratagem, must forecast at his Entrance into the Harbour to seek to lie a board the best Ships, and where he may do the most Hurt and Spoil to the rest, when his Ship is on fire.

All things being thus provided, and the Train sufficiently made, the *French* Man must watch his Opportunity that his Match come to the Train by that time it is low Water, which he may compute by Hours, and the length of his Match; and in that time he may have his Horse in readiness to carry him over the River of *Gravelin*, but 9 Miles from thence, where he will be in *France*, and free from Danger.

The Fire thus taking, and all things order'd by these Directions, as well this Ship as all others in the Harbour will be destroy'd;

destroy'd; for the Water going from the Ships, and they lying dry, they are not able to remove or stir, or have Water to quench the Fire till the Flood rise; so that in the mean time they will be utterly destroy'd.

41. If Ships desire to surprize a Fort or Sconce, that would give them landing if it were taken, it is thus to be done: To embark the Men secretly in their Boats in the Night, and without noise of their Oars, and then to row as near the Fort as they can, without being discover'd; and in the mean time to cause a small Boat, not near the Place where the others are, to shew a Light or two with a Match, as though it were accidentally done, and not willingly, and to leave the Boat a-drift, which the Fort perceiving, will presently let fly her Ordnance against her, which the other Boats seeing, they may suddenly land, and enter the Sconce by their Scaling Ladders, before their Ordnance can be laden again.

42. If an Enemy should land in Boats upon a Shore that the Siege of the Sea should be very inconvenient for the landing of themselves and Arms, there is a kind of Bridge to be made with boards, that may be laid over from the side of the Boat to the Land, and avoid the Siege, and instead of wading, their Men may go in ranks ashore, without wetting.

43. If an Army shall land where the Shore is all Beachy, and full of little Stones, like *Dial* and the Castles thereabouts, where they may bring Ordnance to impeach the Enemy's landing, I would advise, that the Artillery shoot not so much at their Boats, but suffer them to come on shore, and then to let fly at the Stones or Hills piled up on purpose in heaps, that will scatter and disperse, as not a Man will be left alive.

44. A Ship that desires to be boarded, and to be enter'd by his Enemy, may use this Stratagem; To haul in all his Ordnance; to shut his Ports; to hide his Men; to strike his Sails, and make all the Signs of yielding; which the Enemy perceiving will be emboldned to board him, and whilst they are suffer'd to enter and pillage, the Defendents may suddenly rise, subdue and master them.

45. If an Enemy sink Ships to keep in others from going out, such Ships sunk may be suddenly weighed, if the Assailant quit the Harbour, without any great detriment to the Ship sunk, therefore they are to make choice of the shallowest Place to sink their Ships, and nearest to deep Water, where their own Ships may

ride and float, that with their Ordnance you may keep the Ship sunk, that no Boat, or other help, can weigh them; themselves shall be kept from any danger of Firing, for no Enemy can approach them, so long as the Ships sunk lie there.

46. There is a Stratagem as old as the Invention of Ships, tho' the Common People attribute it to the Wit of Sir *Francis Drake*, at *Cadiz*, in 1688, against the *Spaniards*; to fill old Ships and Vessels with Pitch, Tarr, Train-Oil, Brimstone, Reeds, Dry Wood, and to join three or four of these Ships together in the Night, and then turn them a-drift with the Tide, where the Enemy's Fleet rides, and either burn or disperse them, after they are thus put from their Anchorage.

47. At my being at Sea in my Youth, 1585. two small Ships of us accompany'd together, we met a strong and obstinate Ship of *Holland*, who refus'd to strike his Flag, or to shew his Cocket; this Ship had in her an *English* Pilot, by whom we Expostulated with the *Hollander*, without any semblance of boarding her; but being very nigh her our Master cry'd to the Man at Helm, with great Anger, to Port the Helm, lest we should come foul of her; but privately he gave charge to the Helmsmen, to put his Helm a-star-board, when he should have put it Port, and cry'd with great vehemency to the *English* Pilot to bear up, for our Ship came against her Helm, and will'd them to get Fenders, and have Spikes to fend off, lest we should come foul of her: The *Hollanders* thought all we said was true, and every one of them put their helping hand to keep off our Ship with Fenders and Oars, not apprehending our Intention; and when we saw their People thus employ'd, and not to have time to take Arms, we suddenly boarded, enter'd, and took her by this Stratagem.

48. As the greatest Advantage of a Fleet of Ships of War, is to have Intelligence of their Enemy when they come upon their Coast, so the way to obtain it arriving upon the Coast of *Spain*, is to let a Ship's Boat lie under the Island of *Burlings*, where they shall not fail by break of Day in the Morning, to take Fishermen that will be able to inform them of the State of things ashore: It may as well serve for any other Place, if they see fair Weather in hand.

My Lord of *Cumberland*, arriving upon the Coast of *Spain*, was sore distress'd for Intelligence; and a sudden Calm arising, two or three Leagues from us, we spy'd two Caravels; whereupon I put my self into

into the Ship's Boat, and rowed to them ; one of them I took ; the other might have escap'd, but by this Stratagem I prevented her, I took out two or three of her Men and Mann'd her with my own Company, and immediately without delay sent her to meet with her Consort, who made signs that they might think her discharg'd, and row'd my Boat on board the Ship that there should be no suspicion ; so that the Caravel was thus taken by Deceit, which otherwise might have escap'd ; but when I had so much as I desir'd for Intelligence at their hands, I dismiss'd them, and after found, I being taken my self, that they reported well of my good Usage of them.

50. I had a Stratagem upon Prince Cardinal *Albert*, when he was Vice Roy of *Portugal*, but was prevented by his sudden going into the Low Countries ; and thus it was : When I was Prisoner in the Gallies, about the 10th of *September*, the Cardinal pass'd down to a Pleasant House call'd *Cintra*, with a small Train, where he spent his time in Devotion. Usually he repair'd thither at the same time of the Year, and to the same Purpose, which I well observ'd, and meant, if ever God gave me liberty, to have surpriz'd him in this manner : To have comforted with two or three Ships of War, which would no way have hinder'd the hope of their Voyage, to have anchored before *Cintra*, that is seated upon a Hill, and not above two Miles from the Sea. I meant in the middle of the Night, when there was no Noise or Suspicion, to have landed 100 Men with Firelocks, who might, without Difficulty, have surpriz'd him and his House, and have brought him to the Place where the Boats were commanded to attend.

51. When I was remov'd from the Gallies to the Castle of *Lisbon*, I had another Stratagem on foot, but was prevented by a Traiterous *English* Man, whom I was forced to use as an Interpreter, before I had the Language.

There was in Prison with me a *Portuguese* Gentlemen, call'd *Emanuel Fernandes*, who had been in *England* Servant to Don *Antonio*, their pretended King : This Man was much devoted to the Service of the Queen ; and I observ'd, that a Pilot of the King's, usually employ'd to meet the *Indies* Fleet with Letters of Advice, to direct them the Course they were to come home in, resorted to him. I so dealt with Seignior *Emanuel*, that upon Considerations agreed on betwixt us, if my designs should prove successful, he did

really undertake to prevail with the said Pilot, instead of carrying the Letters of Advice to their own Fleet, to carry them to the Queen, that so the Treasure might by this Intelligence be intercepted : For I had so contriv'd it, had I not been prevented by the said Treacherous *English* Man, that the Queen should have notice of it, by Letters I wrote to the Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High Treasurer, and to the Lord Admiral, and conveyed the said Letters in the Soles of my Boy's Shoes ; but by the false Dealing of the *English* Man aforesaid, my Plot was discover'd, and my Boy carry'd into *Belem* Castle, three Leagues from thence ; so that when I thought my Servant had been embark'd for *England*, two Months after I had Intelligence by an *English* Man, Gunner of the said Castle, that he was still there Prisoner, and had famish'd if he had not taken Pity of him.

The first thing the *Spaniards* did, after the Imprisoning my Boy, was to rip and search his Shoes, according to the Intelligence given them ; but tho' it was unfortunate to me, yet in another kind it fell out luckily, for a great Rain falling that Morning he was carry'd away, it so moistned his Shoes and Letters, that they were moulder'd, and could not be read, as the Boy after confess'd at my arrival in *England*, so that they could have no Witness, but the *English* Man who was my Accuser.

Since I am upon this Project, tho' it may seem tedious to the Reader, yet will I set down the Danger that belet the Gentleman and me, upon the Occasion aforesaid : This Signior *Fernandez* had been Prisoner in the Castle of *Lisbon* almost Seven Years ; and his Offence, for coming out of *England*, with Letters and Messages to Don *Antonio* his Friends in *Portugal* ; yet such was the Power of Money, that by means thereof he was to receive Liberty, had it not been for this Treason discover'd by this vile *English* Man. A Day was appointed for his Sentence of Death, which with weeping Eyes he acquainted me with, like a Friend in a desperate Case : I advis'd him, if all other hopes fail'd, to seek some Stratagem to escape Prison, with promise of my endeavour to help him ; and to be short, for delay could do no good. He provided himself of a Rope and a Cudgel to put betwixt the Battlements of the Castle Wall, thinking when we went to our necessary business, which was once a Day, with a Guard of two Soldiers, to have taken an Opportunity to have slip
down

down the Wall, and to have run into a Church, thereby seated, to take Sanctuary.

But after Four Days Trial made at our coming to the Wall, as I have said, we found it impossible to put this Stratagem in execution in the day time; and I consider'd withal, the danger that might have befall'n me, if he had escap'd; therefore we thought upon another course, tho' it was more improbable, and which was as followeth: Over the little Room he lay in, was a Chamber where Soldiers had been Lodged, that a Week before were Embarked in a Fleet to Sea; the Chamber was not so high, but that by the help of a high Stool, which he had in his Room, the top of it could be reach'd to; here we put our helping hands, one of us still working, till we cut with our Knives a Trap-Door out of the Boards above-head, that a Man might creep through it; and finding by the Almanack when the Nights would grow dark, we contriv'd all things against that time, to perform our devis'd Plot; and by means of his Son, who had access to him, he was provided of a Sword-Scabbard, and a stick to serve instead of a Rapier, that he might seem to be a Soldier as he pass'd the Centinels; he carry'd his Rope and Cudgel aforesaid, and a Bag with a little Bread and Wine for his Sustenance, under his Cloak; and thus he went Armed out of the Chamber above, as a Soldier with a wooden Sword by his side.

He pass'd the *Corps de Guard* and Five Centinels before he came to the Wall, pretending he went for his necessary Occasions, which they never mistrusted, seeing he carry'd the Sign of a Soldier, which was a Stick in his Scabbard. At his arrival at the Wall, without fear, or any sense of Age, he slip'd down by the Rope, and happily escap'd.

Not long after, the Round passing about the Castle, esp'y'd his Rope, Cloak, Cudgel, and wooden Sword, which assur'd them of the escape of some Prisoner; whereupon the Drum beat, the Alarm was taken, and the Soldiers furiously came running into my Chamber, as they did to others where Prisoners lay, with their Swords drawn, and threat'ning Death. I confess I look'd here to have ended my Life, but that pass'd, and Two Soldiers were left to guard me till Morning.

They finding it was my Neighbour Signior Emanuel Fernandez that was escap'd; the Hue-and-Cry went through the City and Country, and Command for his Apprehension; but such was his Fortune, that he escap'd the Fury of the Tumult, and I

was left at stake to be baited for the Offence: In the Morning early, I appear'd before the Judge, as the only Delinquent, the rest of the Prisoners casting it upon me; all agreeing, I was the likeliest to know of his escape, because of our continual Conversation, but little knowing the true Cause of our often meeting.

But neither Threats, ill Usage, or Promise of Liberty, could make me confess any thing to the Prejudice of either of us. I was so urged and threatned, that I was forced to use for my Defence this Argument (*viz.*) That I was no Subject to the King of Spain, but to a Prince his Enemy; that I was taken in War, and therefore requir'd the benefit of that Law for my Redemption; I came not willingly to their Country to learn their Laws, or to bring in others to breed Innovation; I was subject at that time to the universal Law of Honour and Arms, by which I challeng'd the Privilege of a Gentleman for my Freedom; and for the Accident now in question, I deny'd that I had any knowledge thereof, or that I was any way privy to it, and that the unlikeliness of it should plead for me, and be a sufficient Testimony of my Innocency; I told them they knew I was so unskilful in their Language, that I could not devise a Practice or Plot with a Man I understood not; and that my Imprisonment had kept me from Acquaintance, either in City or Country, to contrive any evil against their State; and if it argu'd Guilt to be accus'd, no Man could prove innocent; and therefore I desired them that they would rather pity my Misery than accuse me unjustly; I intreated them to consider that I was a Prisoner among my Enemies, destitute of all Relief, and in a place where no Friend could resort to me; for I bemoan'd my Wants, there being a Restraint of Entercourse and Trade betwixt the Two Nations.

But what I could say did little prevail; for they aggravated my supposed Offence with cruelty of Threats, insomuch that I was forc'd to plead in another Stile, and let them know, that by the Law of Arms, they could prove nothing against me that deserv'd punishment; the privilege of which Law I challeng'd, as being taken in War, and continu'd Prisoner for my Redemption, during which time, it was lawful for me to seek my own Liberty, and to neglect no occasion, wherein I might do Service to my Prince and Country, and therefore what they accus'd me of, could not be deemed an Offence.

I told them moreover, tho' I us'd this but as an Argument, yet their barbarous

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Usage of me deserv'd a greater Revenge than I had Ability to perform; whereas, if they had Treated me with Courtesie, I had been more bound to them, than if they had repos'd Trust in me. I ended with this defiance, That they should be wary what Violence they off'ed me, for I had Friends in *England*, and was of a Nation that both could and would sufficiently Reveng what Cruelty soever they should use towards me.

These Reasons begot a more calm Respect from them; and another while they us'd persuasive Arguments, with promise of Liberty and Reward; making me believe the Gentleman was taken, and Confess'd so much as they accus'd me of; but I well knew their Words were but Wind, for that they would never have warn'd me, if they could have justify'd their Allegations by a Personal Testimony: Yet I confess the thoughts of one thing much terrify'd me; which was a Letter I gave Signior *Fernandez* at his departure, which might have been produc'd against me; the Letter was in his behalf, to all *English* Captains at Sea, for his Friendly Entertainment; his design being to put himself into a Fisherboat, to look out at Sea for a Man of War to Transport him for *England*.

After a tedious Examination of Four Hours, when they saw their Subtleties could work nothing out of me, Presumption being but an unequal Judge, they return'd me to Prison, with charge to be more strictly look'd to; and after neglected no cunning means to entrap me, as I have more largely express'd in another Discourse, at the Request of some of my Friends.

I will again return to the Gentleman Signior *Fernandez*, who no doubt was as much perplex'd out of Prison, as I who could not fly from the danger of my Enemies, in whose custody I remain'd. All Hue and Cries, Searches, promises of Reward, and other devised Policies, not prevailing for the Apprehending of the poor Gentleman: he liv'd in a disguis'd obscure manner, till time furnish'd him an opportunity to Embarque in a Fisherboat, to make use of my Letters aforesaid, where he spent 14 Days at Sea, and failing of meeting any Ship at Sea, and wearied with Sea-Sickness, he was forc'd to return to Shore, where he liv'd some time among poor Shepherds and Herd-men, till he thought his Disguise and Disfiguring himself, had so altered him that he could not be known.

Now thinking his new formed Shape would secure him from being Discover'd;

and hoping that the long time since his escape, might make his Fact to be worn out of memory; he was emboldned in a Beggars Habit to try the Charity of good People, and chancing to Repair to a Gentleman's House for Alms, it hapned that the said Gentleman and he, had been fellow Prisoners in the Castle of *Lisbon*, who by his Tongue, and other Semblances and Marks, discover'd who he was; and immediately call'd a Servant, which gave a suspicion to Signior *Fernandez*, that it was to give warning to the Officers to Apprehend him; but to prevent what his Heart misgave him, he suddenly ran into the Church there by, and took Sanctuary for his Defence.

This Accident being so strange, and falling upon a Man the whole Kingdom had an Eye upon, because of his former escape, the Prince Cardinal was immediately with speed advertized of it at *Lisbon*, being above 120 Miles from thence. It was my Fortune before this happen'd, to be releas'd out of my Imprisonment, which I account a Happiness, that thereby I was brought into no danger.

The Cardinal being advertis'd, as you have heard, of Signior *Fernandez* taking Sanctuary, with all speed caus'd him to be taken out of the Church, and brought to his old accustomed Lodging in the Castle of *Lisbon*, where not long after the Law proceeded against him, and he receiv'd the doom of Death due to such an Offence; but not without Grief and Sorrow to many of the Beholders, as well *Spaniards* as *Portugueses*; for indeed he was a Man of much Goodness and great Charity, and to his Ability oblig'd many a Soldier in the Garison.

The day appointed for his Execution being come, and having received all the Rights and Ceremonies of a *Christian*, he was brought out of Prison, with a Winding-Sheet lapp'd Bandalier fashion about him; and many Soldiers and others to behold him, to give him their last adieu; and for a farewell from himself, he took occasion to speak to the Soldiers there present, in this manner; he told them, How much he had lov'd them, and that to some of them he had give testimony of it, in his better Fortunes, which he knew they would thankfully acknowledge; and in lieu of all his former Courtesies and Kindnesses, he desir'd them to requite him with one now at parting, as the last Request he should ever make, which was, For one of them with speed to repair to the House of the *Misericordia*, an Office of great Reputation and Trust concerning Religion and Charity,

Charity, and his Desire was, That they might be inform'd of the Injury done to God, Themselves, and the Holy Church, by taking perforce a penitent Sinner out of Sanctuary: A Thing so unjust and unsufferable, that it behov'd them to take notice of it.

This little Hope gave great Content to the Soldiers, and happy was he that could make greatest haste to the House of the *Misericordia* to make relation of the strange Accident that had happened. The Gentlemen of the *Misericordia* weighing the Dishonour and Injustice done their House, delayed no Time, but posted on Horseback to the Place of Execution, where they found poor Senior *Fernandez* ready to recommend his Spirit to God, and the Hangman as ready to perform his Office; but such was his Fortune by the Speed and Courage of the Gentlemen, that they redeem'd him from present Death, and return'd him to the Place from whence he came; for as they were loth to lose their Privileges, so they were as unwilling to offend their King.

The Strangeness of this Accident may put a Man in mind of an old *English* Proverb, that *Marriage and Hanging goes by Destiny*.

52. In the 48th Stratagem, I have shewed how necessary it is to get Intelligence of an Enemy, and how to obtain it, as you shall there find, for that part of *Spain* and *Portugal* I spoke of; so likewise you shall read in my First Book, how to compass Intelligence of the South Part of *Spain*, as namely *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz*, by Example of a Precedent of my own: As also in the same Book, I refer you to the way how to procure Intelligence at the *Tercera* Islands; to which Book I refer you for brevity's sake.

53. When the Queen lived, she was inclined to hearken to a Project of mine, for the taking and inhabiting the Castle *De la Myna* in *Guinea*, many years possess'd by the *Portugueses*, and for Defence whereof, they rely'd most upon the number of Negro's, in whose Country *Myna* is seated; and to indear the Negro's the more to them, and to exasperate them against the Enemies, they make them believe, That what War soever they have with others, is in their Defence against those who seek to slay them, and to possess their Country. But to meet with this Project, I divis'd to carry a number of Negro's out of *England*, that could speak their Language, and were able to report the Difference betwixt the *Portugueses* Usage of them and ours; for in *Portugal* they sell

their Negro's in open Market for Slaves, as we do Horses, which they know we do not, by which means we shall be able to disappoint their Designs.

54. The Marquess of *Santa Cruz*, when he took the *Tercera* Islands, made offer of landing at the City of *Augra*, and finding the Island had drawn all their Forces together to withstand him in that Place, he instantly winded his Gallies about, and row'd 5 Leagues to the Eastward of it, and landed where he found no Resistance. The same did my Lord of *Essex* at the Island of *St. Michael's*, who pointed to land at *Porto de Gallo*, but lest that Resolution, and went with his Boats to *Villa Franca*, which he took easily, all their Forces being drawn to *Porto de Gallo*.

55. Naming *Villa Franca*, I will say something that happen'd to me 18 years before this I have spoken of, rather to make you Laugh, than for Seriousness's sake, and yet I place it amongst the Stratagems; and thus it was: You must know that, notwithstanding the Wars with *England* and *Spain*, some of those Islands connived at the Trade betwixt them and the *English* Ships, which went under the Name and Colour of *Scots*: It chanced that one Evening I came into the Road of *Villa Franca*, but without the Command of the Castle, attending the Darkeness of the Night to go aboard an *English* Ship there riding, to avoid suspicion of being seen from the Shore: Upon my boarding of the same Ship, I was carried by the Master to Banquet in his Cabin; his Company that were on board espied a Boat rowing from the Shore, and brought us News of it, being in the Cabin, which put the Master to a deadly Fear, for my being discover'd would have prov'd his Undoing. I comforted him, and witt'd him to follow my Directions, and he should escape any such Danger. I desir'd him to go out of the Cabin, and leave me there, and to say what I should bid him. The Boat came to the Ship side, and told the Master, That the strange Ship that rid not far from him was an *English* Rover, and witt'd him to be careful, for that Night 'twas thought he would surprize her: I witt'd the Master to tell them, That he suspected as much, and stood upon his Guard, but fear'd that the Ship had descry'd their Boat coming off from the Shore, and it was likely they would intercept their Boat in their return to Land, and advis'd them, as they lov'd their Liberty, to hasten away. This put the *Portugueses* in such a Fear, that suddenly, without speaking one Word more, they put off their Boat

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without entereng into the Ship; which made us Laugh heartily, and was a good Addition to our Supper.

56. In the year 16... there was a Complaint made by the Inhabitants of the Cinque-Ports, that the *French* incroach'd upon their Fishing at Sea, a Rocky Ground 5 Leagues South from *Rye*, which Place serves all *London* with choice Fish: Whereupon I was sent down to redress this Disorder, and made use of the Stratagem following, because if I had discover'd my self with my Ship, the *French* would have fled: Therefore I Mann'd the *English* Fisherboats with my own Company, and gave them Order, as I should pass by with my own Ship, and shoot a Piece of Ordnance, to board the *French* and possess them; which they did, and by means thereof the Cinque-Ports enjoy'd their antient Privilege.

57. The Stratagem of taking the Pirates in *Ireland*, Anno 1614, is amply set down in my Second Book, to which I refer you, wishing you to peruse it, for it will give you Pleasure and Content in reading it, and a Light withal how to use the same Stratagem, if there be occasion.

58. A Ship, and by consequence he that is employ'd in her, may be deceiv'd by touching the Needle in the manner following: A Ship going her Course to the Port she is bound, may be deceiv'd in touching the North Point South with a Loadstone, which is contrary to the Place she is going to, and may, perhaps, carry her upon some Shoals and Rocks, that in a right Course there is no Cause to fear.

59. In the Voyage with my L^d of *Lindsey*, in 1635, we sent over a Fisherboat to *Brest*, *Baltour* Bay, and other Places upon that Coast, to spy and view the State of the *French* and *Holland* Fleet, which we knew was thither retir'd, but with such Instructions as the *French* could not suspect it; and that they might see we had great Confidence in them, and to receive Advertisement from them, we pretended the Cause of our employing the Boat was to look out certain *Turkish* Pirates, who we suppos'd hover'd upon their Coast. The Boat return'd with a true Relation, as we after found, which gave us good Satisfaction.

60. Not long after my being taken by the Galleys in *Spain*, if I had not been by Accident prevented, I had escaped the Imprisonment I endur'd for many Months in the said Galleys at *Cascais* and *Lisbon*, which was most grievous to me, by this Stratagem following. Whilst we rid in the Harbour of *Lisbon*, there came aboard

the Galley where I was, a Master of a Ship of *Holland*, who spake good *English*; this Man came from *Brazil*, for at that time the *Portngueses* freighted *Holland* Ships in most of their long Voyages, tho' they pretended to be in War one with another. This *Hollander* pitying my Case, wish'd me privately aboard his Ship, promising to conceal and hide me that I should not be found; besides his Word, I took his Protestation and Vow to perform his Promise, if I could devise to escape out of the Galley. I verily believe the Man meant truly and honestly, for he confirmed it by many Protestations at other Times and Days: Whereupon I was not idle to devise an Escape, and writ a Letter with my own Hand, directed to the rest of my Company, then Prisoners with me, declaring that my Captivity was so hard, that I could no longer endure it, but chose rather to end my Life by drowning my self, and wish'd them to signifie so much to my Friends in *England*: And one Night, when all Things were whist and silent in the Galley, I intended secretly to escape, by stealing secretly into the Ladder of the Galley at the Tide of Ebb, and to convey my self into the Water without Noise, or moving either Hand or Foot, till I was brought clear off the Galley's View, and then to swim on board the *Holland* Ship, who lay just in the wake of the Galley, and in view of me: This I might easily have done without Suspicion, or Notice taken of me; but unluckily it fell out, that the day before I meant to put this Stratagem in Execution, the Galleys were commanded upon some Service to Sea, so that before our return to *Lisbon* the *Holland* Ship was gone a new Voyage, and I frustrated of my Hopes.

As commonly one Discourse begets another, so this Accident puts me in mind of some others that befell me, or that I was witness to, in the time of my Imprisonment, which I have been desir'd by my Friends to put in Writing, that there may remain a Remembrance of them after my Death: And what I insert, is neither as Project, or Stratagem, but only a plain Narration of what I have heard, and seen.

Riding in the Port of *Lisbon*, for there is no other place for the Galleys to reside upon all that Coast, there was discover'd to the General a Practice by an *Italian*, to draw the *Forçado's* or Galley-Slaves to take Arms and rise against the Soldiers, and possess themselves of the Galley and Men where he was, in order to recover their

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Lierties, and dispose of the Galley as they pleas'd. This Treason being examin'd, the *Italian* confess'd it, and for his Reward, his two Arms were made fast to the Stern of two Gallies, and his two Legs to two others, and he quarter'd by rowing of the Gallies. If this *Italian* had had the Wit of an *Italian*, he would not thus have play'd the Fool, for he might well know where so many Men were to be trusted, as are in a Galley, it could not chuse but be reveal'd. The Slaves consisting of so many Nations, and the Trepasses being so different, some Condemn'd for Life, others for Years more or less, and any one revealing it, was able to purchase his own Liberty and Reward. Or suppose they had prevail'd in their Design, the rest of the Gallies had been able to have master'd them; or if not, they had been destitute of Victuals to sustain them, not having so much as Water, for every second Day they used to fetch their Water from the Shore: Or tho' all those I have spoken of had been no Impediment to them, yet there had been no Place to have fled to, but some Port of *France*, no nearer them than 7 or 800 Miles.

The next Accident I take notice of, was in the same Port of *Lisbon*, and in the same Gallies, that happen'd to the Captain of the Vice-Admiral, a churlish and ill-natur'd Man, as my self had some occasion to say; for after my being taken Prisoner, I found him discourteous and uncivil towards me, for without Leave, Knowledge, or Warning, to my Page that serv'd me, nor Permission to see me, he sent him to the farthest part of all *Spain*, intending he should never return more into his Country; tho' after he fail'd of his Purpose, by means of an *Englishman* that liv'd thereabouts, whither he was sent, and understanding of this Accident of his coming thither, and that he had been my Servant, whose Name and Friends he well knew, tho' he was unacquainted with me; yet at my Request by Letter, when I heard of the Condition of the Man, most courteously he procur'd Means, and obtain'd Liberty and License for my Servant to return to me, and of his own accord furnish'd him with Money sufficient for his Journey, who arriv'd safely, and continu'd to do me Service during the time of my Imprisonment; whom after I preferr'd to be a Captain in the Service against the *Spaniards*.

This ill-condition'd *Spanish* Captain after tasted a just Reward for his ill Disposition; for as it is the use of Captains of

Gallies to make Choice of some *Moor* or *Turk* to attend them in their Cabins, as People more neat and officious than Christians, and more obsequious and desirous to please than their own natural Countrymen: Out of those suppos'd Reasons the Captain made Choice of one of them, a *Turk* in Religion, and most consonant to his Humour, as he conceiv'd. It happen'd, that as this *Moor* exceeded in Diligence, so it increas'd his Credit and Trust with his Captain; who sending him one day ashore to wash his Linnen, (for some of the *Moors* exceed Women in that Employ) he carry'd with him 100 Crowns of his Captain's, which he had in Charge among other Monies and Plate; this *Moor* was entic'd by Company to play, where he made a short End of his 100 Crowns.

After some time, his Theft was discover'd to his Captain, who was so inrag'd, having no Means to recover his Loss, that he return'd him to his Oar and painful Bank in the Galley, where he remain'd in his former Slavery. But this was not Revenge sufficient to please the Captain, but he order'd him a cruel Punishment usually inflict'd upon Offenders, laying them flat over the *Cruzea*, where he was unmercifully beaten with a Bull's Pissle, till he was made unable either to stand or sit, or to do the King's Work, nor was the Captain willing he should do him Service, till time had overcome his Passion; but then finding a great Want of his Attendance, he once more deliver'd him out of his Chains, and accepted of his Service as he was wont, and so he pass'd some time, as he was formerly wont to do.

But the *Moor* carried a canker'd Revengeful Heart against his Captain, which he craftily dissembled, not giving any kind of Suspicion, till he had found a Way and Opportunity to compass it, which was in this manner:

At his usual Hour in the Morning he repair'd to get up his Captain, but provided all Things for his Purpose; as first, a Cross-bar to keep down the Scuttle; and being below he provided himself with Powder, Fire, Match, and other Necessaries, which he plac'd in the outward Room, and suddenly rush'd into his Captain's Cabin with a naked Dagger in his Hand, to whom he gave eight Stabs, making account he had slain him, but hearing a Noise without, he left the Captain, and betook himself to a Gentleman, who cry'd out for help; which being done, he put the Match to the Train he had prepar'd, and set the Galley on fire, which he leap'd into and burnt himself to Ashes; but

but by the help of the other Gallies that rid near her they suddenly boarded her, saved all her Slaves, and the Captain, who was not quite dead; but what else was in her was all consum'd. A rare Example of Revenge in a Heathen to a Christian: And tho' the Captain and he differed in Religion, yet not much in Condition and perverse Natures.

This Captain was after question'd as the Author of the Destruction of the King's Galley, by the ill Usage of this Slave, and had it not been for the General's sake, Don *Francisco de Coloma*, Brother to Don *Carlo Coloma*, who was after Ambassador into England in King *James* and King *Charles's* time, he had deeply smarted for it.

Misfortunes thus left not the Captain, but still attended him, as a thing fatal to his ill Nature; for after the Recovery of his Hurts, and Restitution of his Command, he was once more rifled and robbed by another Moor he entertain'd in the place of his other Servant: This Moor was entic'd by two Spanish Soldiers to commit the Theft, and after it was done he and the Soldiers pass'd over the River without interruption, and kept Company together till they arriv'd upon a spacious great Hill, where the Soldiers, finding a good opportunity for their purpose, slew the Moor, possessed the Money, and escaped themselves; so that they were never heard more of whilst I was in Spain.

I will leave speaking of the Gallies whilst I was in them: And now I was removed to the Castle of *Lisbon*, where I remain'd Prisoner a good space; but I will end with the hap of two of the said Gallies, which my Eyes beheld, and my self was made an Actor of Revenge upon them.

In my first Book, and in the year 1591, you will find how I became Prisoner to the Spaniards, and what pass'd in the Fight betwixt six Gallies and the Ship I was taken in: It happened that about 11 years after, and as you shall likewise find in the same Book, that Sir *Richard Lewson* and my self had the surprising a Carrack and two Gallies, which we burnt in the Road of *Zezimbra*; which two Gallies were of the Numrer aforesaid that took me, and one of them the very same wherein I was kept Prisoner. This Act of Revenge to some Men would have been very pleasing.

In September, which is commonly the Month for the Gallies to make their retreat into Harbour for Winter, I and 8 of my Company were strongly guarded to the Castle of *Lisbon*, there to lie imprison'd till a Course was taken for our Re-

demption out of England, with an Allowance of 7 *d.* 2 *q.* per Diem, for each Man for his Maintenance, a Proportion that did not equal 3 *d.* per Diem, according to the Rate of things in England. All the time of our Imprisonment we were close confin'd, only in the morning we resorted to the Castle-Walls, with a guard of Soldiers, to perform our necessary Occasions.

It happened on *St. Andrew's* Day following, being upon the Walls, at our usual hour, we beheld a great Galleon of the King's turning up the River, in her Fighting Sails, being sumptuously deck'd with Antients, Streamers and Pendants, with all other Ornaments, to shew her Bravery. She let fly all her Ordnance in a Triumphant manner for the taking Sir *Richard Greenville* in the *Revenge* at the Island of *Flores*, she being one of that Fleet, and the first Voyage she ever made.

I confess it was one of the greatest and sorrowfullest Sights that ever my Eyes beheld, to see the Cause the Spaniards had to boast, and no Remedy in me to revenge it but in my Tongue, but hop'd for future Comfort, and took such Englishmen as were in my Company to witness what I should say to them: I offered to give them one for ten, if I did live, to be at the taking and possessing of that Triumphant Galleon, that carry'd the Name of that Day, viz. *St. Andrew*. This pass'd but as an idle Desire I had to see my word come to effect.

In the year 1596, which was five years after, ensu'd our *Cadiz* Expedition, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex* and the Lord Admiral, where, amongst 58 Ships there destroyed and burnt, the said *St. Andrew* was, and she and another only saved from the Fire: But this was nothing to my Prognosticating Wager, for I could assume no more to my self than any other Man of that Fleet; but it happen'd, as I was Captain of the *Repulse* under my Lord of *Essex*, I was appointed in the *Repulse's* Boat and some others to save the Galleons that were run ashore, whose Names were these, *St. Matthew*, *St. Andrew*, *St. Philip*, and *St. Thomas*: The *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew* we preserved, tho' it was with some Peril to us: The *St. Philip* and *St. Thomas* set themselves on fire, even as I was ready to enter the *St. Philip*: And I may boldly say, what I spake in the Castle of *Lisbon* was now punctually performed; and for the Truth hereof, it is not long since one of the Englishmen liv'd, and till his Death vouch'd my Words to be true.

These four strange Accidents I have inserted in this Fifth Book, at the entreaty of Friends that have heard me often relate them; but what shall follow was upon the Importunity of some of my Children, who consider'd how young I was when I put my self into the Wars at Sea, how long I have since lived, and been acquainted with the Affairs of the World, which amounts to 56 years, and the often Dangers and Perils I have gone through by the Sword, by Famine, by Danger of the Sea, and other Casualties, as all Men are subject to that run such desperate Adventures. These Reasons prevail'd with me, that I yielded to their Request: And tho' in my first Book I have had occasion to speak of most of them, when I treated of the Voyages that then happened, and wherein there was occasion to mention them, yet for brevity sake I have added them to the latter part of this fifth Book, that they may suddenly be turned to, and found, referring to the Year and Book where you shall find them; and I will make my beginning in the Year 1585, when the Wars with Spain began, and wherein I was an Actor at the taking of the first Spanish Prize.

In that Voyage of 85. and in the Month of September, I was a Youth of 16 years of Age, and so enclin'd to see the World abroad, that without the knowledge of Father or Mother I put my self into an Action by Sea, where there was in Company of us two small Ships, fitted for Men of War, that authorized us by Commission to seize upon the Subjects of the King of Spain. We departed from the Isle of Wight, to which Place we return'd with our dear bought Prize: She was a *Biscayner* of 300 Tuns, well Mann'd, sufficiently furnish'd, and bravely defended: She came from *Grand Bay* in *Newfoundland*, which, at our first Arrival upon the Coast of Spain, we met with, and refusing to yield to us, we suddenly boarded, and by Consent of all our Men entred her; but the Waves of the Sea growing high, we were forced to ungrapple, and to leave our Men fighting on board her from 8 of the Clock in the evening till 8 in the morning. The manner how, and all other Circumstances, you will find in my second Book.

My next Escape was in the year 1587, and the first Voyage I went Captain to Sea, where, abiding longer than I expected, I was put to great Extremity of Victuals, and coming from the *Canary Islands* towards *England*, I fell with *Ireland*, and put into *Dingle Bay*, where the same

morning I was taken with a most dangerous and tempestuous Storm, being upon a Lee Shoar, and the Weather as dark and foggy as tho' it were night. The Master found himself so nigh the Land, that within an hour we could not escape Shipwrack upon the devouring Cliffs, if God did not send us the sight of a little Rock called the *Crow*, half a mile from the Entrance of the Port of *Dingle*: Every Man was as careful to look for this Rock as for Life, for our Safety consisted in the sight of it; and by great Fortune it was spy'd by a *Brazilian Indian* that serv'd me; which Rock was a perfect Director to our Master, and in half an hour he harbour'd us in the Port of *Dingle*. This put me in remembrance of what I had formerly read, That there was nothing more pleasant to a Man than to see himself at the point of Death by Shipwrack at Sea, and suddenly to escape the Danger by arriving in a safe Harbour.

Here I receiv'd two Lives from God, the one was the escape of Shipwrack, as you have heard, the other of Famine; for when we were safely arriv'd we took view of our Bread, for other Victuals we had none, and we had divided to every Man his Proportion of Bread a fortnight before, and found but six Biscuit Cakes amongst our whole 50 Men and more.

Reckoning according to Years, which Course I mean to follow, my next shall be in 1589, when I serv'd as Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Cumberland* to the Islands *Azores*; and coming to *Flores*, the most Westernmost Island of the seven, my Lord had Notice of certain Spanish Ships riding in the Road of *Foyall*, ready to take the first Wind for Spain, to the Southward of which Island my Lord had pass'd 8 days before. Upon this News my Lord hastened thither, both to be resolv'd of the Truth thereof, as also to make an Attempt upon those Ships, if he should see a possibility to prevail; but arriving two days after towards the evening, a Calm took him, and he was not able to reach within two Leagues of the Road where the Ships lay; whereupon there was a Council called, as in all Cases of Difficulty there is, wherein my self and Captain *Lifer* very earnestly propos'd, and by entreaty prevail'd, that we might have leave in that Calm to row to the Road to take a view of the Ships, that against morning we might see where to take Advantage by surprizing them.

As we drew near the Spaniards the dashing of our Oars was heard, which gave the Alarm to the Admiral, who only wore the

the Flag, and instantly let fly her Ordnance, without any certain Aim, more than the dashing of the Oars directed. Captain *Lister* and I seeing our selves misfired by the Shot, were so much encouraged, that, rather like mad than discreet Men, we ran aboard the Admiral, with an intent suddenly to surprize her; but finding so great an inequality in our Forces, (for the Ship carry'd 16 Pieces of Ordnance, was well Mann'd and provided) we were glad to put off our Boat and retire, repenting of our Bargain.

As we were rowing towards our Fleet again, which all this while beheld the Fight, and heard the Report of the Ships Ordnance, we met another Boat of greater Burthen sent to succour us; and after joyful Salutation, we resolv'd and concluded with both our Boats to return again, and give a second Assault upon the Admiral, telling them the State and Condition of the Ship, which did so encourage both the one and the other, that by Consent it was agreed, they should board her in the Quarter, and we in the Hawse, and we to cut her Cable and let her drive off to Sea. All this was successfully acted, and the Ship miraculously enjoy'd, notwithstanding the continual Shot from the Castle, to which the Ship was moored, and which Castle a Month after we took, and afforded us 45 Pieces of Ordnance, mounted and dismounted. I must not forget that as we entred the Admiral on the one side, the *Spaniards* leapt over-board on the other, except the Captain, *John de Palma*, and one more.

Now having got an unexpected Victory, rather by Valour than Reason, we tow'd out the Ship with our two Boats, the Castle not sparing to fire at us, till we brought her without reach of the Shot, and then we agreed to take out all our Men, except one at Helm to govern her, and struck down her Sails, and we our selves return'd in our Boats once more into the Road, where we possessed our selves of the other seven Ships left behind, three of which were of reasonable good Value. For the other Particulars of this Voyage I refer to my first Book, where you shall find this Relation following.

Coming into the Island of *St. Mary's*, we found an unwelcome Entertainment, tho' indeed we meant the People no farther hurt than to be supplied with Water from the Island; but it seems they were better prepar'd to forbid us than we expected; for at our offering to land with 200 and odd Men, two parts of them were suddenly hurt and slain, in which

Encounter my Sword, which I placed naked, and the point upward, was shot asunder, and the Bullet pass'd through the Belly of my Doublet, which, if it had not been for my Sword, had done the like through my Belly.

My Lord being thus frustrated of all hope of Water and other Refreshment, was to seek the help of another Island to give him Relief; for now Drink began to be scarce, and it was likely it would put us to desperate want; and standing from hence to the Island of *St. George*, by Labour and Pains, and by the help of my swimming, my Ship drawing little Water to come near the Shore, I procur'd so much Water as kept us after from perishing.

Passing by the other side of the Island of *St. George*, we might see a goodly Spout, issuing out of the great Clift, which gave my Lord a great Comfort to be supply'd with Drink by that Spout. Now began our People to be in despair of any help of Drink, either by Sea or Island, and by one Consent, in a tumultuous manner, cry'd out to return to *England*, which much troubled my Lord, who hop'd for a better fortunate Voyage before his return; and finding no Man so heartily true to him as my self, he bewail'd himself and his Case to me, how much it importuned him to try what Water that Spout would yield him, conjuring me, by the Love I bore him, that I would put my self into a small Boat that row'd with three Oars, one Man to steer, and my self to sit, and to venture ashore, to see the possibility that Spout would yield him for Water, promising that he and his Ship should stand within a mile of the Land, to take me up at my return: I perform'd it as honestly as he repos'd Trust in me, tho' by an Accident it had almost cost me my Life.

In my way, rowing towards the Shore, a great Whale was spy'd from my Lord's Ship, lying with her Back upon the Water asleep, as is the nature of Whales before Storms. This Whale was suppos'd to be a Rock, and dangerous for the Ship to bear further into Land, and thereupon tack'd about to Sea, leaving me to the mercy of the Waves. I had no sooner set my Foot ashore, but it began to be dark with Night and Fog, to blow, rain, thunder and lighten, in the cruellest manner that I have seen: There was no way for me to escape Death, but to put my self to the mercy of the Sea; neither could I have any great hope of Help or Life, for the Ship was out of sight, and only appear'd

pear'd a Light upon the Shrowds, to direct me: This sudden Alteration of Weather, gave me lost in the Opinion of my Lord and all his Company.

All this while the Ship lay upon the Lee; and seeing it was in vain to expect my return, the Master called with the Whistle to fill the Sails; but the Master Gunner being a Countryman of mine, and one that lov'd me well, (an approv'd Man of Skil and Art, by the Place he held as Master Gunner in the Pope's Admiral Galley in the victorious Battel of *Lepanto*, in which Battel he was fore wounded.) he humbly besought my Lord to forbear filling the Sails one Hour longer, which my Lord willingly granted, and in that interim of time, one of the Company in the Ship spy'd a Flash of Fire, and heard the Report of a Musket, for all our Powder was spent to that very last shot, by means whereof we were preserved, rather by Miracle, than any Humane Art: And to make it the more strange, we were no sooner risen from our Seats, and Ropes in our Hands to enter the Ship, but the Boat immediately sunk. And tho' I have passed many Dangers, as will appear by this Treatise, yet I account this the Greatest of all, and none of the rest to be parallell'd with it.

What Miseries we endur'd in the latter end of the Voyage, you shall find in the First Book, where I have occasion to speak of our Return, and the Extremity we endur'd, which was more terrible than betel any Ship in the Eighteen years War; for laying aside the continual Expectation of Death by Shipwreck, and the daily Mortality of our Men, I will speak of our Famine, that exceeded all Men and Ships, I have known in the course of my Life: For 16 Days together we never tasted drop of Drink, either Beer, Wine, or Water, and tho' we had plenty of Beef and Pork of a Year's Salting, yet did we forbear eating it for making us the drier. Many drunk Salt Water, and those that did died suddenly, and the last word they usually spake was Drink, Drink, Drink: And I dare boldly say, that of 500 Men that were in that Ship seven Years before, at this day there is not a Man alive but my self, and one more.

The first Port we arriv'd at was the *Vintry* in *Ireland*, five Miles by Land from *Dingle Church*, that gave me succour in my former Voyage, as I have said; here we made shift to furnish my Lord with a Horse, and my self and some other Gentlemen follow'd a-foot: At our coming

to the Town, we found my Lord in the House of the Sovereign, which is the Title of Mayor, telling his strange Adventures, and his dangerous Escape of famishing with want of Drink: The Sovereign told his Lordship, That about two Years before, a Gentleman came into their Port, in as great a want of Meat, as his Lordship was of Drink; and even as he was repeating my Name I enter'd the Door, who my Lord took by the Hand in their Presence, and said, *Lupus est in fabula*: They beheld me with Admiration, and told my Lord, That it was my Fortune that brought him thither, and held themselves happy that it was in their Power to give him Relief, as they had done the like to me before.

In the Year 1590. my former Sickness you have heard I took in *Ireland*, kept me from Employment, or thought of the Sea; but now finding my Body as willing, as my Mind to follow my begun Courses, this Year of 91, I attended my Lord of *Cumberland* once more, and had the Command of the *Garland* under him, wherein he went Admiral. I can say little of any Consequence in this Voyage, that concern'd my self, but my Imprisonment by six *Spanish* Galleys, near the Island of *Burlings*, which I have had cause to remember, by some Accidents you shall read in my succeeding Voyage.

My constancy has been such, tho' to my Cost, where I have made profession of Love, that no small unkindness could suddenly divert me, when my Affection has been grounded upon true Friendship, as may appear by my Faithfulness to the Lord I now speak of, for whom I have often ventur'd my Life, with little Fruit of his Favour: And I must confess it was some blemish to my Judgment; for notwithstanding many Admonitions, I was incredulous, still relying upon him, and follow'd him in this Voyage of 1593, in the Place I had formerly held, Captain of the *Golden Lyon*, a Ship of the Queen's, wherein he serv'd as Admiral. What I shall say here relates to some principal Accidents that concern my self in this Voyage, and for the rest, I refer you to my First Book, where I have shew'd, that my Lord being sever'd from his Fleet about the *Burlings*, met with twelve Hulks of the East Country, that after some Fight yielded, and deliver'd him a large quantity of Powder, which they carried for the King of *Spain's* Service; my Lord took the one half of those Ships, and stood off to Sea; the other half he left with me to examine and ronnage. Towards

V v v

Night

Night my Lord cast off those of his company, whom I spy'd making towards me and their Consorts, which seem'd strange to me, that was left guarded but by a small Ship and his Long Boat with 50 Men. I fear'd, as after I found true, that those Ships had a Resolution to board and take me; but to prevent their Design I leap'd into my Lord's Boat, on one side of the Ship, as they boarded her on the other; in which leap I receiv'd a hurt in my Leg, which to this Day, in 1641, I have found a great Decay to my whole Body.

In the said Book you will find, that from hence my Lord stood to the Island of *Cuervo*, where he was taken with a most melancholly Sickness, and in despair of Health or Life, unless he might be reliev'd with the Milk of a Cow; and I seeing in what condition he was, and valuing his Life as much as my own, I ventur'd my Person to get him a Cow from the Hands of the Enemy, either by fair or foul Means, and put my self into the Hands of the *Portugueses*, of the Island of *Cuervo*; first shewing a Flag of Truce, I told them the Cause of my coming to them, was out of Love, and that we had a great Fleet at Sea thereabouts; and lest any of them should do them Injury, I brought them a Protection from our General the Earl of *Cumberland*, to defend them if any Violence should be offer'd them, and so insinuated to them, as they afforded me courteous Entertainment; and because Night drew on, they desired me to stay all Night: I willingly imbrac'd their offer, and by my Liberal Carriage, obtain'd what I required, and the Day following carried a Cow and other Refreshments, aboard, which gave plenty of Milk till my Lord's arrival in *England*. This Cow in all likelihood was the saving of my Lord's Life for the Present, which he acknowledged.

In the ensuing Year, 1595, I was Married, but before my Marriage I engaged my self by Promise to attend my Lord of *Cumberland*, as his Vice-Admiral to Sea. Himself went in the *Malice Scourge*, a brave Ship built by himself; his Vice-Admiral, *Allsider*, a goodly Ship of the Merchants.

Now I began to have a Proof of what before I had just cause to suspect, viz. the inconstant Friendship of my Lord of *Cumberland*; for though I was drawn by his sweet Words and Promises to this Voyage; and that we had proceeded upon it so far as *Plimouth*, and from thence 8 or 9 Leagues to Sea, towards the Coast of

Spain, without imparting or making shew of any thing to me, he suddenly quitted the Voyage, and appointed another Captain for his own Ship, which did so much discontent me for the present that I abandoned the Company of his Ship at Sea, and betook my self to my own Adventure: This bred an after Quarrel betwixt my Lord and me; and it was a long time before we were reconcil'd.

My Voyage produced no Danger of Famine or Sword, as other Voyages had done; the worst Enemy I found were Storms, which were such as forc'd me to cut my Main-mast by the Board, and compelled me to bear for *England*. After I had weather'd the Coast of *Spain*, the Storm held on so outrageous, and of such long continuance, that I was driven to *Spain* before the Sea, betwixt the *Groin* in *Gallicia*, and *Blavet* in *Britany*, which Port the *Spaniards* at that time possess'd. The Sea was so grown, and the Waves so mighty, that they rak'd me fore and aft, for want of a Main-mast to keep up the Ship; so that I expected for many Days together nothing but foundring in the Sea; but at last it pleas'd God to lend me to *Plimouth*, where I found the People much distracted, upon the News brought them of the arrival of four *Spanish* Galleys, from *Blavet* to *Penzance* in *Cornwall*, which Village they took and sack'd. These four Galleys could not chuse but pass me that Night in a Calm unseen. Sir *Francis Drake* was now at *Plimouth*, ready bound with his Fleet to the *West Indies*, in which Voyage he died: Upon the News of these Galleys, he instantly put to Sea, and my self with him; and arriving at *Penzance*, we found the *Spaniards* were gone, and the poor Spoil not worth their labour they found in the Town.

The next offensive Voyage by us, was to *Cadiz*, in 96. under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, and my Lord Admiral, whereof I had formerly occasion to say something, when I made mention of burning of 58 sail of Ships, and the taking the *St. Andrew*: The principal and dangerouest Thing that happen'd to me in that Voyage, was the Accident following.

My Lord of *Essex* having made way through the Town, at length came to the spacious Market-Place, where he found the greatest and sharpest Resistance from the Houses thereabouts, that sorely flank'd him, which way soever he passed or look'd, and one House more than the rest seemed most dangerous; whereupon I desir'd my Lord to spare me 50 old Soldiers of the

Low-

Low Countries, to give an Assault upon that House, which his Lordship granted, and I performed, and took it. In that conflict I was shot with a Musket-bullet through my Scarf, and Breeches; and the Handle and Pummel of my Sword shot from my side, without any further hurt: As I stoop'd for my Handle and Pummel of my Sword, Sir *John Winkfield* was next to me a Horse back, who had received a Hurt in his Thigh a little before; and as he was asking me how I did, (for it seems he fear'd I was sorely wounded by my stooping) he was shot with a Bullet in the Head, and suddenly fell down dead; and these were the last words that ever he spoke. What more concerns this Voyage in general, you will find in the first Book: But by the way, this I note, that as the Sword is the Death of many a Man, so it hath been twice the Preserver of my Life, the one at the Island of *St. Mary's* in 89. the other now at *Cadiz* in 1596.

The Island Expedition succeeded this to *Cadiz*, in 1597. equal with it both in greatness, goodness, and the Person of the Man that Commanded it: In this Expedition I was Captain of the *Rainbow* of the Queen's, which Ship had a special Cause to be remember'd, by meeting the *Indies* Fleet in the manner following.

My Lord of *Essex* had Intelligence from the Island of *Graciosa*, where he had some Men ashore, of certain Ships descry'd off to Sea: The Night drawing on, his Lordship divided his Fleet into three Squadrons; and my self being the next Ship to him, he commanded me to stand away South that Night, and if I spy'd any Ships, to make Signs, with shooting my Ordnance, and making false Fires, promising to send 12 Ships after me. I instantly departed as I was directed, not doubting but the 12 Ships would follow me. It blew little Wind, and within less than four Hours, about 12 a Clock in the Night, I fell in company of a Fleet consisting of 25 Sail, whereupon I put my self into my Boat, the Calm continuing, resolving, though it were with my apparent Peril, to discover what Ships they were, before I would presume to make Signs, as I was directed; approaching near the Fleet, I hail'd them in *Spanish*, who answer'd me in the same Language; and by their Course, I knew them to be the *Indies* Fleet; and having as much as I desired for the present, I returned on board the *Rainbow*, and after performed so much as I was commanded, in shooting of my Ordnance, and making false Fires: I accompanied the Fleet that

Night and the next Day, till I brought them into the Road of *Angra*, in the Island of *Tercera*; and what after befel me and them, I refer to my first Book: All the hurt that happened me in this desperate Attempt of mine, besides the hazard of shot from the Castles and Fleet, my Ship being shot through 15 times, was foul Words and railing Language, with some Shot from the *Spaniards* when I first hailed them in my Boat.

In our return this Voyage, I was in more Peril, Hazard and Danger, than any other Ship of our Fleet, for the *Rainbow* is known to be the most rowling and laboursome Ship in *England*, especially in the Condition I was in, having spent my Fore-mast in a mighty Storm and mountainous Seas, where we hourly expected Death.

My next Voyage, of all others, was most Fortunate to me, wherein the Carrack was taken, and the best Service perform'd by so few Ships, that happened in all the Queen's time; and yet it gives the least Occasion to speak of, of many others wherein I was an Actor, save only that I must assume to my self to be the chief Persuader of the Attempt upon her. The Resolution taken by consent of Council, how to assail her, was in this manner, That Sir *Richard Lawsen* and I should Anchor in the Road of *Zezimbra*, near the Carrack and their other Forces, the rest of our Ships to ply up and down, and not to Anchor; Sir *Richard*, according to his Directions, made his first Entrance into the Road, but by the Negligence of his Master, much to his dislike, he failed in Anchoring, and the Current taking him on the Bow, carry'd him out of the Road; so that it was the next Day before he could recover in again: My self having the Rear, follow'd my Admiral according to former Order, till I had brought one broad side against the Galleys, and my other against the Carrack and Castle, which done I let fall my Anchor; and for what follow'd upon it, I refer you to my first Book.

This Voyage ending, the next was the last undertaken by the Queen, for not long after she died, and this was the last Voyage against *Spain*; for by her Death the War ceas'd, and as I was a Soldier and Youth at the beginning thereof, so I was General of this last Fleet; and for the Particulars of this Voyage, more than these few following, I will refer you to the first Book aforesaid.

I departed *England* the last of *August* 1601. and arriv'd at the Rock the 26th of *September*, where a Light was espy'd by my Ship in the Night, which after we found to be a Fleet of 24 Galeons, which I had intelligence of the day before by the Caraval I sent into the Shore to discover. I drew so nigh those Ships, that I could not escape them if they had taken me to be an Enemy; and finding my self thus intangled, I Commanded a *Spaniard* who then serv'd me, and held a Dagger at his Heart, upon his Life to speak as I directed him, which was as follows; To call to them with a loud voice, that there was a strange Ship fallen amongst their Fleet, and that he knew not what she was; I conceiv'd that having warning from me of it, of all others she could not suspect I was she; and in the mean time, in a secret manner I tack'd about, and quitted my self of them, without further suspicion; but the *Adventure*, (for only she and the *Whelp* was left with me) could not carry her self so dissemblingly, but she was in danger of being taken, and escap'd with the loss of some Men.

The next Morning they chas'd the *Adventure* and *Whelp*, for I was gotten a little way to Head of them; Three of the best Sailing Ships of the *Spaniards* drew near the *Whelp*, and perceiving that unless I acted some desperate thing she would be taken; I struck my Top-sail, tho' it was much against the Will of my Master and Company, crying out, that I would lose my self and Ship; I stood with the *Whelp* and *Adventure*, and caused them to stand their course to Sea, whilst I staid for the Three *Spanish* Ships, with whom I would make tryal of their Force, and hop'd to make them have little List to pursue them. The *Spanish* Admiral was a Stern with his whole Fleet, who perceiving my working, and the little Respect I had to his Three Ships aforesaid, tack'd in with the Shore, and shot off a Warning-piece for his Fleet and the Three Ships to follow him.

Being thus luckily acquitted from the *Spanish* Fleet, wherein Don *Diego de Borachero* was General, I return'd to the South Cape, with the *Whelp* only; for I had lost company of the *Adventure* Two Nights before; and arriving there the One and twentieth of *October*, I gave chase to a Galeon of the Fleet of *Ciriago*, who recover'd under the Castle of Cape *Sagre*, before I could fetch her up; But tho' I knew the force of the Castle, by sundry Shot I had formerly receiv'd from it, and was acquainted with the Excellency of the Gun-

ner, who was an *Englishman* of my acquaintance, in the sight of their General *Ciriago* and his Squadron, I attempted, and had taken her, had it not been for the Cowardliness of the Helms-man, that sheard off as I was ready to board her; the Fight was not long, but dangerous, with the loss of 12 Men on my side, and in no less danger of sinking; who was so beaten from the Castle, that it was a spectacle to behold my Ship, for she might be crept through from Side to Side. For all other circumstances I refer to my First Book, and so I take my leave of the Queen's Reign.

This Voyage ended, and I return'd for *England*; at *Christmas* after, there was a Consultation by the Lords of her Majesty's Council, to prepare Two Fleets, the one for the Spring, the other to second the first in *June* following; Sir *Richard Lewson* to Command the former, and my self the latter, in some Action against *Spain*; but tho' this was a pretence to satisfy the World, yet the Lords had another intent in it; for at that time they knew the Queen being sick, there was much danger of her death, because of her Years, which made them the more willing to hasten this Fleet to Sea, to have it in a readiness to defend the Kingdom, if the Queen's Death should happen.

And tho' Sir *Richard Lewson*, nominated General of this Fleet, was not beloved by the Lords, fearing his Ambition; yet they continu'd him in his Place and Command: And whereas I was appointed to second him in a latter Fleet, yet the Lords by importunity perswaded me, to accompany him as Vice-Admiral in this Voyage, they having a greater Trust and Confidence in me than in him; and therefore I was order'd to Command the *Merebonour*, a better Ship than that Sir *Richard* served in.

All this was done out of Policy, and few of the Lords, but such as were intimate Friends to the King knew of it; for their intention was, if the Queen dy'd, and King *James* had found any Opposition, that my Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Suffolk*, should take charge of this Fleet, and come aboard me, and I to go into Sir *Richard's* Ship, and Sir *Richard's* Authority to cease. But God be thanked, there was no cause for this wise Forecast of the Lords, for his Majesty repaired peaceably to *London*, and we return'd safely to *Chatham*, after we had seen the King's Entertainment by his well affected Subjects.

Two Years after, and in the Year 1604. I was nominated Admiral of the *Narrow Seas*, without suit or seeking of mine: And the first Service I was appointed to, was the Transportation of the Constable of *Castille*, who was to repair hither, to conclude a Peace betwixt the Two Crowns, that had been 18 Years at variance. What hapen'd in that Employment, as also in the 12 Years after, that I serv'd as Admiral, I refer you to my Second Book throughout; only I must say, That as in former Employments, I went not without danger of Life by Enemies, by the peril of Sea, and Famine, as I have formerly repeated.

In this Employment I was to fear neither Foe nor Famine, the King having a general Peace with all Princes and Nations, and my Employment being not so far from home, but that in few days I might be supplied with Victuals; tho' I account another Danger greater than the rest, which consisted in Accidents of the Sea, and Extremity of Storms and foul Weather, in the South and straitest part of *England*, where commonly I was to lye at Anchor; and upon any occasion being put from my Anchors, the narrowness

of the Seas betwixt Land and Land, would put me into imminent danger of Shipwreck and Life: The Shoals and Sands were no less dangerous, considering, that very often we were to be attended with Fogs and Mists; besides that we were sometimes put to double a Lee-Shore, which if we failed of, we presently perished.

But God so provided for me, that I escap'd all these hazards, and at last found Malice had a greater Power and Force against me, than by Sea I found, or otherwise I deserved: For when I thought to have left my painful Labours at Sea, and to have enjoy'd Tranquility of Peace on Land, Envy, unluckily and unlook'd for, seized upon my Innocency; for being thought a bosom Friend to a Nobleman I much Honour'd, who at that time began to be aim'd at, and was afterwards born down by a Court-Faction, tho' I was one of the meanest in number, and unworthy to have knowledge taken of me, as a Man of no Eminency; yet considering how my Estate then stood by my Engagements, and otherwise I found Fortune more averfed to me than most of the others had felt by malicious Practices.

The Sixth Book.

Which Treats of a Fishery to be set up on the Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Benefit that will Accrue by it to all His Majesty's Three Kingdoms : With many other Things concerning Fish, Fishing, and Matters of that Nature.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

THE Dedication of Books is both Ancient, Usual, and Useful, tho' in these later Times they are turn'd into Apologies, expressing the Unworthiness of the Author, and the Insufficiency of the Matter, Modesty carrying with it so shame-faced a Countenance against the Law of History; for Cicero saith, That Eloquence is not so much to be respected in Writing, as not to publish Falshoods, and dissemble Truths.

For me to follow the Rules of Apology, will betoken a great Weakness and Imbecility, and look as if I had obtain'd Victory over an Art I am ignorant in; for Eloquence belongs to Scholars, who by their witty Pleading, will drive every Circumstance to a Consequence.

Silence were better in my Case than Speech, were it not I am to speak of Things I know, of Things needful and necessary both for Your Sacred Majesty, and Your whole Commonwealth.

I need not reiterate what the ensuing Narration reports; I only and humbly crave Leave of Your Majesty, That my Defects may not blemish the Worthiness of the Work now in hand, no more than a homely Painter that takes upon him to draw a fair Face: The Benefit of my Labour will be to Your Majesty an Immortal Honour and Glory, to Your Kingdoms an Everlasting Praise and Profit, and to Your faithful Subjects an Essential Proof of Happiness.

All in One must Applaud Your Sacred Majesty for Atchieving this Work, which never any of Your famous Progenitors had in Agitation; so that we may truly judge, That from the Beginning (by God's Providence) it was reserv'd for King CHARLES to make Your Name, Your Fame, Your Fortune, and all ether Blessings, Equal with Your Progenitors Charles's, and especially Charlemain, from whom Your Majesty is Lineally descended: And as that Charles worthily deserv'd the Title of Great, so I doubt not but the same God will pour the same Greatness and Happiness upon Your Majesty, that our Hemisphere may Enjoy as great a Renown by You, as other Lands have done by those from whom You are descended.

If Your Majesty would have been sway'd by pretended Policy of State, by Solicitation, by Affection, or ether Enticements, and left the Common Utility of Your Subjects, this Work had lain still like a Child in his Swaddling-Clouts, without Care of Nursing it; but Your Majesty's Virtue appears herein, and we, Your Loyal Subjects, cannot Honour You enough for it. And if we should speak all the Truth of Your Sacred Majesty, it were to say far more than we do, of Your most Excellent Virtue and Goodness: But for want of Parts otherwise to express me, my Office shall be, to Pray for Your Majesty's Long Life, for Your Victorious Atchievements, the Confusion of Your Enemies, and that all Men's Hearts may be as sensible of Your Majesty's Good, as the Meanest of Your Subjects.

W. M.

To

To all GENTLEMEN, and others,
that have Read my former Discourse concerning the
S E A.

I Have annex'd this Relation of Fishing to my former Treatise of the S E A, which you have done me the Honour to Peruse; I confess it had been more proper to have inserted it at the beginning of these Books, than at the latter end, for these Reasons: The Dedication would have requir'd it, as being humbly Presented to His Majesty's Protection; the Subject would have challeng'd it, as a Ground and Foundation of the Increase of Ships, Navigation, and Traffick; England would have stood upon it in Right, as a Work of greatest Consequence, Goodness, and Renown, due only to her.

But being thus in a Consultation and Dilemma with my self what to do, I consider'd and concluded, That the First View of a Book either gave Delight, or Disgust, to the Judicious Reader; and if I should have presented you with this Rude and Laborious Fishing as the First Dish of my Banquet, it would have dishearten'd your farther Proceedings; and therefore I chose rather to please your Pallate and Taste with strange Occurrences and Accidents at Sea, as most delicate Meats to keep you from Surfeiting.

There are Two Parts to be plaid in the Scope of my Discourse; the one by you, which is the Speculative Part, out of Curiosity to inform your selves of the Secrets and Practice of the Sea, not intending to make Profession or Profit by it, but like to a Student in Alchemy, who covets to know the Depth of the Art, but not to spend a Penny in the Practice, or Design to compass it.

The Second Part is only proper to those that mean to make themselves Apprentices to the Sea and the Art of Navigation, to enlighten their future Knowledge and Understanding: But this is not attain'd to by Ease, or Sloth, but by Practice and Pains; not by Imagining and Reading, but by Peril, Travel, and Toil; not by Youth and Carelessness, but by Years and Stayedness: For tho' Alexander the Great was but 20 Years of Age when he began his Conquest, yet none of his Captains were under 60; and tho' Demosthenes was the most famous of all Philosophers for Eloquence, yet at first he was but a Scholar, and taught by Plato.

There are many Things contain'd in the former several Books, which cannot be accounted within your Element; I commend therefore such Things to your idle Hours, as give Delight and Recreation to your Wastful and Consuming Time, when Leisure admits no moment of Matter to think on, like the Sport of young Whelps, that are to be us'd for Pleasure, when one has nothing else to do, or for want of other Company.

The reading of these Discourses is not worthy the Name of Study, for they handle no serious Thing, either of History or Learning, but are to be esteem'd for Curiosity-sake; as Romulus did Carvers of Stone, or Caius Cæsar Goldsmiths, or Vespasian Painters.

Your Wisdom knows better how to apply your selves to the Reading, and making Choice and Use of what is comprehended in the former Discourses, than I can either Advise, or Instruct: And (for a Farewell) I wish you as much Happiness as one Friend can do to another; that is, Content to your Mind, Honour to your Deserts, Wealth to your Will, and Blessing from GOD. All Happiness is comprehended in these few Words, and they are made the Subjects for the Eloquence of Tongues to Amplify upon, for it is Matter that makes a good Orator, tho' I confess Form adds somewhat to it.

'A Disco-

*A Discovery of the HOLLANDERS Trades,
and their Circumventing us therein; and the Means how to
reduce the Fishing into our Hands, (as of Right due to us :)
With the Honour and Security that will redound to His Ma-
jesty, and all his Subjects.*

NO Man is so void of Reason, as not to know, That he is born for the Service of God, his Prince, and Country; God requires it for our own Good; a Prince, out of Duty deriv'd from the Commandment of God; and our Country, by the Law of Nature, next to our Parents; God directs us by his written Word how to serve him; a Prince, by his Human Laws, how to serve and obey him; and our Country, by Instinct of Nature, how to serve and reverence her. The City of *Paris* had a Saying of old, *One God, one King, one Faith, and one Law.* These four Words are effectual, and as much as can be comprehended in our Service to God, Prince, and Country. *Cicero* saith, 'That take away the Piety towards God, and you take away all 'Conjunction of Humane Society.

As most Men differ in Feature of Face, in Diet, Condition, and Education; yet all good Men agree in an Unity of the Service of God, Prince, and Country, in their several Degrees and Qualities: The Divine, with Prayer; the Soldier, with his Arms; wise Men, with Counsel; and rich Men, with Treasure.

These being done willingly, makes a sweet Harmony betwixt King and Commonwealth; for that Prince is happy that has young Men to take Pains, and old Men to Counsel; the one supports the other in convenient time, like Fruit, that all comes not together, nor ends together, some Teaching, and others Obeying.

The next Consideration is, how to make the People subsist in the Service of God, Prince, and Country; for there must be a Rational Means to work by, seeing Monarchy cannot be upheld and supported without People employ'd, and set to work in their several Labours: And therefore considering God has created Man for the Service of him, his Prince, and Country, every one is bound to apply himself to the Service of them, and to prefer them before all private Respects. Let me follow that Maxim, as the Meanest of many Thousands of other Subjects, and offer my Mite, as the First Fruit of my

Harvest; not like the Divine, the Soldier, the wise or the rich Man I speak of, but with my poor Talent God has endu'd me with, which is, my Experience, that could not have been compals'd, if God had not given me a longer Life than many others; if with that Life he had not marvelously defended me from Dangers of Enemy, the Sword, Water, and many other Casualties incident to Mankind.

If with those Days and Years he had not given me a Desire and Means to Observe, Confer, and be Inquisitive, I had not been able to have presented this my Desire to serve my King and Country, but should have gone as naked out of the World as I came into it.

My meaning is, Not to leave our fruitful Soil untill'd, or Seas unfrequented, our Islands unpeopled, or seek remote or strange Countries disinhabited, and uncivil *Indians* untam'd, where nothing appears to us but Earth, Wood, and Water, at our first Arrival, for all other Hopes must depend on our Labours and costly Expences, on the Adventure of the Sea, on the Honesty of Undertakers; and all these at last produce nothing but Tobacco, a new invented needles Weed, as too much Use and Custom makes it apparent.

In what I propound, I will not direct you to the Eloquence of Books to Perswade, to the inventing Wits to Entice, to the affecting Traveller to Encourage, nor to any Man that with fair Words may Abuse you; you shall know as much as I can say, in calling a Line and Hook into the Sea, His Majesty doth instantly challenge his own, and by Example of one Line and Net, you may conjecture by Multiplication the Profit that will arise by the Work. You shall be made to know, That tho' you be born in an Island seated in the Ocean, frequented with invisible Fish, swimming from one Shore to the other, yet your Experience has not taught you the Benefits and Blessings arising from that Fish.

I doubt not but to give you that Light therein, that you shall confess your selves blinded, and be willing to blow from you the foul Mist that has been an Impediment
to

to your Sight; you shall be awaken'd from your drousie Sleep, and rouse your selves to further this best Business that was ever presented to *England*, or King thereof: Nay, I will be bold to say, to any State in the World.

I will not except the Discovery of the *West-Indies* by *Columbus*; an Act of greatest Renown, of greatest Profit, and that has been of greatest Consequence to the *Spanish* Nation.

You will wonder, being born a Subject of *England*, and casting your Eyes upon the gainful Soil of the Land, that you never conceiv'd what the Sea afforded; I confess it were impossible for you to live in that Ignorance, if it did not appear by the ensuing Discourse, how you, your Country, and especially the Princes of these Realms, have been abused, and the Profit thereof conceal'd.

The Comparison betwixt the West-India Trade and our Fishing.

To make my Comparison good betwixt the Trade of the *West-Indies* and our Fishing, which of them yields most Honour to their King, and most Profit to their Country, most Danger and most Labour to the Subjects, I refer to my collected Reasons.

If Men consider the divine Work of God, and the end of his working, it is marvellous to behold, that *America*, being a Continent, and equal to all the rest of the World in bigness, should be conceal'd, from the Creation till 1400 and odd Years after the Birth of Christ, and not so much as thought of, tho' some Philosophers seem'd to rove at it.

And when it pleas'd his Divine Majesty to cast that Blessing upon *Europe*, if we consider the time he did it, and the Occasion why he did it, it will put us into Admiration, and Acknowledgement of the Power of Christ, against the Opinion of *Jews* and *Turks*; For could he shew himself a more just and loving God, than in pouring upon *Christendom* such a Blessing of Wealth, at the time it was likely to be swallow'd up by barbarous *Turks* and *Moors*, who were only withstood by the Wealth of the *Indies*?

We may hope the same God has the same Happiness in store for this Kingdom, to add immortal Glory to His Majesty's Goodness; or else it was impossible, in humane Reason, that our loving Neighbours, the industrious *Hollanders*, should for so many years enjoy this Fishing, who, to their everlasting Honour and Praise, have encreased thereby more

Vessels for the Sea, than all *Europe* besides can muster.

The first Discovery of the *Indies* gave no great Hope of Profit, till after a long, chargeable, and painful Navigation, it was brought to perfection.

The Fishing upon His Majesty's Coast of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, needs no Discovery; the Experience of our Neighbours having found it out, and practis'd it, since the Year 1307 to their unmeasurable Wealth, and our Shame: And for the Honour of him that first found out the Secret of pickling of Herrings, which was one *William Backalew* by name, there was a famous Tomb in the Island of *Beverlute* erected, yet to be seen, where he was buried.

The *Indies* send forth more Gold, Silver, and other Merchandize, than all the *European* Trades besides.

The Fishing produces more Riches by its Trade, than the others do, as I will make appear when I come to compute the one with the other.

The Wealth of the *Indies* is not brought from thence without great Expence and Hazard, considering the Casualties of the Sea, and the Fear of Enemies to intercept it.

The Fishing is still in view of us and our Shores; our Vessels daily expected into our Harbours, and others ready to ease them of their Burthen, and to transport it into other Countries, not far remote, where they are in no Danger of Hurricanes, Enemies, or other Perils.

The Insurance in going and coming from the *Indies* may be valued at a great rate, which we shall have in our Fishing, there being no Fear or Hazard in it.

The Wealth of the *Indies* being surpris'd by an Enemy, is more prejudicial to the King of *Spain* than four times that Wealth would profit him, his Enemy being made strong and rich, and he weakened and impoverished by it.

No such Accident can prejudice us; for in the miscarrying of our Fishermen, we shall only lose so many Barks, Salt, and Nets, and no Enemy enrich'd or fortify'd by it.

Inhabiting in the *Indies* causes a Scarcity of natural *Spaniards*, whereby many times the King's Affairs fall and perish. The Fishing employs all our loose People, which abound in this Kingdom, and makes them capable to serve their Prince and Country.

The *Indies* set to work four times more Ships than all the rest of the Dominions of *Spain*, and add more Strength to them by Sea.

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The Fishing will maintain 20 Vessels to one of theirs; and *England* furnish them with most of the Materials belonging to them; whereas in *Spain* they are brought, in time of War, with great Peril and Danger of the Enemy.

The *Indies* are far remote from *Spain* to be supply'd, if there happen Changes in any Part thereof; which other Nations may take Notice and Advantage of.

The Fishing is one Body, govern'd by a Company, that no Enemy can annoy: And if Questions arise betwixt Parties and Parties, they are speedily to be determin'd without Charge or Detriment to either; whereas the others have their Appeals to their Courts of Justice in *Spain* from the *Indies*.

The chief Commodity of the *Indies* is Bullion, Hides, Cochineal, &c. Our only Fish countervails the Value of them all; and tho' for the present it affords no Bullion in Specie, yet it draws the Money coin'd out of that Bullion.

The Ships that trade to the *Indies* are great in Burthen, and make but one Return or Voyage in a year; and when they are careen'd, the Water in *Spain* not rising enough to ground them, it is done with far greater Labour and Charge than ours, that are brought on Ground one Tide, and haul'd off another, ready for a new Voyage, and never wanting Freight.

But what I have observ'd is not to be effected with Words, but Works, not with Talking, but Doing and Acting; for betwixt Words and Deeds there is great difference; Words without Effect are like Water that drowns People, and does it self no Good.

The Property of a Merchant is to have Money in his Purse, and Credit upon the Exchange to advance his Trade.

All Men in this Work must become Merchants, not only for themselves, but for their Prince and Country; all are to reap Profit by it, none Pain or Sorrow, but the slothful, idle and base People, who are like Drones amongst Bees; for the Purchase of Sloth is Dispraise.

There are three Things necessary in every Work, the Man that works, the Instrument to work with, and the Matter. There is nothing requir'd of the Men in our Work but Labour and Pains; the Instruments to work with are Ships of several kinds to be made and erected; and the Matter to set on the Work is Money: All these concurring in one, will make it a Work of Fame, Renown, Strength, Riches, and all the Good that God can bestow on a Nation and People. But if

Sluggishness and Carelessness, or other Mistrust of return of Gain, prevail, it being out of the Element and Breeding of Gentlemen, and others that apply themselves to the Profit of the Land and not the Sea, and that they neglect the Offer and Proposition following, we are worthy to be chastened with Penury and Want, and unworthy to enjoy the Blessing of God, which he has poured on this Land above all others he has been pleased to create.

What better light can we have for this Work, than from our nearest and intimatest Friends the *Hollanders*? who, by their long Travels, their excessive Pains, their ingenious Inventions, their incomparable Industry and provident Care, have exceeded all other Nations in their Adventures and Commerce, and made all the World familiar with them in Traffick; whereby we may justly attribute to them what the *Chineses* assum'd to themselves, That only they have two Eyes, the *Europeans* but one, and all the rest of the World none. How can this better appear than out of their Labours, and our Fish only?

They have encreas'd the Number of Vessels; they have supply'd the World with Food, which otherwise would have found a Scarcity; they have advanc'd Trade so abundantly, that the Wealth of Subjects and the Customs of Princes have found the Benefit of it; and lastly, they have thus provided for themselves, and all People of all sorts, tho' they be impotent and lame, that want Employment, or that are forc'd to seek work for their Maintenance.

And because their Quantity of Fish is not to be vented in their own Provinces, but to be dispers'd in all Parts of *Europe*, I will give you an Account of it, as it has been carefully observ'd and taken out of the Custom-Books beyond the Seas.

The Quantity of Fish vented in other Countries.

In Four Towns within the Sound, viz. *Koningsberg*, *Melvin*, *Stetin*, and *Dantzick*, there is vented in a year betwixt 30 and 40000 Lasts of Herrings, which will amount to more than 620000 *l.* and we none.

Denmark, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Liesland*, *Rie*, *Regel*, the *Narpe*, and other Towns within the Sound, take off above 10000 Lasts, worth 160000 *l.*

The *Hollanders* send into *Russia* above 1500 Lasts of Herrings, sold at 27000 *l.* and we not above 30 or 40 Lasts.

Stode, *Hamburgh*, *Bremen*, *Embsen*, and upon the River *Elbe*, in Fish and Herrings above

above 6000 Lasts, sold at 100000 *l.* and we none.

Cleveland, Juliers, up the *River Rhine*, *Frankfort, Cologne*, and over all *Germany*, in Fish and Herrings, near 22000 Lasts, amounting to 440000 *l.* and we none.

Gelderland, Artois, Haynault, Brabant, Flanders, and the Arch-Duke's Countries, 8 or 9000 Lasts, sold at 18 *l.* the Lasts, amounts to 160000 *l.* and we none.

At *Roan* in *Normandy*, 500 Lasts of Herrings, sold at 10000 *l.* and we not 100 Last, there commonly sold for 20, and sometimes 30 *l.* a Last.

Besides what they spend in *Holland*, and sell there to other Nations, the value of many Hundred thousand Pounds.

Now having perfected the Valuation of the *Hollanders* Fish, caught on our Seas, and vented into Foreign Countries, our Shame will manifestly appear, that of so many thousand Lasts of Fish, and so many Hundred thousand Pounds in Money made by them, we cannot give account of 150 Lasts taken and vented by us.

The *Hollanders* are no less to be commended in the Benefit they make of the Return of their Fish; for what Commodity soever any Country yields, in lieu thereof, they Transport in their own Vessels into *Holland*, where they have a continual Staple of all Commodities brought out of the South, from thence sent into the North, and the East Countries; the like they do from out of the South into the North, their Ships continually going and bringing inestimable Profit, like a Weavers Shuttle, he casts from one hand to another, ever in action, till his Gain appear in the Cloth he makes. And if we compare *Holland's* Forecast with ours, the Imputation of Sloth and Negligence will lie heaviest upon us, like him that beats the Bush for others to catch the Birds: For *Russia*, with our Adventure, Charge and Shipwrack, was first known to us, that for many years together, afforded great Profit, by the usual Trade of 8 or 10 Ships yearly.

About 20 Years past, the *Hollanders* encroach'd upon us with Two Ships, and in continuance of time they brought us from 10 to 2 or 3. and themselves to 60 Vessels or more, and lately to 100. the chiefest Gain arising out of our Fish, and other *English* Commodities they fetch from us.

Newfoundland, being an ancient Patri-mony of *England*, and we the first Discoverers thereof immediately after the finding out of the *West-Indies* by *Columbus*, has been since a great enriching to the Western parts, with the Fish there yearly

taken; and now the *Hollanders* of late have found the way thither, and sent in the Year 1629. and ever since, 12 or 14 great Ships, to buy the Fish taken by his Majesty's Subjects; whereby his Majesty does not only lose his Custom in going out, if it be brought for *England*, but in the Return of that Commodity, which might amount to 14 or 15000 *l.* if his Highness's Subjects had the Carriage of it.

To say no more of the *Hollanders* greatest Trade with *England*; there are Three Fishes of little Note, and not regarded by us, which they make Gain of themselves: The First is Lobsters, the greatest part whereof that serves *London*, at the time of the Year, they bring from the furthest Northern Part of *England*; which is never practis'd by the *English*. The Second is, the great quantity of Oysters yearly transported by them into *Holland*, which causeth the decrease and dearness of Oysters among us. The Third is Lampreys, out of the River of *Thames*, which they use for Bait for Codd in the North Seas; and this is the cause of the scarcity and dearness of this Fish in *London*.

The Hollanders Navigation into the Streights.

But the greatest Navigation of theirs, and of most Importance to their State, for Maintenance of Ships of Burthen and Strength, is into the *Streights*, from the Port of *Marseilles*, along the Coast as far as *Venice*. In this Trade I will compute but 60 Ships of 200 Tuns Burthen each, having above as many more trading into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the South part of *France*, and all with our *English* Fish, taken by his Majesty's Subjects; as namely Pilchards caught in *England* and *Ireland*, Baccaloos or Poor John in *Newfoundland*, and Red Herring taken and made at *Yarmouth*.

The *Hollanders* are almost absolutely Masters of these Trades; what by combination made with the Merchants that deal in that kind of Fish, and what through the cheapness of the Freight in their Vessels; which makes them sell the cheaper.

During these 18 Years last past, they have so increas'd their Navigation, whereas before they had not above 2 Ships to 5 of ours within the *Streights*, within the said 18 Years they are able to shew ten of theirs to one of ours, and nicely by the Trade of Fish; for true it is, there is no Commodity in the World of so great Bulk and small Value, or that can set so many Ships of Burthen to work.

As for example, A mean Man may freight his Ship of 250 Tuns with Fish, that will not cost above 1600 *l.* that 40 Merchants cannot do, of better and richer Commodities; I speak not upon surmise, but what is approv'd by divers Merchants, but especially one of good Account, whose Name I must conceal, unless Authoriz'd by him to Publish it, who computed 60 Ships of this sort of Fish aforesaid; of the which there is not return'd one Penny Profit into *England*, where they gather the sweet Dew of their Food.

The principal work I aim at, is how to undertake the *Hollanders* with our own weapons, and how to equal them with Pinks, Busses, and other Vessels, till we be made Partners with them in their Fishing; not by Hostility or uncivil Usage, nor to deprive them by His Majesty's Prerogative, which the Law of Nations allows us; or out of Envy to their Labours; or to revenge Discourtesies; only we will seek to do what Nature dictates (*viz.*) to enjoy and make use of our own, by the Countenance of our Blessed King, that in Justice gives all People their Right and Due.

Holland is enrich'd by the 60 Ships aforesaid, which I have computed, by the Carriage of Red Herrings, as I will after demonstrate, 621750 *l.* in their Return out of the *Streights*.

The Hollanders Fishing in their Pinks and Busses, That the English may not only equal, but out-do them in it; and the great Benefit it will be to the Nation demonstrated.

There needs no Repetition of any former Relation; for Truth has spoke it, which is so Glorious of her self, that it needs no Shade to give it better gloss: In what follows I will demonstrate by the particular proceedings of the *Hollanders*, in their Pinks and Busses, what certain gain they yearly raise out of them; and when Experience the Mother of Knowledge shall make it apparent to you, I hope you will remember what you are, and how easily you may make your selves and Country by it,

I confess this Fishing is a Business I have taken into Consideration. My Lord of *Northampton*, if he were now living, was able to witness how much it was solicited and desir'd by me, and no less wish'd and desir'd by his Lordship. I caus'd one *Tobias Gentleman*, a Mariner by Profession, but indeed a Man of better Parts than ordinary Seamen, and much practis'd

in their Northern Fishing to Dedicate a Book to his Lordship, which gave particular notice of the *Hollanders* Proceedings in their Pinks and Busses; and what we shall do in the imitation of them.

But by the Death of my Lord, it rested unthought on by me, till the late Duke of *Richmond* reviv'd it, and importun'd me once more to it. His Death in the like manner made it die, till his Majesty of late, out of his Princely Care for the good of his Loving Subjects, for the Renown of his Kingdoms, and desire of the Unity and equal Benefit of his Two Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, took more than an ordinary Care how to effect it, well becomming so Blessed and Benigne a Prince: And now I will descend to the Particulars of the *Hollanders* Busses, as well in their taking Herrings, as Codd and Ling, and the Seasons of the Year for both.

From the *Texel* in *Holland* to *Brasound* in *Sherland*, an Island belonging to his Majesty's Dominions of *Scotland*, is 230 and odd Leagues, whither there resort the 22 or 23 of *June* well nigh 2000 Fishing Vessels. The Twenty fourth they put to Sea, being prohibited till that day, and a penalty upon the breaker thereof, holding the Herrings till then unseasonable to Salt for their Fattness.

Every one of these Vessels that day directs its Course to find out the Shoal of Herrings, like a Hound that pursues the Head of a Deer in Hunting. When they have laden their Busses, which is sooner or later, as they find the Shoal of Herrings, they presently return home for *Holland*, and leave their Herrings a-shoar to be there repack'd and from thence immediately to be sent into the *Sound*, where they receive them for a great dainty.

The Busses having thus disburthen'd themselves in *Holland*, once more furnish'd with Victuals, Cask and Salt, they repair to Sea to look out the Shoal they had formerly left; and then finding them, and filling them once again, they do as they did before, return to *Holland*.

Nor thus ceasing, the Third time they repair to the Shoal as aforesaid; and in their Three Fishings, computing with the least, they take to the number of 100 Lasts of Herrings, which being valued at 10 *l.* the Last, which is no more than 18 *l.* a Barrel, will amount to 1000 *l.* Sterling each Ship.

Many times this Fishing Fleet is attended with certain Vessels call'd Yawgers, which carry Salt Cask and Victuals, to
Truck

Truck with the Busses for their Herrings, and carry them directly into the Sound, without returning into *Holland*; for it is a Matter of great Consequence and Gain, to bring the first Herrings into the Sound, for there they are esteem'd as Partridges with us at their first coming: But now of late Years the *Hollanders* are Prohibited by the State, carrying or trucking away their Herrings, till they first land them in *Holland*, which will prove the more Commodious to us.

I will set down the Rate of a Busf new from the Stocks, with the Price of her Nets, Tackling, Salt, Victuals, Cask, Mens Wages, and all other Charges whatsoever belonging to her; and will rate the Profit gained by her four Months Fishing, which is likely to continue 20 Years, being the ordinary Life of a Busf.

<i>Imprimis</i> , a Busf, with her Furniture and Tackling, will cost	500 <i>l.</i>
<i>Item</i> , 100 Lasts of Cask, at 18 <i>s.</i> the Last	90 <i>l.</i>
<i>Item</i> , For Salt, 30 Weigh, at 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> the Weigh	105 <i>l.</i>
<i>Item</i> , For Beer for the Men 4 Months, a Gallon a Day	16 <i>l.</i>
<i>Item</i> , For Bread, after the same Proportion	12 <i>l.</i>
<i>Item</i> , For Butter, Cheese, Billets	20 <i>l.</i>
<i>Item</i> , For Mens Wages for 4 Months	88 <i>l.</i>

It is to be considered, that Mens Wages are not to be paid, till the Voyage be ended, so that the present Disbursement is but 723 *l.*

Rating the 100 Last of Herrings but at 1000 *l.* there is gotten clear in 4 Months 500 *l.* in a Busf, and 165 *l.* in Money; so the total Sum as appears gotten is 665 *l.*

Here plainly appears, that there is gotten Six hundred sixty five Pounds in one Summer; whereof if you deduct 100 *l.* for the wear of the Busf, and the Reparation of her Nets against the next Summer, yet still there remains 545 *l.* for clear Gain by one Busf in four Months; a Profit exceeding all other Trades.

It is to be noted, that I have proportioned in this Computation a Busf of 35 Last, that is to say, 70 Tun, but I consider with my self, that we will make a greater Gain with a Busf of 20 Last, which is but 40 Tun, than the *Hollanders* do with their 70 Tun, in respect of the nearness of our Harbours to put in upon all Occasions; and after the Proportion of our Busses, we must lessen so much

out of the 745 *l.* which is the first Disbursement, as aforesaid.

Now having shewn you the Charge of the Busses, I will shew you the Charge of a Pink of 20 Last, that is 40 Tun.

A Pink being built new, and all things new to her, will not cost 260 *l.* with her Lines, Hooks, and other Fishing Appurtenances.

<i>Imprimis</i> , a Pink	260 <i>l.</i>
<i>Item</i> , 20 Last of Barrels	18
<i>Item</i> , Five Weigh of Salt	18
<i>Item</i> , Beer, Cask, Bread, and Petty-Talley	12
<i>Item</i> , For Mens Wages for two Months	20

Sum is— 328

Twenty Lasts of Barrel Codd, at 15 *l.* the Last, amounts to 300 *l.* and deducting 68 *l.* 10 *s.* for the fitting her to Sea, there remains 232 *l.* 10 *s.* clear gain by one Pink in two Months, rating the Codd and Ling but as they are sold in *England*; but being Transported, commonly they will double their Price.

I present you not with Toys to please Children, or with Shadows of Untruths; for I know Truth to be so Noble of it self, that it makes him honourable that pronounces it; and that an Honest Man will rather bear witness against Friendship than Truth. I have made it appear with what facility the *Hollanders* go through with the Golden Mine of theirs, which they so term in their Proclamation extant: I make proof their Busses and Pinks are built to take Fish; that they fill themselves thrice a Summer with Fish; that this Fish is vented, and esteem'd as a precious Food, in all the Parts of *Europe*; and that the Return thereof gives them means to Live and Breath, without which they could not.

It is manifest that Fish has brought them to a great Strength both by Land and Sea, and Fame withal, in maintaining their intestine War against so great and potent an Enemy as the King of *Spain*.

And if all these Benefits appear in them, and nothing but Shame and Scorn in us, let us enter into the Cause thereof, and seek to amend it; let us labour to follow their Example, which is better than a Schoolmaster to teach us: Nothing is our bane but Idleness, which ingenders Ignorance, and Ignorance, Error; all which we may be tax'd with; for to a slothful Man nothing is so easie, but it will prove difficult if it be not done willingly.

There

There are but two Things requir'd in this Work, that is to say, a Will to undertake it, and Money to go through with it; which being found, we will place Charity to begin at Home with our selves, before we yield it to our Neighbours, and then this Business will appear to be effected with more Benefit, more Strength, more Renown, more Happiness, and less Expence, than *Hollanders* have or can go through withal. Time is the most precious Experience, and you shall find that time will cure our Carelessness past, that Reason could not hitherto do.

The Instruments by which the *Hollanders* work, are their Vessels of several kinds, as I have declar'd; not produced out of their own Country, for it yields nothing to further it but their own Pains and Labour.

Their Wood, Timber, and Planks to build Ships, they fetch out of divers other Places; and yet are these no more available to undertake their Fishing and Navigation, than Weapons are without Hands to fight. Their Iron, Hemp, Cordage, Barrel-boards, Bread and Malt, they are beholding for to several Countries; and if at any time out of displeasure they be prohibited the Transportation, they are to seek a new Occupation, for the State fails.

Comparing their Casualties and Inconveniencies with ours, you shall discern the Advantage and Benefit God has given us, in respect of them; for all the Materials formerly repeated, that goe to their Shipping, *England* yields most of them, or in little time the Earth will be made to produce them in abundance; so that we shall not need to stand upon the Courtesie of our Neighbours, or to venture the Hazard of the Sea in fetching them.

Whereas all manner of People of what degree soever in *Holland*, have commonly a Share, according to their Abilities, in this Fishing, and that the only Exception amongst our selves, is the want of Money, to undertake it; you shall understand how God and Nature have provided for us; for I will apparently answer the Objection of Money, and cast it upon the Sluggishness and ill Disposition of our People, who if they will take away the Cause of this Imputation they shall take away the Offence due to it, and by which we are scandaliz'd.

In the Objection of lack of Money to set on foot this Work, it would seem ridiculous to Strangers that behold the Wealth and Glory of this Kingdom, with

the sumptuous Buildings, the costly inside of Houses, the mass of Plate to deck them, the daily Hospitality and number of Servants to honour their Masters, and their Charitable Alms distributed out of their Superfluities. And to descend to People in particular, if they behold the bravery of Apparel vainly spent, the rich and curious Jewels to adorn their Bodies, and the needless Expences Yearly wasted, they would conclude, that it were not Want, but Will that must be our Impediment.

But leaving these Observations, let me tell you, there is never a Lord, Knight, Gentleman, or Yeoman, of any Account in *England*, but for want of Money is able to furnish either Timber, Iron, Wheat, Malt, Beef, Pork, Bacon, Pease, Butter, Cheese, or Home-spun Cloth out of the Wooll.

All which shall be taken from them at an ordinary Rate, and the Value allow'd them in Adventure.

No Man that has or hires Land, but may as well plant for Hemp, to make Lines, Nets and Cordage, seeing the Laws of the Kingdom command it, as any other Grain; which Hemp may be spun by their Neighbours and Tenants, and so all People set on work.

Then what need have we of Money, but for the building of Vessels? For you see with what ease every thing else is compassed.

Before these Busses shall direct their Course to *Shetland*, to be there welcom'd by the *Hollanders* in their own Houses, (a thing not usual for Strangers to entertain their true Inhabitants,) I will first view all Harbours and Creeks, capable for Busses, in his Majesty's Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and there lay such Provisions for the Benefit of our Fishing, that it shall appear, if the *Hollanders* have usually made 1000*l.* in four Months by their three Fishings, we shall be able to exceed them in the Course following.

I will suppose our Busses to be at *Braesound* in *Shetland*, ready the 24th of June to put to Sea, in pursuit and chase of the Herring-Shoals. I will suppose likewise, that the one and the other have fished their Vessels full, the *Hollanders* ready in their way to *Holland*, there to unlade and return again, as I have said before. If you compute the distance and loss of time in the 400 Leagues, running backward and forward, then shall you find great difference of Gain; betwixt us and them for we shall not need to run many Leagues, nor perhaps not ten, till we make our repair into the next Harbour, where Provision

vision shall be made of Victuals, Salt, and Casks; and our Busses putting the Herrings ashore to be repacked again, with all speed they hasten to Sea in pursuit of the Shoal; and the Herrings being repacked, are immediately sent to the *Sound* to take their first Market: All which will be effected before the *Hollanders* can be at Home with their Herrings; and after they are arrived in *Holland*, they are to sail very nigh as far to the *Sound*, as we shall be from *England* or *Scotland*. There needs no Argument to prove the Truth thereof, seeing a Sea-Card or Plot will demonstrate it.

But I may be answer'd, that the Yawgers formerly spoken of, which truck with the Busses for Herrings, will sooner be at the *Sound* than we, and make a great Benefit by the first Sale of their Fish.

But to give you satisfaction herein, I pray you conceive our Busses are in Harbour within the space of three Hours after they have Fished, and not subject to foul weather to hurt them: They shall have a Convenience to mend and dry their Nets; they are to unlade their Herrings, and to lade their Salt, Cask, and Victuals, without interruption, and to Sea again speedily: Whereas the Yawgers must watch their time for fair Weather, and a smooth Sea, to exchange their Salt, Victuals and Cask, for Herrings.

They must watch a fit Time and Weather to mend any Defects in their Nets, Busses, or in drying them: Thus you may see, all Casualties considered, our arrival at the *Sound* before them is more certain, for the Reasons before expressed.

But there was never any Business so easie, but it either found Objection, or Opposition, till made plain and apparent, as well to the Doubters as the Beholders; for most Men are guided by Opinion, rather than by Judgment: And so fares it with this hopeful and unanswerable Work, where some frame supposed Reasons and Inpediments; but time will determine their Doubts, and declare their Mistakes.

There are three Arguments, but rather Errors, that possess Peoples Tongues with the Difficulty of our Fishing, which I do not mean to convince with bare Words, but with infallible Truths; for I had rather offend in telling Truth, than please by feigning Falshoods.

The first Objection is, The taking our Fish with greater Charge than the *Hollanders*, by means whereof they will over-work us.

The Second, That they would do no less in the Vent and Sale thereof, by their long practice in that Trade.

The Third is, The fear of Fraud and Deceit amongst our selves, after the Example of the *East-Indies*, *Virginia*, and other Companies lately erected.

Truth has no need of a Ghostly Father to absolve her; Reason shall make her speak to the First Objection, in taking our Fish, with the Comparison of *Holland*.

You must know that the Charges belonging to a Fishing Vessel, is her Hull, Tackling, Nets, Salt, Cask, Victuals, the Number of Men, and their Wages.

Butter and Cheese excepted, there is none of the rest of the Materials growing in *Holland*, and most of them afforded in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; by reason whereof *England* may yield them better cheap than *Holland*.

The several Victuals carried to Sea, are Flesh, Fish, Bread, Beer, Butter, Cheese, and Pease. For Fish, we may value at an equal rate, for it costs neither of us more than the taking; and as Flesh is more chargeable than the rest, it will cost us nothing; for it is to be consider'd that a fat Beef, in the Island of *Hybrides*, is sold for less than 20 s. the Hide and Tallow whereof in *England* will give 10 s. the other 10 will be raised in carrying Wine, Strong Waters, and other Commodities desir'd by the People of the Country; for every 10 s. so employed doubles the Adventure: As namely, *Aqua Vitæ*, 10 s. bestow'd in *England*, will yield more gain than will purchase the Carcass of a Cow.

For Bread, Beer, Butter, Cheese and Pease, *England* affords them better cheap, than *Holland*: First, in respect they grow in *England* in greater Plenty than in *Holland*: Secondly, They all pay Excise in *Holland*, and not in *England*: And Thirdly, no Man but knows the difference of feeding betwixt the *Hollanders* and the *English*, and that a *Hollander* eats as much again as half one of our *English* at Sea.

Both the one and the other carries an equal proportion of Men, and their Wages are upon an even Rate; but herein we shall over-work them by the Reasons following.

In a Bus of 15 or 16 Men, the Meanest amongst the *Hollanders* has 20 s. a Month; and we will ease the Charge of Wages 8 in 16 in our Fishing about the *Lewes*, viz. we will carry but 8 Men to the Place of Fishing, where we will hire 8 more for less than half the Wages we give the rest, and herein shall we save 48 l. a Year in every Bus, by means whereof we shall

go cheaper than the *Hollanders* 9600*l.* in our 200 Busses: And moreover, in the Wages and Victuals of the Men, we shall save so much as will come to 1600*l.*

Whereas it is conceiv'd that the *Hollanders* will transport their Fish at a less Charge than we, it will appear otherwise; for the Yawgers that attend some of their Busses, to carry their Herrings to their first Market, as I have said, those Herrings of theirs are not repacked, but allow'd more than two Barrels to each Last, to make up their Tale; by means whereof they pay two Barrels Freight in every Last of Herrings, more than we that have the Shore near us to repack them, which in 200 Busses will amount to 5000*l.* more Gain to us than to the *Hollanders*.

Whereas every Fishing Vessel in *Holland* contributes to 20 or 30 Ships of War to defend them from the *Dunkirkers*, our Peace eases us of that Expence. And this shall suffice in Answer to the Comparison betwixt the *Hollanders* and us, in taking their Fish.

And to the second Point, to prove that we shall vent our Fish at as easie a Rate as the *Hollanders*, (thus I say) That your Experience must teach you, that in the *Sound*, where the greatest quantity of Herrings is utter'd, as I have before shew'd, Necessity will compel them to take them off; for it is not their Affection to the *Hollanders* above us that will make them refuse ours to accept of theirs; and then consequently ours will be better sold, in that we shall serve the Market before them, by the Means and Reasons aforesaid.

And if we go further from home, as to *Spain* or the *Streights*, you must understand that the *Hollanders* Ships go with fewer Men than ours, occasion'd by the slight Building and Tackling of their Ships, in comparison of us: And as there is 20 or 40 Men difference in the Sailing of them, the like difference there is in the Strength of them: Wherefore the Merchant had better, for the Safety of his Goods, give 50*s.* Freight to us, than 30*s.* to the *Hollanders*; his Goods shall be better defended against Pyrates by our 40 Men, than the others 20.

The *English* Ships will double a Lee Shore, when the others will be forc'd in foul Weather upon the Rocks; the Cables and Anchors in the *English* will hold, when the others will be forc'd to come home and break; the *English* will be able to put out Sail at Sea, when the others will take in Sail; the *English*, upon some Accidents, may come on Ground, and by their Strength come off again without

hurt, when the others will perish; the *English* go deep in Water, which makes them wholesome in the Sea, and carry the Merchants Goods with little Loss; the *Hollanders* are laboursome and dangerous in a Storm, which causes great Leakage in Oil, Wine, and such Commodities, to the great Annoyance of the Merchant; yea oftentimes more than the difference of the Freight.

As the *English* go in greater Security than the *Hollanders*, so shall the Merchants save by not insuring the value of difference in Freight, which I could compute and prove, but that it is too tedious.

And moreover, if the *English* have the absolute Carriage of the Fish taken by them, and the Laws of the Realm warrant it, our Ships shall never want Employment, nor have cause to look out for Freights, by reason whereof a Ship of 200 Tuns may go cheaper by 200*l.* than usually they have done. And thus much for our Foreign Trades.

Now let us turn to the venting our Fish in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Wales*.

If the late Proclamation for the observing of Fish Days be duly kept, it will be a means to vent our Fish, and encourage others to venture in the Fishing; so as there be a Prohibition, as there is in *Holland*, That no Fish be brought into any of his Majesty's Kingdoms but by his own Subjects.

Neither will it seem a thing unreasonable to enjoin every Yeoman and Farmer within the Kingdom to take a Barrel of Fish for their own spending, considering they save the Value thereof in other Victuals; and that it is no more than the Fishermen will do to them, to take off their Wheat, Malt, Butter and Cheese, for their Food at Sea. The Farmer by this means shall never be unprovided of Fish, to observe the Days commanded by his Majesty, without sending to the Market, as otherwise they would be compelled to do.

The Farmer will find by Experience that it is as cheap a Food as any other they can feed upon, and gives a better Delight to the Taste, considering the several ways of dressing it.

The Labouring Man who works with the Farmer takes of him his Butter and Cheese; for every poor Man's Case is not to keep a Cow; and such Labourers will be as willing to take Fish from the Farmer as any other Victuals, if he be willing to spare it.

There are few Farmers but will spend the Value of a Barrel of Fish yearly, and
he

he that does so shall save 20 in the Hundred by buying the quantity of a Barrel together, rather than by Retail.

And because the Country shall be better serv'd with Fish and other Commodities than they have been, we will make several Staples of Salt, Coles, and other Merchandize desir'd by the Country, where Boats may have Passage up the Rivers not us'd heretofore: As namely, *Middlesex*, part of *Hertfordshire*, *Surrey*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Oxfordshire*, may be serv'd by the River of *Thames*.

Essex may serve it self, part of *Hertfordshire*, and part of *Suffolk*.

Norfolk will serve *Cambridgeshire*, part of *Suffolk*, *Bedfordshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Northamptonshire*, and a Staple there made will serve *Warwickshire*; for from thence go their empty Carts to fetch Coles, which may furnish the Shire with little Charge.

Lincolnshire will furnish it self, *Nottinghamshire* part of *Rutlandshire*, and *Derbyshire* by the *Trent*; *Cumberland* and *Westmerland* will furnish themselves by the East and West Sea.

We will leap over the Land to the Westward, as *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, which will furnish themselves, part of *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Staffordshire*, and the North Part of *Wales*.

That side of the Sea will furnish *Wales* till you come to *Severn*.

The North side thereof will furnish *Pembrokeshire*, *Carmarthenshire*, *Glamorganshire*, and *Monmouthshire*, and the South part thereof will serve the North side of *Cornwal*, *Devon*, and *Somerset*; and up the River of *Severn* will serve *Glocestershire*, *Hertfordshire*, part of *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Wiltshire*.

The South Sea of *England* will furnish *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Hampshire*, and part of *Wiltshire*, *Sussex*, *Kent*, and part of *Surrey*.

Thus is *England* and *Wales* compass'd, and a Consideration to be had for the meetest Place to erect our Staples, to utter the Commodities brought them, and to receive from them.

If at any time Corn fails the Countries, we will hereafter supply them at a reasonable Rate with our Trade to *Dantzick* with Herrings: If Plenty make it warrantable to transport by the Statute, we will take it off from them, so as they shall have no just Cause to complain either of Dearth or Abundance.

We will provide that no Rogues or Vagabonds shall be to them Annoyance, or the Poor of the Parish charge them; for all such People shall be set to work by

us: Then will the Contributions to the House of Correction cease, which will be a more ease to the Parishioners, than the value of many a Barrel of Herrings which they shall take off from us.

When our Staples shall be erected in the Country as aforesaid, out of them we will furnish every Parish within the Kingdom with Hemp by weight, to set the People to work, and to receive it again by weight, allowing every one such a Rate for their Work, that they may live well thereby. No Girl nor Boy of 9 years of age, no Man nor Woman how lame of their Legs soever, but shall be able to get their Livings; no Person so blind, but may live without Alms.

For besides the making of Nets, and such Work as belongs to it, we will set up a Trade of making of Cables, and all manner of Ropes, as well to vent abroad, as furnish the Kingdom at home; as also Pole-Davies for Sails, and not be beholding to *France* for them.

All these Reasons consider'd, it is apparent that the Farmers and People of the Inward Country, who hitherto have not tasted of these Happinesses, and whose Passages by Water have not been frequented or known, shall reap as great a Commodity and Profit by this Fishing, as our selves; and have no more Reason therefore to refuse the taking of our Herrings, in the manner aforesaid, than we have to take off the Commodities by which they live. And this shall suffice for the second Point of venting our Fish.

These Six several Trades following we will erect in all Parts of *England*, not hitherto practis'd but in some Places near the Sea side:

Hempsters,	Ropemakers,
Spinsters,	Weavers of Pole-Davies, and
Corders,	Net-Makers.

Besides the Encrease of Coopers, Smiths, Shipwrights, Caulkers, Sawyers, Sailors, Fishermen, Basket makers, Sail-makers, Labourers, and many other Trades in great abundance.

In Answer to the third Allegation of Couzenage and Deceits amongst our selves, by Example of the *East-Indies*, *Virginia*, and other Trades, I cannot say whether they deserve the Imputation of the Fraud that is cast upon them or no; for Report is like an Echo, heard, but no Man knows where: But to give Satisfaction as well in the managing our Trade, as that Truth speaks it, no Deceit can creep in at it, as that which follows shall

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declare: It is not intended (as I conceive) that a Select Company shall have the disposing of this Fishing, as the other has, or to receive, disburse, or employ the Moneys raised by the Adventurers, or to direct and order Things at their Pleasure; but contrarywise, for Example, Whosoever shall be a Member in it, shall have his Choice what to adventure, with whom to adventure, and the manner how to adventure, without Controulment of any other: As this, If he undertake for a Buss or a Ship, it shall be in his Choice to accept of a Partner, two, three, four, or more.

And after the Value of their Adventure, to erect so many Ships as it shall please themselves to nominate, and appoint such Persons for the ordering of it as they shall make Choice of: So that if Deceit appear, it will be among themselves, for no body else shall meddle in their Adventure.

But because in all Commonwealths there must be a Head to Govern, and execute Justice, to which the rest of the Body must submit, it is convenient that the supreme Commission and Authority be given to some of the Lords of his Majesty's Honourable Privy Council, and other Persons of Quality to be chosen, as well in the Kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as in *England*, to settle a Form of Government, with a Judge to Rule, and to provide for all Mischiefs and Inconveniencies that may happen betwixt Man and Man, and prevent the Abuses and Questions that may arise betwixt Merchants, Mariners, Owners of Ships, Salters, Coopers, and others whom it may concern: But these Commissioners are in no wise to handle or meddle with the Parties in their Adventures, or with their Stocks of Money, or with the Employment of it.

Farthermore, to stop the Mouths of such suspicious Conceits of Fraud, you shall find it is not in the wit of Man to over-reach them, for the Reasons following: The Quantity of Fish that a Buss takes cannot be conceal'd; for of necessity she must repair to the Ports of *England* or *Scotland*, where the Customers enter every Barrel of Fish in their Books, and none can be transported without a Cocker: Besides the number of Cask they pay for, they must look to have them fill'd, and likewise the quantity of Salt bought, to have it employ'd.

The Price, as well of those that are vented at home, as transported abroad, is easily known; the usual Freight of Ships and the Factorage is soon guess'd at; and

therefore no Means left for Deceit to enter in at.

Now to return once more to the Fishing, where we left the Busses for that Summer, and provide them against the middle of *November*, to repair to the Island of *Lewes*, where, till the beginning of *February*, they shall take the principal Herrings of all others, in Loughs and Harbours, as I have formerly declared.

Which being done about the first of *March*, they depart from thence to the Island of *Rona*, betwixt 15 and 16 Leagues from *Lewes*, from whence there runs a Bank of 100 Miles in length, and as far as *Till-Head* in *Ireland*; which Bank affords the best quantity of Cod and Ling of any part of the Seas, and 100 and odd years not us'd.

From the first of *March*, as I have said, to the 20th of *June*, is the time I have assign'd to repair to *Brasound* in *Shetland*; in which space I make account they will fill their Vessels twice or thrice with Cod and Ling, and leave them in the Island of *Lewes*, there to be fetch'd by other Ships that shall bring Salt, and all other kind of Necessaries which shall be fitting.

The 20th of *June* approaching, the Busses are to repair to *Brasound*, as I have said before; from whence they must prosecute their Fishing of Herrings, as in the former year, till their Arrival at *Yarmouth*. If then they please to take an Account of their year spent, it will appear that one Buss employ'd by us, as I have projected it, will be of much more Value than to the *Hollanders*, and be the way to teach us how his Majesty's Dominions shall flourish, not for a while, but for ever.

At *Yarmouth* we may account the goodness of the Herrings spent; for betwixt *Winterton* and *Orfordness* they use to Spawn, and are called by the *Hollanders* the Rope-sick Herrings, which they forbear to take.

The Nature of the young Herring, after it is Spawn'd, is to seek the Comfort of the fresh Water, and put themselves into the Mouth of the *Thames*, or amongst the Sands, where the Water is not altogether so brackish; but like poor silly Creatures they are here entrapped by the Stale Nets, that use to take the Sprats; but for one Sprat they take, they catch 100 of these young Herrings, and bring them to *Billinggate*, where they sell them not for above 2 d. or 3 d. a Peck; which if let alone, would by *Midsummer* following grow to be a perfect and big Herring, worth 25 or 30 s. a Barrel. This Mischief must be prevented, and the Fishermen enjoin'd not to go to the Westward of *Orfordness* to take Sprats.

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From *Orfordness*, the Herrings direct their Courle to the *Northforeland* in *Kent*, where they furnish both the *English* and *French* Shores with so many as are taken by both Nations, tho' they be both shotten, and of the worst kind.

Their abiding hereabouts is according to the Winds; if it hang Southerly or Westerly, they remain the longer; but if Easterly, they are taken, as it were, with the Wind in the Poop, which carries them the length of our Chanel, till they arrive at the *Lands.end* in *Cornwal*, from whence they divide themselves like a Fleet of Ships that should be directed by a General; some go through *St. George's* Chanel, betwixt *England* and *Ireland*; others to the Westward of *Ireland*, till they arrive at the Islands of *Hebrides* or *Lewes*, the Place of Rendezvous; and we may suppose, they are at home, by the Strength and Goodness they find in that Place; for tho' they run the length of our Chanel, lean and sick, yet as soon as they repair to those Islands, they become the largest the fairest, and the best Herrings in the World; and here they are taken in Loughs and harbours, as I have said, and valu'd at 40s. the Last above others.

Here I will leave them taking their Rest, and shew another Benefit we shall receive upon the Shoals of *Shetland*, *Orkney*, and the *Hebrides*, which the *Hollanders* have not, nor cannot make use of, in respect they are not Subjects of His Majesty.

And because I have persu'd the Herrings till I left them at the Islands of *Lewes*, I will begin with those Islands, and truly say, They are placed for the Benefit of Fishing above all places in the World.

The Condition and Situation of those Islands I refer to the Map, that will give you Light of their Seat, their Altitude, and their Neighbourhood with *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but the Nature and Disposition of the People you shall receive from me, who have seen them, and can best speak of them.

Of many Hundred Islands belonging to this Kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, I may say, those of *Lewes* exceed the rest in Fertility of Soil: It yields, with the Labour of People, (which they are not guilty of) all manner of Grain, Cattel, Fish, and Fowl; and altho' their Fire be not of Wood, or Coles, which we esteem the best Fewel, yet it hath Plenty of Peate and Turf, that they have little Cause to fear Cold.

There is an old Saying, which may be well applied to those Islands, and the Inhabitants of them, That they have a good

Land, and are ill People; for to speak the Truth, the Christian World cannot shew a more barbarous, more bloody, and more untam'd Generation. But His Majesty being lately inform'd of their Breeding, and uncivil Living, is graciously pleas'd to reduce them to the Knowledge of God, and the Acknowledgment of him, which hitherto they are ignorant in.

This being done, and the Islands being furnish'd as is intended. I will make it appear, that the Seas about them, and the Loughs and Harbours within them, will yield more Commodity to the Subjects of His Majesty's Three Kingdoms, than any other Trades whatsoever, either near home, or far abroad.

Now will I stand over for the Islands of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which have no need of other Description, but that it is pity so good and civil People should inhabit no better a Country: We may say the contrary of them that we said of the Island of *Lewes*, That it was a good Land, but evil People; these are good People, but possess an evil Soil.

The way to relieve them, is humbly to intreat His Majesty to please to accept of his Revenue in *Orkney* and *Shetland* in Fish, to Encourage the People of those Islands to Undertake and Practise the Use of Fishing, which through Poverty and the Want of Trade they are not now able to go through with.

Besides the Rent to His Majesty in Fish, whatsoever Fish they shall take by their own Labours, we will take off from them, and supply them with Salt, Nets, Hooks, Boats, and what else they shall stand in need of; by means whereof, every Man in those Islands shall be able to subsist and maintain himself, that now knows not how to get his Living, but is brought up in Sloth and Idleness.

What is requisite for the Planting of the Island of Lewes, and other Islands adjacent.

1. It is fit His Majesty call in the Grant lately made by the Earl of *Seaford* to the *Hollanders*, for inhabiting of the said Islands, who take them purposely to erect a Fishing upon that Coast, whereby to defeat His Majesty's Subjects of that Benefit.

2. That His Majesty grant Liberty and Privileges to his Subjects of *England* and *Scotland*, there to erect and inhabit Towns, Villages, Storehouses, and all manner of Manufactures and Trades; that hereafter we shall not need to supply those Islands, but find all Things establish'd to our hands, as in all other Places of *Europe*,
Y y y 2 where

where Trades are upheld and maintain'd.

3. That His Majesty institute a Governor there, to be resident for the space of Three Years, and not exceed that Time, lest in longer continuance Abuses creep in through the Avarice of Governors.

4. That in every Island there be erected one principal Town above the rest, and a Cittadel in it, to keep the People in Obedience; for the Inhabitants of those Islands are naturally inclin'd to Incivility, Treachery, and Liberty, which are next Neighbours to Rebellion.

5. That every Child be taught the *English* or *Scottish* Language, and that their Education be according to their Abilities of Body, and Disposition of Mind, or as the Estates of their Parents are able to maintain them, some in Learning, some in Manuring and Husbanding of Grounds, but the most part in Fishing and Sea-Affairs, having so convenient a Seat for the same.

6. That the natural Inhabitants of those Islands have no Correspondence with the *Hollanders* upon the main Continent more than is needful, considering the Danger that may ensue by their too great Friendship, who are naturally the most dangerous and worst People of all His Majesty's Dominions; and that there be special Care that they Marry one with another in the Island, or with *English* or *Scottish*, and in any Cases to prohibit all Marriages between them and the Islanders aforesaid.

I have annex'd hereunto what I think fit to be put in present Execution, for Planting the Islands of *Hebrides*; which being done, all the Good formerly express'd will follow; besides, there are other Things, which I forbear to touch, as Matters not fit for me to handle.

I have brought my Intention to an End, and laid open the Milchief our State has long suffer'd by resigning, at least conniving at the *Hollanders* Fishing, who have made long use of it.

I have made it appear how easie it is for us to enjoy, or to be restor'd to what we have lost, and the Profit all kind of People shall reap by it, if Will and Money be not wanting. I have made it plain to as many as desire to know the Truth, That the encrease of Ships in *Europe*, is occasion'd by the Taking and Transporting our Fish: That 9000 *Holland* Vessels are kept by it, and all their People daily set to work, insomuch that I dare boldly say, If the Food of Fish were prohibited by all sorts of Christians, and duly observ'd, it would lessen the Number of Shipping Three Parts in Five. And therefore see-

ing our Fish is able to make us happy, and this Narration lays down the Way how to attain to that Happiness, let neither Excuses, false Pretences, or Affection to the *Hollanders*, divert us from it, as it did in the Year 1609, when by Proclamation the *Hollanders* were to resort to *London* for Licence to fish on the Coast of *England*; and *Edinburgh*, for the like in *Scotland*; and yet neither of them both was perform'd, nor the Contempt question'd.

Two Hundred Usurers, with willing Minds and forward Purfes, are able to master this Work; but I fear, the Devil, whose Friendship is not to Advise, but to Deceive them, will not allow a Gain so well gotten. The excessive Practice of Usury is the Decay of Commonwealths, repugnant to all Humanity, Charity, and Natural Benevolence, and a Slavery to those that desire to live Poor to die Rich.

But to speak the Truth, it is pity that a Work of so great Goodness and Gain should be tainted by Men of so pennurious a Condition, who are neither Good nor Evil by the Disposition of another, but by their own perverse Will and Nature: God, I fear, will bless our Endeavours the worse for them, they are like Trees that carry no Blossoms in the Spring, and therefore no hope of any Fruit at the Fall.

This Work is unspotted; and pity it should be desir'd with the Sin of Avarice. His Majesty's Greatness and Glory will appear by it, for nothing can be to a Prince more Royal, than to make the State of his Kingdom better than he found it; or of evil and slothful Servants, to make them Profitable to a Commonwealth.

This shall suffice for so much as concerns our manner of Fishing, our Commodity arising by Fishing, and the Use other Nations make of our Fish, which I have divulg'd to many of my intimate Friends: And now shall follow other Matters, still concerning the Subject of Fishing; and the first shall be touching Salt and Cask.

Concerning Salt and Cask.

The next necessary Thing we can endeavour and labour to advance our Fishing by, without being beholding to other Nations, is Salt and Cask; for in my former Narration I have shew'd, that most of the Materials belonging to our Fishing may be found in *England*, except Salt, Pitch, and Tar: And to take Fish without Salt to save it, is like choice of Meats and no Cook,

or

or others to dress it; for both putrify without present help.

Such Salts as are for the use of Fishing are of divers Kinds and Strength, some too hot and strong, others too weak and faint: and therefore if a Mean betwixt both could be invented, and made within His Majesty's Dominions, we might esteem it a great Jewel, and next in value to the Philosopher's Stone; and the finder out of the Secret to deserve as great Honour of his Country as *William Bacalute*, who was the first Diviser of Packing of Herrings amongst the *Flemings*, as in my former Relation I have declar'd.

There are many, as I am inform'd, at this day, who make trial to attain to the Art and Secret of making Salt; I mean with the convenient strength for the Salting and Pickling of Fish, I do not speak of the making of our White Salt, long practis'd in *England* and *Scotland*; for that kind of Salt of it self, is not for this use, and yet not bad, if according to the quantity it be mixed with the stronger Salt, for it makes a Fish the whiter and better to the Eye for Sale.

Those that undertake this Work and Invention of adding strength to Salt, above our ordinary White Salt, must have a care of the place they chuse to make it in; First, for the conveniency of the taking it off by Fishermen when it is made; Secondly, such a place where the Salt water hath no mixture with Freshes or Sands; and Thirdly, where they shall find plenty of Fuel for their purpose.

The first Practice that was made of it, was in the Isle of *Wight*, a place in my Opinion, ill chosen by the Projectors; First, for uttering of their Salt, if they had brought it to Perfection; for the greatest quantity they could vent, is at *Tarmouth* in *Norfolk*, and the Coast Towns thereabouts, to the Northernmost part of all *Scotland*, which was almost as great a Voyage as to bring it from the Coast of *Britany* where it is made.

Neither had the West Country any advantage in the Transportation, for that all the Ports of *Dartmouth*, *Plimouth*, and all parts of *Severn*, which only use the Fishing of *Ireland* and *Newfoundland*, shall be easier and more conveniently serv'd out of *Britany* with Salt, than from the Isle of *Wight*; *Southampton* and *Portsmouth* alone would receive benefit, by reason of their nearness, and not considerable, in respect of the little Fishing they use.

The Isle of *Wight* was a place as ill chosen, in respect of the brackishness of the Sea, and scarcity of Fuel, in comparison

of the Northern parts, that can be supply'd with Coals at an easier rate; and for proof of the freshness of the Sea, in comparison of other Seas, these are my Reasons; Where Two Lands make a Streight so small, as betwixt *England* and *France*, and both the Kingdoms send forth many fresh Rivers which fall into the Sea, the Sea cannot have such force of Strength or Saltness, as the Northern Coast has, where the Ocean comes pouring in upon them.

We see by experience in *Holland*, that the Salt they make, is not with the Water that comes near those Towns where they make it, tho' a Man that knew not the contrary would sensibly think it had sufficient Saltness for that purpose; but they find it otherwise, and have Ships purposely made to fill themselves with the Salt Water off at Sea, and not near the Land.

And if the *Hollanders* make so great a profit as they do, by their Salt, imagine what we shall make of it, when we have obtain'd the use of making it, considering our Water by proof is Salter, nearer hand, and our Coals at a far cheaper rate, if our Works be set up at *Tarmouth*, *Lynn*, *Boston*, *Hull*, *Tinmouth*, the *Holy Island*, and all the parts of *Scotland*; in which Harbours our Fishermen either dwell, or will resort thither daily for Salt.

Therefore I conclude, if the Perfection of the Work may be brought to pass, either in making Salt of sufficient strength, out of Invention; or if not, in Imitation of the *Hollanders* to make Salt upon Salt; the Towns aforesaid are the meetest to set up that Trade of Salt; and the rather because they have now in practise the making of White Salt, and the other will be the sooner effected by it.

And for such Salt as shall be us'd in the *Lewes*, there is no place lies more convenient for the making of Salt of any kind, than in that Island, the Sea having an extraordinary Saltness, and the Country affording so great plenty of Fuel.

The *English* and *Scotch* Fishermen that shall use that Fishing, shall find as great, and as extraordinary Profit and Gain, by receiving their Salt at the Island when they shall there arrive, as the freight of their Ships will come to: For whereas they use now to bring in their Ship the best part of their Lading in Salt, finding there Salt made ready to their hands, instead of Salt, they shall lade themselves with Cask, and other things wanting for their use.

Salt upon Salt is made out of the strength of Salt that cometh out of other Countries.

France

France sends out the greatest part of Salt, and according to its Strength, the Salt it makes is of less Vertue and Operation, and the more of it is spent in the Salting of Fish.

The *Portuguese* and *Spanish* Salt is the stronger in Substance, by reason of the Sun's Power; for according to the Heat and Force of the Sun, Salt encreaseth in strength.

To the Southward of *Spain*, and as far as *Cape Verde* and the Island of *May*, as also Westward from thence to *Cape de Ray*, and other places in the *West-Indies*, the Salt is far stronger than in *Spain*, by reason of the force of the Sun; and it will make double Salt to the other.

But whereas it is alleg'd by some, that know not what belongs to the business, that the going so far, as to the places aforesaid for Salt, will not quit the Charge: To answer that Objection they must know, That if Profit arise by this Trade, it must be in the built and bigness of Ships they employ; for I would not advise a Ship of less than 300 Tuns, but as much bigger as they please to be sent upon that Voyage; and such Ships to be provided out of *Holland*, till we get use in Building them, for they will Sail with Two Thirds less Men than ours.

And moreover it is to be consider'd, that the Salt they there fetch costs nothing; for it is there naturally made of the Seawater and the Sun, and nothing is required but their Labour and Pains in bringing it aboard.

If we hit of our Salt making in *England*, it will prove a great benefit to us; for the King of *France* and the King of *Spain*, lately finding a necessity for all Nations to take off their Salt, have laid a Gabel and Custom upon it, and thereby encreas'd the Price so much, that we and all *Europe* besides find it.

For such Parts of the West Country as border upon the *South Sea*, or upon the River of *Severn*, either on the *English* or *Welsh* Shore, I will refer to their Consideration, whether they will be serv'd out of *France*, *Spain*, and the Isle of *May*, or other places; or whether they will follow the example of the Northern parts in making Salt upon Salt, as I have shew'd. If they intend this latter, their Country lies very conveniently by the help of Coals they shall have from *Swansey* in *Wales*.

After this Work is settled and brought to Perfection, I advise there may be an equal Carriage of it, betwix the Buyer and the Seller, that they may both live with an indifferent Profit and Gain;

and so to accommodate it, that the Buyer may be certain of the price; if not, this Inconveniency will follow, That the Salt Master will Transport the Salt beyond Sea, where it goes at the greatest rate: Like Corn-masters, if they were not prohibited by a Law, not respecting the Good that would redound to their Country; so much is their covetous desire of Profit: But being bound to serve the Kingdom at a certain Price, and that we shall find no want nor scarcity of it, let them after have liberty to dispose of it for the best Benefit; but according to the old Saying, Charity should begin at home.

There must be a Penalty also upon him that will buy or be furnish'd with Salt, under colour of Fishing, and shall notwithstanding transport the same into any Parts beyond the Seas, or otherwise, for his private Gain. As well this Abuse, as many others that can be imagined to creep in, must be foreseen and prevented.

According to the strength of our Salt, you may rate the Quantity that goes to the salting a Barrel of Herrings, and so estimate it from 1 Barrel to 100 Lasts, viz. a Weigh of Salt is 40 Bushels, and every Bushel will salt a Barrel of Herrings; so that 12 Bushels will salt a Last of Herrings, being 12 Barrels of 32 Gallons to a Barrel. A Last of Herrings is Two Tuns after the *English* Account.

And if you can bring the Salt to the Proportion of 3 *l.* 10 *s.* the Weigh, it were a Price indifferent betwixt the Buyer and the Seller; yea, tho' you proportion the *Spanish* Salt at a greater Price, and our White Salt at a lesser, yet if betwixt both it may be Rated equal, as I have said, at 3 *l.* 10 *s.* the Weigh, it were very well.

The same Proportion of Salt you must use to the Codd, viz. a Bushel of Salt to a Barrel of Codd. And as for Ling, it is not to be Barrell'd up, but to be Salted in Bulk, which will take up much the less Salt.

The next Consideration about our Fishing, is, How to make our provision of Cask, as well for Herring as for Cod; the greatest quantity which furnishes the *Hollanders*, is brought out of *Norway*, *Sweden*, and other parts of the *Sound*, which they return in their Ships, after they have made Sale of their Fish in those parts.

The same Course we may take, if we be so pleased, or that we cannot return a better Freight for our Ships: But we have an easier and a nearer way to be supplied with Cask; for no Country of *Europe* affords better Provision of Timber, or Ash to make them, or more convenience

ency to transport them to what Coast soever we shall Fish on, in his Majesty's Dominions: This Benefit we enjoy above the *Hollanders*, who have not in their Country one whole Timber Tree for this purpose, but are serv'd from abroad, as I have formerly said.

All kind of Wood that belongs to the Building of Ships, or other Works that have relation to Timber, we do, and shall find, in a little time, a great want of; for Wood is now utterly decay'd in *England*, and begins to be no less in *Ireland*, if there be not a speedy Course taken to redress it, and a prohibition against the transporting of out of *Ireland* into *Holland*, which the *Hollanders* make a continual Trade of, not only of Timber, but also of all other Commodities *Ireland* affords, greatly to the prejudice of the *English*; and for the better proof thereof they have erected a Company in *Amsterdam*, by the name of the *Irish Company*.

And therefore I would to God his Majesty would take these things into Consideration; as also to restrain the felling of Timber in *England*, which is too common by the Liberty that is given to Widows, to Fell and Sell without Impeachment or Waste; and to young Heirs, after they come to possess their Father's Lands; for the readiest Monies they can think on towards their wastful Expences, is a Sale of Timber; and whilst this is suffered, and no provision for Preserving or Planting of Trees, as the Law provides for in that case, what can be imagin'd will fall to *England* hereafter in succeeding times? For if Money or Wealth decay in a Kingdom, there may be means by Trade to recover it again; If Seamen die, so long as there are Ships and Navigation they will soon encrease, and make their Deaths forgotten; but if our Timber be consumed, and spent, it will require the Age of 3 or 4 Generations before it can grow again for use; which we ought the more to respect, because the *English* Timber far exceeds the *Irish* in Lightness and Goodness.

Tho' the Carriage of Ship-Timber be prohibited, and as daily executed; yet there are divers Abuses that must be look'd to and prevented, as well in this kind of Timber, as in vent of our own Red Herrings; the Deceits whereof, betwixt the *English* and the *Hollanders*, Combiners, you shall understand by this that follows.

The *Hollanders* have gotten a late Practice, by their Inwardness and Friendship with some Men of *Yarmouth*, (for naturally that Town is more enclined to *Holland* than

England, as descended from thence;) these *English* Dwellers take upon them the Building of Ships, according to direction of the other, who underhand disburse the Money; and the Ship being Built, the *English* in shew make Sale of her to the *Hollander*; when his Title in the Ship, is perhaps 30 *l.* to colour the Deceit. There are many other things to be provid'd, that upon examination would discover many Abuses offered both to the King and Subjects.

These Combiners stop not here, but craftily avoid his Majesty's Proclamation; for whereas, as I have formerly deliver'd, the Red Herring is only made in *Yarmouth*, and the *Hollanders* have in a manner the absolute Carriage of them into the *Streights*; and although the State is many times willing to prevent the Carriage of them by Strangers; yet craftily they use this Policy, speedily to send away the Herrings in *English* Vessels to *Holland*, as soon as they are made, from whence they immediately ship them for the *Streights*, before our great Ships can take them in at *Yarmouth*: Other times they meet such Ships as come from *Yarmouth* laden with Herrings, off the Sands of *Yarmouth*, where they ride, take them in, and carry them directly to the *Streights*; many days before ours can be ready at *Yarmouth* in our great Ships; by which advantage of time, they get their Port, and make Sale of their Herrings, long before our arrival there, and sell them at a double Price to us at our coming, to an inestimable Loss, both to his Majesty's Subjects and to his Customs, as I have said before; by the Precedent of a Ship freighted from *Yarmouth* to *Marseilles*.

And therefore to avoid this Cunning and Cofenage, it is fitting his Majesty prohibit the Transportation of Fish, except in his Subjects' bottoms, and a Day to be limited for the Transportation, that we may be sure to be near our Port, before the Strangers can follow us out of *England*; so shall we be sure to make our Market before the Strangers can depart *England*, which will be a great Advantage to us.

As this Deceit appears in the Vent of our Red Herrings, so there is no less unconscionable Course held betwixt the *Hollanders* and *English* Fishermen, that takes the Pilchards and Poor John, the one in *England*, the other in *Newfoundland*; for such is the necessity of the poor Fishermen, that they receive Impress of part of their Money before-hand, to perform strict Conditions they are bound to, much to their prejudice, and the *Hollanders* Advantage; whereas if the *English* had the absolute

absolute Carriage of Fish, they would attain to the Secrets of that Trade, and deal more reasonably with Poor Men than the others do.

I have before in this Book computed the Value of 60 Ships, of 250 Tuns each, what the *Hollanders* gain by the Trade of our Fish into the *Streights*, and not one Penny thereof return'd into *England*; and for a more Authentick Proof, I desire that Merchants may be examined upon the Truth thereof, and then you shall find my Computation to fall out right; and for your better Satisfaction, I will set down the several Ports within the *Streights*, and the Number of Ships that repair to them; by which it will appear what Loss this Kingdom has for so many Years sustain'd, and what Gain and Profit may be made by it, if it be reduc'd into our Hands; besides the Strength of Ships, the Encrease of Mariners, and Fame this Nation will reap by it.

An Estimate of what went before.

A Ship of 250 Tuns, will carry,	}	1600 l.
in Fish, to the value of ———		
Freight for the same, at 5 l. the	}	1250 l.
Tun ———		
Assurance, 5 l. per Cent. ———		0080 l.
Charges at <i>Venice</i> at the least ———		0400 l.
All this is lost by the Stran-	}	621750 l.
ger's carrying of it, and cal-		
culating 60 Ships after this		
Proportion, there is lost the		
Sum of ———		

Twelve for *Venice*; 8 with Pilchards, 4 with Red-Herrings.

Four to *Ancona*; whereof 3 with Pilchards, one with Red-Herrings.

Six to *Civita Vecchia*.

Six to *Genova*.

Eight to *Naples*.

Twenty to *Leghorn*.

Three to *Villa-Franca*.

Forty six to *Marseilles*, whereof 30 with Dry Fish.

In all 105 Ships, besides many more smaller for *Spain* and *France*; as I have shew'd.

Here shall follow some indirect Dealings of the *Hollanders*, which I forbore to insert in the former Discourse of Fishing, and shall be inserted at the End of this Book; but I will still prosecute the Subject of Fish and Fishing, and will not cease till I have laid open every Coast of the known World, whither Fish resorts,

and shew the Benefit that is or may be made of it, as well by the Inhabitants as Strangers.

Concerning Fish and Fishing.

There are two Natural Foods for Man to feed on; the one is Flesh, maintain'd and encreas'd by the Fruitfulness of the Land and Soil of the Earth; the other is Fish, swimming in the common, spacious, and open Sea, which no Man can challenge a Right to, as to the Land they may, and therefore it may be called Common.

This Fish requires no Head, as Beasts and Cattle do, to overlook them, or to keep them in their Limits or Bounds; no Man can set his Mark upon them, to challenge a Property in them: No Body that casts a Net into the Sea, can say what belongs to them, till it be drawn again: No Difficulty or Care can be requir'd to nourish it, seeing there is such abundance encreased over all the Seas and Coasts in the World, as Experience teaches us.

The Difficulty in making use of this Food is in the Taking it, which is done by Art, Engines and Pains; for unless the Prerogative of Princes in some Cases, and upon some Coasts, prohibit the Sufferance of taking Fish, it is as lawful for a Beggar as a King to challenge Right to it, alter it is taken.

The Use of Fishing, and the Benefit that arises by it, needs no other repetition, than in my former Declaration.

There now only remains my Labour and Observation to collect the Sorts of Fishes every Country affords, and which are used for present Food, and which are sent abroad by way of Trade; and then I will refer it to Consideration, what Penu-ry *Europe*, which is the most flourishing Part of the World, would be brought to, were it not for the Endeavours and Labours of the Poor Fishermen.

Besides the general Fishes of Herring and Codd, taken upon the Coast of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and vented, as in the Narration aforesaid, there are many excellent Fishes upon every Maritime Shire in *England*, which are of great Sustenance to the Inhabitants, and which I forbear to name, but will set down only such Fish as is vented abroad, and returns Gain and Commodity to the Kingdom by way of Traffick.

As the Northern Parts of *England* yield both Codd and Herring, as aforesaid, so do the Western Coasts Pilchards in such abundance that many times they are not

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able to save the third Part of them, for want of Salt, as appears in the last Wars with *France*.

Ireland affords these three kinds of Fishes in as great Numbers as *England*; and the Herrings and Pilchards exceed ours, which makes them valu'd above the *English* in other Countries. They have another Fish which frequents not our Shores, called the Hake, taken in the Deeps betwixt *England* and *Ireland*, much pris'd in *Biscay*; they have plenty of Kay, or Thornback, and Buckorm, which is Dry'd Whiting, much desir'd in *Britany*.

The several Parts of *England* have several Seasons of Fishing, some whereof I have shewed, but will add to it our Fishing at the *Sow*, a Rocky Ground a League and more in length, and six Leagues South off at Sea to *Rie*: This is the principal Place that yields that primest fresh Fish that serves *London*, and the Place *France* did lately incroach upon, under Colour of five Boats Licensed by King *James*, at the Request of the *French* King. But his Subjects encreas'd almost to as many Scores as Boats, till by Order of the State, I reduc'd it to the allow'd Proportion, as is to be seen in my Second Book.

Upon the Coast of *Lancashire*, the Fishing for Codd begins at *Easter*, and continues till *Midsummer*; for Hake in the Deeps, as I have said, betwixt *Whitsonide* and *St. James*; about *Padstow* for Codd and Ling, from *Christmas* to the middle of *Lent*; on the North Part of *Ireland*, from *Christmas* to *March*.

Englishmen have not the use of Barrelling up of Codd, and if it be not Barrell'd it is not vendible in *France*; neither can they make Haberdine, for if they could it would be well sold in *Spain* and *Portugal*.

Now to the Fishing upon the Coast of *Holland*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and other Countries where the Sea affords Fish, but no great use is made thereof, more than for present Food; for neither Herrings nor Codd are there to be found, which are the staple and vendible Fish for Profit.

The Coast of *Holland* yields the least Quantity and the worst Choice of Fish of all the rest; and yet Fish is there most eaten out of Necessity, having so many People that inhabit the Countrey, and so little quantity of Land for their sustenance. The greatest Store of Fish that maintains them is taken upon our Seas, and kept in Well-boats, and brought into *Holland*, where it is vented and sold.

Coming upon the Coast of *France*, the first Town you shall find to entertain you, will be *Callus*, which in truth exceeds all other Places of that Kingdom for the present Food of Fish; not that they are such Fishes as I have named before, either for Quality, for Quantity taken, or Provision to take them; for their Boats are only Shallops, not above a Tun burthen, unless it be in *October*, when their bigger Vessels resort thither to take the last Shole of Herrings that comes from the Northward: And it happen'd in the Year, 1610. that 50 Sail of those Vessels were sunk, and 800 People in them, as they were there Fishing.

If you keep along the Shore of *France* till you arrive at *St. John de Luz*, the furthestmost Part thereof, it affords no other Fish but for present spending, except at some time of the Year that they salt their spare Mackrels, which at the time of the Year they take.

Biscay is like *France* in the nature of Fish, and Fishing upon their own Coast: But what Profit either of them make by their Fishing upon the Shores of *America*, I will after shew; only I must say, that *Biscay* is often visited with monstrous Fishes, as Whales and Gramposses, which none of the rest I have spoken of are in abundance, which yields the Taker of them more Commodity by the Oil, than the value of other Fish.

The next in order is *Galicia*, and *Portugal*, as far as Cape *St. Vincent*, the Southernmost Promontory of all that Coast, or of *Europe*: I'll join them in one, because they are all one Continent, and subject to one King. They both afford Fish alike in a reasonable Quantity, but especially of Pilchards; and here they are so Excellent above others, and so necessary to the People of *Portugal*, that the Countrey had better want their *East-India* Trade, than their Fishing for Pilchards upon that Coast.

Doubling the Cape of *St. Vincent*, you tend East, as far as the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*; Besides the Fish these Seas afford to equal the rest of *Portugal*, it is haunted with a Fish called *Tunny*, a Victual of great use, in that it is Pickled up in Barrels, and serves for Sea-store, besides a great quantity that is transported into the *Streights*: The Custom of this Fish is worth in value to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, 40000*l.* Sterling a Year. The fattest *Tunny* is near *Gibraltar*.

After you enter the *Streights*, that Sea cannot be compar'd to the others, neither in quantity nor in goodness of Fish;

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tho' one kind of Fish they have which the others have not, which is Anchovies, esteem'd for a great Dainty amongst us, because of the Rareness of it, and coming so far; and yet I think our Sprats and young Herrings in *England* might be made to equal them in Taste.

In returning out of the *Streights*, we will keep the Coast of *Barbary* Westward, as high as Cape *Canteene*, in which Circuit there is very little Fish taken, tho' no doubt but the Sea affords as good Fish as upon the Christian Shore, opposite to it, but that the *Moors* are no Fishermen, nor have Provision or Harbours for it.

The Christians enjoy all these Sports, except *Sally*, so that if the *Moors* had conveniency of Fishing, yet the Christians would have hinder'd them, that they should have reap'd no Benefit by it.

From *Canteene* to the Southward there are two Roads upon the Coast of *Barbary*, *Safin* and *Sancta Cruz*; and in the middle betwixt them there is a small Island call'd *Mogothore*, but no manner of Fish in any of those Places, nor Vessels for that purpose.

To the Southward of *Sancta Cruz* there is plenty of Hake taken by the *Spaniards*, who go purposely out of *Spain* thither to fish: Somewhat I can say hereof, by Proof of a Bark of mine that was freighted from *Sevil*, and fitted with Salt, Hooks, and Lines, and made a good Return of her Fish into *Spain* back again.

To the Southward of this Place, and as far as Cape *Blanco*, the hithermost part of *Guinea*, there is an excellent Fishing for Porcus, somewhat like to an over-grown Sea-Bream, but much bigger: There are Yearly employ'd out of *Spain* 50 or 60 Vessels call'd *Canter*s, upon that Fishing only; and if they escape taking at their return, they make commonly a good Voyage: The only Inconveniency is, That upon that Coast the Winds hang continually betwixt the North and the East, so that many times they are forc'd to run a Westerly Course as far as the Islands of *Tercera*, which makes the Voyage the longer and more dangerous for meeting with the Enemies.

From this part of *Guinea* to the Southernmost Place thereof, which is the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Coast is inhabited by Negroes, except it be in some few Places, where the *Portugueses* have their Abode; but the Negroes are so ignorant in filling in Boats, that they know not what belongs to it, tho' there is plenty of Fish for Food, if Fishing were exercis'd.

It is an old Saying, that *there is Water*

enough in the Sea, but of no Use, because of the Saltness; and Fish sufficient in the Ocean, but not possible to take it. The greatest store of Fish for Food is upon Coasts, especially Islands, where they have space to swim about it; or in Shole Water, where a Line may reach the bottom: For in the main and large Ocean it's impossible to find Ground with all the Lines you can lengthen. Yet in the Hot and Southern Seas, there are these kinds of Fishes for Food, which swim high, and sometimes appear above the Water, (*viz.*) the Dolphin, the Bonito, the Dorado, and Shark, the last whereof does not Spawn, but Whelp like Bitches; she is Ravenous, unwholsome to eat, and so eager upon a Bait, or a Thing she shall snatch at, as I have known them bite a Man's Leg and Thigh away at a Bit, as he has been swimming. These Fishes are taken with Harping Irons, Filhgigs, and Hooks made purposely.

Besides these Fishes, which are good Sustainance to long Voyages, there are also Flying Fishes, but never taken but accidentally, when they are chas'd by the Dolphin, and forc'd to put themselves to flight; but as soon as their Wings or Fins grow dry, they may by chance light into a Ship, for longer they cannot fly.

There are no Islands to the Southward, great or small, beginning with the *Tercera's*, the *Canaries*, Cape *Verde*, all the Islands of the *West Indies*, the *Bermudas*, *St. Hellena*, &c. but have great store of Fish flocking about them; but the least Number in all the Seas is betwixt the two Tropicks, where there is no use made of them, for want of Harbours, fear of Enemies, and other Inconveniencies. Such Fish as are taken about the Island of *St. Hellena*, or the Coast of *Brazil*, the next Westerly Land to it, have a Virtue above all Fishes for delicious Taste and Wholesomeness, in both equal to the best Fleth with us.

Having follow'd and chas'd the Fish as far to the Southward as any known Land has given Light, let me once more return to know what the Northern Seas and the Islands yield in that cold Climate and Habitation, and we shall find it a great Proportion for the Food of Man. The Fish more naturally desire the Cold and Northern Seas, than the Hot and Southern Shores, where the Sun has so predominant a Power and Heat.

And to begin with the Northern Parts of *Europe*, I will arrive at *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Liesland*, whose Coasts abound in Fish, as well for their own Food, as for

for Sale abroad: I will call it Food to them, for in many places of *Norway* and *Finland* it serves for Bread to the Inhabitants, after it is dry'd in the Frost, and made Stockfish.

Now let us leave these Shores, and stand over to the Islands plac'd in those Northern Seas, a great many whereof belong to the Crown of *Denmark*; as namely *North-fare*, containing 30 in Number, *Frizeland*, *Iceland*, and others. And it is a marvelous thing to see with what abundance of Fish they are frequented, and what a number of Ships resort thither to take them, and after to vend them: For to speak of *England* alone, there go Yearly from the Northern and Eastern Coast 150 Ships, which employ 2500 Seafaring Men, that upon all occasions are ready to serve their Prince and Country.

All these Trades aforesaid are not to be told like new Stories, to breed Wonders; for Time has approv'd it ever since those Lands have been known to us: But as God gave a new Light of a new World by the Discovery of *America*, now daily known and frequented by us of *Europe*, and whose Soil yields Benefit to the Christian World; so did that God, that was the Maker of the Land, shew himself the same God, in pouring forth his Blessing upon the Sea, by the Riches and Encrease thereof, wherein *England* had some Honour thereby in the Discovery of *Newfoundland*, that since prov'd most Commodious to the Commonwealth, and most especially to the Western Parts thereof, by their Yearly Employment of 200 Sail of Ships thither.

The *French*, the *Biscayners*, and the *Portugueses*, were so much encourag'd at our Discovery of *Newfoundland*, as from that time, till this very day, they have upheld the Trade thereof, by the Fish they call *Baccallao*, and we *Poor John*; but by our continual haunting that Coast, we have found an Inconvenience alike, that the Fish grows less, the old Store being consumed by our continual Fishing.

The *Biscayners* not being contented with this Trade, where they found so many Neighbours to join with them, went farther to the Northward, and possess'd themselves of a Harbour which they named the *Grand Bay*, where they find, besides their *Baccallao*, abundance of Whales, where they make more Advantage by their Oyl than of the other.

The *French* being desirous to try Experiments, as well as the *Biscayners*, found a Fishing-Land 50 Leagues off to Sea from *Newfoundland*, and call'd it the *Bank*, where

commonly they make two Voyages Yearly, without resorting ashore to dry their Fish, and therefore it is call'd Wet-fish: And this I hold one of the best Means to maintain their Mariners in all *France*, which if in time of War we seek to beat them from this Fishing, we shall find them but indifferent Enemies at Sea.

The *French* alone, and no other Nation, have continu'd a Footing in these Countries, tho' we have often attempted to do the like, and fail'd. But in the late Years of our Wars with *France*, in 1628, we took their Fort, and possess'd it some time.

The *English* have had more absolute Trade to *Newfoundland* since the Year 1585 than ever before; for in that Year the War broke out betwixt *Spain* and us: Whereupon the Queen sent certain Ships to take such *Biscayners* and *Portugueses* as fished there; a Service of great Consequence, to take away the Ships and Victuals from our Enemies Subjects; and since that they have almost abandon'd their Fishing thereabouts. Out from these Men thus taken, and brought for *England*, came the great Sicknes that the Judges and Justices died of at *Exeter*.

Going Southward from *Newfoundland*, the *English* have had a new Plantation, by the Favour of the Sea, that yields them great store of better and a larger sort of Fish than the other Coast does; only it is too thick to dry, and therefore not to be vend'd in the *Streights*, or the Southernmost part of *Spain*.

As you sail from thence farther to the Southward, tho' it be as far as the *Streights* of *Magellan*, you shall find all that Coast in the Nature of the Shores of *Africk*, as low as the Cape of *Good Hope*, both in the Condition of the Fish, and in Taking it: But something I will say of strange Fish found in the *West Indies* and the Coast of *Brazil*, not known to us in these Parts.

There is a Fish in the *West Indies* call'd the *Malatia*, that has a Stone in its Head the most Sovereign Remedy for the Cholick in the World.

The Tortoise, now familiar to us, by our usual Navigations into the *Indies*. They lay very large Eggs, and a great quantity together, which are hatch'd in the Sand by the Heat and Operation of the Sun: The young ones as soon as hatch'd creep into the Sea.

I will not speak of the *Remora*, that stays and stops a Ship in her Course under Sail, because I have spoken sufficiently of it, treating of the *East Indies*.

Upon the Coast of *Brazil*, these several Fishes are of Account, and Name;

the *Varania*, good Meat to eat, and as big as any Ox.

The Ox-Fish, a Fish-Royal, esteem'd above all Fishes, and healthful to eat; of a good Taste, either fresh or Salt; it eats rather like Beef than Fish.

The *Benuperia*, like a Sturgeon, of a good taste and wholesome; abundance of them are taken in the Sea with Hooks and Lines.

The Ox-Eye, is like the Tunney, an excellent Fish, and looks like the Eye of an Ox.

The *Canny*, a Royal Fish, and much esteem'd; it is Fat, Wholsome, and of a good Taste; it yields good store of Butter.

The Wild Fish, which the *Indians* call *Peckanube*, and know where it lies by its Snoring: It is of a good Bigness, Taste, and much esteem'd: All Fishes found upon the Coast of *Portugal*, are there also in abundance.

There are many Sword Fishes and Whales, betwixt whom there are frequent Battles, as I have shew'd before.

The Whales upon these Southern Coasts are more furious and dangerous than in the Northern, tho' the Northern be the bigger, but not so nimble with the Tail, which is the peril of the Whale; for if a Boat come a head of her, she cannot do much hurt, but in rising from the bottom, as I have shew'd before.

There are many venomous Fishes upon that Coast, as namely the Toad-fish, of a small bigness; taking it out of the Water it snorts, and Poison lies in its Skin, and whosoever eats it with the Skin, dies.

There are other Fishes of the same nature like Toad-fishes.

The *Perachie* is like a Scate, and whosoever toucheth it, has the Palsie, or is benumm'd; The *Camaruma*, the *Amoriatie*; the *Anicurub*, the *Irepourungo*, besides many others that are venomous.

There are many Mermaids and strange Shell-fishes, as well those that are known to our Coast, as others unknown.

I have seen a Fish very monstrous in the Island of *Flores*, that appears with its Fins about the Gills, above the Water 4 or 5 Yards, and its Jaws gaping above a Yard broad, which puts the Beholders in fear. This kind of Fish I never knew nor heard of but in that place.

Something concerning Whales, and several sorts of Monstrous Fishes.

And now another while I will speak of Monstrous Fishes, that are useful and profitable, but not to be valu'd or eaten for Food, and these they are; The Whale, the Grampus, the Porpus, the Sea Horse, or Morse, the Seal, &c. All these afford

the Commodity of Oil which is made of them, when dead; and the manner to kill them is so commonly known, that I need not repeat it: The Whale yields, besides her Oil, Bones, which are for divers uses employ'd in several Trades; she yields *Sperma Ceti*, the Vertue whereof is known to us, and is sold by Apothecaries. Some are of Opinion that the Amber-greece comes from the Whale, and is cast ashore where it is found.

Some there are likewise that believe the Teeth of the Sea-Horse are Medicinal; but for my part I believe the contrary, and that the only use to be made of them, is for Hafts of Knives, and other Works that Ivory is put to.

The Whale, and most of the other Fishes, are as frequent and common in the hot and Southern Climates, as in the cold and Northern Countries, tho' we only use the Cold, as *Greenland*, where we kill, and make great benefit of them.

The *European* Shores have the least number of Whales, which I impute to Shole-Water, because the greatest quantity, known, are about the great Bay of *Biscay*, from which place we were instructed in our Whale-fishing, when we began it in *Greenland*.

The Whales that are found dead amongst us, of which I have had some proof by one or two cast upon Land, come dead ashore by some hurt receiv'd at Sea; for the nature of the Whale, after she is hurt, is to seek the Land, where she leaves her Body to enrich him that has right to her, by her coming upon his Shore.

Besides the great Number of Whales that make their Habitation in the North Seas, and the farther Northward the greater store, there are abundance of them upon the Coast of *Brazill*, the *West-Indies* and *Guinea*, which may the better appear by the *Indians* conceit, who thought the first Ships they saw, when the *Spaniards* came thither upon the Discovery, had been Whales.

Upon the Coast of *Brazill*, there are such abundance, that if the *Portugueses*, who dwell there, would employ themselves in killing them, it would prove a commodious thing; but I conceive the reason they put it not in practice, is the mass of Gain they make by their Wood and Sugars, holding the other not worth their Labour, and having no vent for it but in *Portugal*.

By this you may perceive the Pains and Industry of Man, and the difference betwixt Men and Nations; for if the *Hollanders*

landers were Planted in *Brazill*, and had that benefit of the Whale, the others have, they would, and might very well, with their cheapness of Freight, serve *Europe* with their Train Oil from thence; for I remember, that Two Ships of *Holland* went to *Saldaña's Bay*, as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, to kill Whale (for upon that Coast there are abundance) but it happened that one of the Two Ships was there wracked, which perhaps might discourage farther proceedings upon that Voyage.

But if we consider the Industry of the *Hollanders*, and compare it with the Sloth of the *Portugueses*, that the *Hollanders* went 2000 Leagues to lade themselves with Train Oil, when the *Portugueses* might have done the like at their own home, and rejected it; we must consequently attribute as great Praise to the one, as we may Blame and Sloth to the other.

There are many Dangers that may happen, and have happen'd to Ships, by their accidental meeting with Whales at Sea; some whereof I will mention upon my own Knowledge. The nature of a Whale is, when she receives a Hurt, to seek the bottom of the Sea, and with fury to rise up again, and shew her self above Water; if in Rising she chance to come under the Keel of a Ship, she utterly destroys the Ship, and the Men in her.

I remember, that being upon the Coast of *Barbary*, and not far from a Whale, in 1587. I saw her mount above the Water, as high as the top of a Ship, occasion'd, as we conceiv'd, by the Sword-fish, who is an Enemy to the Whale, and upon their Encounter, cunningly gets under the Belly of the Whale, and with his Sword vexeth, and forceth her to mount above the Water, as I have said: This Whale, upon her falling down again into the Water, made a greater noise than the report of a Cannon.

A Whale in a Calm betokens foul weather, for there cannot be a truer sign of a Storm, than Whales and Porpusses playing upon the Water. It happen'd in the Ship in which I was taken Prisoner, off the *Burlings* in 91. the day sevennight before my taking, in the night time the Ship gave stem to a Whale that lay a sleep with her Back above the Water; the accident was so strange and rare, that it amazed the Company, who gave a sudden shriek, thinking the Ship had been foundered upon a Rock; but looking overboard they beheld the Sea all bloody, which comforted them, conceiving it to be as they found it, it was a Stem upon a Whale.

In the Year 1589. being at the Islands *Azores* with my Lord of *Cumberland*, after our overthrow at *St. Maries*, as I have shew'd in my First Book, and have had more particular occasion to speak of it in my Fifth Book; to bring this for an example of the greatest hazard I ever endur'd in my life, occasion'd by a Whale there, as you shall understand; to which place I refer you, because I will not be too tedious in this Discourse.

In the Reign of King *James*, there was a Ship of *Portsmouth*, the Owner thereof, my good friend Captain *Tower* by name, who in her way in company of other Ships, to a Fishing in *Newfoundland*, gave Stem to a Whale as she lay asleep; the Ship had all her Sails drawing, and a large Wind, but for want of the Companies looking out, she gave such a blow to the Whale, that she presently foundered; but by the help of other Ships of her company the Men were preserved, who otherwise had perish'd.

Many other Accidents of this kind have hap'n'd to Ships, which I need make no repetition of, they are so common; and this shall suffice for the subject of Fishing, as well for Food, as others that yield the commodity of Oil.

I will speak little of the Mermaid, because there are diversities of Opinions; some think there are none, others that there are, tho' there be little doubt thereof; for we shall find in the year 1322. in our *English Chronicles*, one taken in *England*, another in *Holland*, and a Third in *Britany*; for the Relation whereof I refer you to the Authors aforesaid.

There is a Tradition to this day in *Galicia*, one of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, that a Mermaid coming out of the Sea, ingendred with a Woman ashore, and begat on her a Child: And to speak of later times, I see divers have seen them, who are now alive and can justify it.

There are other strange Fishes to be seen on the Coast of *Norway*, and especially in 68 Degrees of Latitude, which are very wonderful, besides the great dangers, and other particularities belonging to that Sea more than any other yet discover'd.

In the Country and Height aforesaid, there is a Well call'd by the Name of *Nael-Stream*, which Well draws the Water to it with an In-drought, and with so great a Fore-Noise and Dread to the Hearers during the time of the Flood, which is 6 Hours, that it is to be wonder'd at above all Wonders a Man can report.

The Force and Violence of this Flood is such, that its Power reaches two Miles about it every way; so that if a Ship or Vessel happen to be within that Compass, it draws her into its bottomless Gulph, where she is swallow'd up, and perishes.

The Ebb has the contrary Effect, which endures the said Space of 6 Hours, and sets off with the same Violence the Flood draws to it, insomuch that it will not suffer the heaviest thing that can be thrown over board to sink. At this Ebb, the Fishermen use to take away many sorts of strange deform'd Fishes, not seen elsewhere upon any Coast whatsoever; one whereof I will take special notice of, which has been avow'd to me by a very sufficient Man, who saw it: It is like an Eel, and 100 Fathom long, which has sometimes entred a Boat on the side and pass'd through her on the other side; and if it be cut asunder, which a Knife may well do, it casts forth the greatest Stink in the World, and enough to poison a Man that smells it.

Some are of Opinion, that the Stream passes under the Ground through the Parts of *Norway*, and bursts out again at the Northernmost Part of *Finland*, where is another *Neal-Stream*, tho' not so violent or dangerous as this, and where the same kind of Fish are taken as in the other aforesaid.

This Place is call'd by some, the *Navel of the Sea*; and some think, the Ebbs and Floods upon all the Coasts on this side the *Equinoctial* are caus'd out of this miraculous *Neal-Stream*. I set this down but as a Conjecture, not to be rely'd on, for the Secret of Ebbing and Flowing is only known to God, and not to be apprehended by Man; and so the Philosophers acknowledge.

There are other Dangers appearing upon our Coast, but not so terrible and fearful as those of *Norway*; and for which, there may be Reasons given, (as namely) the Race of *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, the Race of *Conquet* in *Brittany*, the Race of *Lyons* in *Italy*; and I have seen another, not much inferiour to the least of these, at the Isle of *Palma* in the *Canaries*.

That of *Portland* has been the Destruction of many a Ship and Man, tho' it may be avoided, either by going within it towards the Land, or without it to Sea. The Ship of War wherein I went the first time to Sea, in her return from the Coast of *Spain* in her second Voyage after, where she had made a profitable Voyage, taking sundry *Spaniards*, as her Lading would have witness'd, out

of a Covetousness to gain a League or two, tho' she might have easily avoided it, put her self into the Race, little valuing the Danger, and was presently swallow'd up in view of her Consorts, and neither Man nor Boy escap'd.

The cause of these Races that makes the bubbling and turning of the Water and Streams, is the meeting of Tides, and the foulness and rockiness of the Ground, which makes that space of the Sea where this happens, to boil up like a Pot upon the Fire.

There are other Places where the Tide sets with wonderful force and swiftness, as well upon the Ebb as Flood; and namely *Pintley Frith*, which divides the whole Continent of *Britany* from the Islands of *Orkney*; I have pass'd it, and found such admirable Tides, that I was amaz'd. I have heard People thereabouts say, That the force of that Tide is such, that if a Ship chance to Anchor in it, and the Cable and Anchors hold, the strength of the Stream is so violent, that she will be swallow'd up at an Anchor.

In the Island of *Orkney* joining to it, as also upon the Coast of *Norway*, the Tide sets with that force, that he who knows not the nature of it will be afraid to approach near the Shore; and yet Experience tells us, that the Tide sets from the Land, and keeps a Ship from running on Shore.

The Sea produces many other strange Things of Nature, which I forbear to repeat; but the Thing I covet to know, is what Wonders the Sea produces under the North Pole, not yet attempted by any Nation, tho' the *English* have approach'd nearest it since the Discovery of the Island of *Greenland*, whither they resort to kill their Whale.

Philosophers mention four *Indraughts* in the Ocean Sea, in the four Quarters of the World; from whence many conjecture, that as well the Flowing of the Sea, as the Blasts of the Wind, have their Original: But these being Mysteries above my Capacity or Reading, and nothing tending to the Subject of Fishing, which at last I have brought to an End, I will draw to a Conclusion of my whole Six Books, making account, after a long and tedious Navigation, I am at last arriv'd in a safe and secure Port, where I have leisure to recollect my self, and think of my Errors past, in taking so great Pains to so little purpose, as to write so many Lines and Leaves of the Sea only, few Gentlemen delighting in it, or making Profession of it; but before I end, as in
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my former Navigation I have spoke of the Profit of Fishing, I will set down the Enemy to Fishermen and Fishing in this that followeth.

There is no Action at Sea, be it great or small, that brings not with it both Charge and Danger, nor no Business so easie that can be done without Pains and Difficulty : And this Subject we are now upon, that is Fishing, the only thing that is requir'd in it is Labour and Pains ; for Danger is little to be regarded, considering it is not far from home we are to seek our Profit, nor our Harbours so few, but they may be enter'd for our Safeties both Day and Night, by erecting Lights.

But indeed the greatest Danger that may be fear'd to our Fishermen, is Interruption of Pirates, who are the very Scum of a Common-wealth, and People to be abhorred by all Honest and Laborious Men. It is usual, when these Miscreants fail of relief of Victuals, and are made desperate by want of it, to place all their hopes of Food upon the poor painful Fishermen, who we may truly say get their Living with more Hazard, with more Pains, with more Cold and Watching, than any other Trade or People whatsoever : Their Labour produces nothing that is ill, but the best help for Man, which is Food to live on.

Husbandmen and Fishermen are the Upholders of Common-Wealths ; all other People live by their Labours. They are Stewards to provide sustenance to feed on, and yet comparing them together there is great difference betwixt their Lives and Pains : The Husbandman's Work is without Danger or Hazard, and if he be wet, he has present help of Fire to dry him ; he is allow'd a Bed instead of the other's Board to lie on ; his Diet is certain and in a quiet manner, when the others are tost too and fro without a stedfast standing : If the one be cold, he may recover himself with Exercise and Work ; if the other be cold, he is made colder, his Labour being in cold Water ; the one keeps his certain Hours for sleep, the other has no certain time to rest, but must attend his danger, which he is never free from : Every hour he must be ready to look out for his Shore of Fish, and watch his opportunity of Weather and Tide to take them. The one has pleasure on Hollidays, and is free from Labour ; all Days are alike to the other, and the Sunday can give no more Content or Comfort than the rest of the Week.

What Heart can be so hard'ned, or Pirates so pitiless, as to disturb those harm-

less and innocent Creatures, that make Pains their Pleasure, and their Labour their Country's Plenty, procuring good for it by their own Toils. And because such wickedness will never scape unpunished or unrevenged, as these Pirates commit upon such harmless People, I will a while digress from the Subject I have in hand, and relate a Strange and Tragical Accident that deservedly beset two Pirates that were disturbers of the Innocent Fishing.

A Story of two Pirates.

After my Return from *Ireland* in 1614. where I had been employ'd to suppress the Arrogance and Insolence of Pirates, and where I punish'd the Conning that was betwixt those People and the Inhabitants of that Kingdom, I once again sent a Bark for that Coast, to be inform'd how things stood after I left them, and whether the severe Course I had taken against them, in doing Justice by Death upon one of them, wrought better effect than before.

The first Harbour my Bark arriv'd in, she met a Pirate named *Tucker*, a Seaman bred from his Youth, and continual Practice made him Excellent in his Art and Profession ; he was very glad upon this Ocession of meeting my Bark to insinuate into my Man's acquaintance, thinking thereby it would be a means for him to bewail himself to me, and to obtain the thing next to Life he desir'd, which was his Pardon, tho' he departed with the best part of his Spoils, which were things of good value.

His Persuasion prevailed so far with my Servant, that tho' his Directions were to view the Northern Parts of *Ireland*, where I had lately been, and there to enquire after the Behaviour of Pirates, and the Entertainment the Country gave them, yet, as I have said, by the Importunity of *Tucker*, my Man was diverted from his Employment, and persuaded to return with his Letter of Submission to me, on whom he wholly cast himself to dispose of, with promise there to stay a certain time to expect my Answer ; and to sweeten me the more, he presented me with a Token worth accepting, but that I was always cautious in such Cases how to connive at Pirates, as in my Letter I expressed. I mistrusted, before he could receive my Answer, the Winds then hanging contrary, he would depart from *Ireland* ; whereupon I directed divers Letters to one effect, and sent them by several Ships if they should chance

chance to meet *Tucker* upon their way in their Voyages. But as I have shew'd the last refuge Pirates have for Victuals, is to feed upon the Fishermen, and *Tucker* finding that *Ireland* could not supply him, by the strict course I had formerly taken, was forced to go to the Northward to seek succour of the Poor Fishermen, a contrary Course to the Ships that carry'd my Letters: And coming to the North *Farro*, there he met with another Pirate of the same sort, but far less honest, as it prov'd. These two concerted together as Thieves use to do in Mischief.

The Islands of *Farro* are dangerous, by reason of the great Tides, and their setting; and it happen'd that *Tucker's* Ship was wreck'd upon one of them, in company of his Companion the other Pirate, who seeing it, did not degenerate from his kind, for all Spoils were alike to him, Friend or Foe; instead of help in that case of Distress, play'd the Part of a Hawk over his Prey, and had no more pity of him than of a *Spaniard*, who were most obnoxious to Pirates in those Days.

To be short, this Pirate, who falsely call'd himself *Monnocho*, suddenly possess'd himself of *Tucker's* Ship, Himself, his Wealth and Company, and us'd them with that rigorous Cruelty, as tho' his action had been lawful, and allow'd by Authority to punish Delinquents and Offenders, and rather out of Fear than Pity, he shew'd Mercy to their Lives; and mistrusting if he should detain them in his own Ship, they might make a Party and Faction, for the Condition of such People, is never to be constant, or honest, no longer than their Devilish Humours hold; therefore, to avoid any such Tumult, *Monnocho* seiz'd upon an *English* Fisherman, amongst many others he had taken, and put *Tucker* and his Company into her, to seek a new Fortune, which you must think was like to thrive, if you consider their Course of Life. And here they parted company like two Wolves that should separate themselves to seek their Prey, they care not where, nor of whom, purposing never to see one another, unless the Gallows gave them a Meeting. *Monnocho* was a Fellow of as base a Condition as his present Profession made him, being not long before a Surgeon's Mate, in a Pinace serving under me. And now hovering about those Islands, it was his hap to meet a Ship of the King of *Denmark's*, to whom the Islands belong: This Ship, after a little Encounter, apprehended, and knew well what to do with him, so just that Nation is to the detestable Course of Sea-Rovers.

Here *Monnocho* found worse Usage than he gave *Tucker*; for the time was not long before his Ship made a Return into *Denmark*, and in as short a while after he tasted deserved Death upon the Gallows, where he hung a Spectacle for all Men to behold.

Now *Monnocho* is brought to the Destiny by right due to him, I will go scour the Seas, and look if I can spy *Tucker*, being out of hope to find his Ship put to that use for which she was first designed, I mean Fishing.

After *Tucker* had spent some time at Sea, Dominiering over the poor Fishermen; they now tir'd with the Usurping Tyranny of the Pirates, and being desirous to live by honest Labour, rather than by evil Pains, privately practis'd, and watching their Opportunity, effected that they had determined to put in execution; which was suddenly to surprize and seize upon the Pirates Persons, when they should least suspect it.

The Attempt prov'd Fortunate; for some they slew, and others they hurt; and *Tucker* they took Prisoner, and insulted over him, as he had done before over them.

This lucky Accident made the Fishermen repair to Shore, to supply their wants, their Provisions being consum'd by the Pirates; as also to deliver the Men, as Delinquents, into the hands of Justice, who were after convey'd to the *Marshalsea* in *Southwark*, where they daily expected the Doom of Death.

The poor Man, Captain *Tucker*, being Hopeless and Friendless, sent me word of his Misfortunes after his departure from *Ireland*, bewailing his hard Hap and heavy Chance, not to meet with any of my Letters, written to him as aforesaid: He shew'd the Comfort of Life was taken from him, and confess'd his Offences were above Satisfaction; and that I was the only Sheet-Anchor he was to rely on, otherwise he was to perish.

I confess I was much mov'd and griev'd with his Calamity, when I remember'd how his Penitency appear'd in his former Letter to me, repenting his Misdoings, and detesting his kind of Life, with a desire of Pardon and Forgiveness of his Offences past.

This Complaint came at an unlucky Hour, both for him and me, it being in the midst of the time that Malice set her self against me; for in few days after I was unjustly committed to the *Tower*, and yet I thank God by his Providence, not an Hour before I was imprison'd, I had finished

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and ended his Pardon, that I might say the Ending of his Trouble was the Beginning of my own, but not through his Cause or Occasion.

Tucker being set at Liberty, was to dispose of himself as he should be guided by Grace. And to give some sign of his Thankfulness for the Favour I did him, he resolved not to depart *London*, what shift soever he made to live, till he had acknowledg'd his Life from me; and tho' at that time there was a general restraint of all People's resorting to me in the *Tower*, yet that Prohibition was no sooner taken off, but *Tucker* was one of the First that repair'd to visit me, with that Protestation of Thankfulness, and Vows of Amendment of his Life, that he gave me Satisfaction it proceeded from a Penitent Heart. It joy'd me much to see his Reformation, and I held my self happy for the Deed I had done, in regaining a lost Sheep that had stray'd out of the Flock.

His Credit being lost, which made him unfit for Employment, mov'd Pity in me what Course to put him into; for no Beginner can set up a Trade without a Stock to enable him: And to Require his Remembrance of me, by the Token he sent me from *Ireland*, I return'd him the better Part of that Gift, wishing that good Fortune would attend his happy Beginning.

He was not long determining with himself, but immediately took a Voyage. to *Denmark*, whither he had often before Traded. Arriving there, and having occasion to go about his Affairs, it happen'd that passing a River, the Ferryman of the Boat knew him by an infallible Token, for not long before, the Man was taken by *Tucker* at Sea. The Fellow had no sooner landed him and his Fare, but speedily he hastned to the Magistrate, requiring a Warrant for his Apprehension, alledging the Cause; which was no sooner demanded than granted, all People of that Country being naturally bent to revenge themselves upon Offenders in that kind.

Being thus arrested, he was carry'd to Prison, where he received the Rigour of Justice, and upon Trial, by the Witness of the Ferryman, was Sentenc'd to die. The Gibbet was erected near joining to that where *Monnocho*, his former Companion, was still hanging for him to behold, which was very odd: For it is not the Greatness of the Person, nor of the Accident, makes a wonder the Greater, for all Things, be they great or little, are at the Disposal of GOD alone, who many

times advances the Mean, and casts down the Mighty. And it is worthy of Observation, how in many Cases he gives Light to Men, to discern his just Punishment to some, for example of Amendment of Life to others.

And amongst the rest, this Accident of these mean and ungodly Pirates is no less strange, if we call to mind God's justice towards them, if you will consider the first Progress of their Beginning till Death cut them off, as it does all People that commit unnatural Crimes, for such Men never escape without cruel Revenge; for a Father of the Church saith, *He ceases to be a Man, and becomes a brute Beast, that leaves the Rules of Reason and Honesty, and gives his Mind to Mischief and Sensallity.*

These two Mens cursed Courses are not unlike a Novel; First, in their unexpected meeting in remote Islands, where they were both Strangers; Secondly, That upon their meeting they protested and vow'd Friendship, tho' I must say, that the Agreement of ill Men in Mischief cannot be call'd Friendship; but call it what you will it did not long continue, for there was a Bone cast betwixt them, as it were betwixt two ravenous Mastiffs to strive for, and the Stronger to carry it away.

After these two Pirates had parted Company, the one stood to the Northward, the other to the Southward, a quite opposite Course to one another, and where there was never likelihood of meeting more, but rather to avoid and eschew each other, their Quarrel was so mortal; and yet both of them tasted one Fortune alike, first in their Apprehension, and after in their manner of Execution: But above all, the Place never doubted or fear'd by them, and where perhaps in many Ages the like will not happen again, it being out of the Road way for such People to resort to.

This shall suffice for God's Justice by Example of these two Miscreant Pirates, and his Detestation to their wicked Courses against the silly and innocent Fishermen, who, we may truly affirm and say, of all other People, get their Living with the painful Sweat of their Brows.

I must not omit to give divers Precedents of God's miraculous working in the Example of Fishing. Some I have heard avow'd in the Places where these Accidents have happen'd, others I have by Report, which is not so much to be credited; as namely

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at *Tenbigh* in *Wales*, a Place not inferior to any that I know in his Majesty's three Kingdoms, for Situation, Air, Plenty and Pleasure, which in times past enjoyed a plentiful Fishing: The other is the Island of the *Lewes*, I have so often treated of.

These two Places abounding at several times with an extraordinary quantity of Fish, the Minister of the one, and the Bishop of the other, envying the Prosperity of the poor Fishermen, being led out of a covetous Desire, sought to impose a greater Tax by way of Tythe, than had ever been before paid to their Predecessors, which was no sooner questioned but the Fish vanished, and for a time became Strangers to those Shores where this happened; and as I will not conclude of the Cause thereof, yet I will say with a Father of the Church, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*.

This shall suffice for so much as is contain'd in my Sixth Book, touching Fish and Fishing, and the Merchantable Commodity arising out of it; in which I will compare my self to a Merchant, that freights his Ship with sundry and several Commodities, and sends them to several Ports, thinking by the variety of Wars to countervail the Charge of the rest; for what Commodity is desir'd in one Country, is commonly little esteemed in another; as by Example of Gold, which above all other things is coveted in these Parts of the World where we live, and nothing accounted of by the *Indians* where it is produc'd; Hatchets, Knives and Glasses, are held Gross, Base, and of little Value by us, and yet esteem'd in the highest degree of Treasure amongst them; and so fares it with these six Books, which are freighted and stuff'd with superfluity of needless Collections: Some perhaps may be delighted, and take advantage of them, how unworthy soever they may seem of themselves, for I remember the saying of that matchless and generous Gentleman Sir *Philip Sidney*, That there was no Book so bad but had some good in it.

Whosoever is desirous to be inform'd in Sea Affairs and Actions in the late Wars betwixt *Spain* and *England*, will find it in one of my six Books. Whoever will seek to avoid Errors and Oversights by example of that War, may learn it. Whoever shall desire to know how a General ought to carry himself in the Government of his Fleet, will be instructed in it. Whosoever covets to understand how to Defend his Country, and Offend others by Sea, shall be taught it. Whosoever is desirous to sail into any of the four Quarters of the World, as *America*, *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africk*, shall find the Sea open, and discover'd to his hands. Whosoever will delight himself with the Passages, Troubles and Conquests of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*, and their Enterprizes upon new Worlds, shall understand it. Whosoever will hear how the *Indians* were reduc'd to Civility and Christianity, he shall not be ignorant in it. Whosoever will put his hand to further such Projects as are contained in the Six Books, shall not only see Reasons to induce him, but shall deserve everlasting praise of his Country for his forwardness in them. Whosoever of an *Englishman* will live no longer in Ignorance of what our Seas produce to enrich them, shall have it discover'd to their hands. Things to be admir'd at, when they shall remember their former Errors.

I will say, with Sir *Philip Sidney*, if any of these prove Profitable, Commendable, or Delightful, the Author is not be condemn'd or blam'd, for indeed he is like the Merchant spoken of before, that must seek to put off his Ware not by words, but worth; and as he reserves himself to the Buyer, so do I this Discourse to the Reader, to judge at his Pleasure; for Things give better Council to Men, than Men to Things; and in recompence for my Labour and Pains I only crave a favourable Construction, howsoever they shall appear in your Concept.

An Addition to the Sixth and Last Book of Fishing, and the Reasons why it was divided from the other former Discourse.

I Forbear to annex this Addition to the former Relation of Fishing, to avoid giving publick Offence to the *Hollanders*; for it is an old Saying, *That Truth many times turns a Man to Ruth*; and I see that the present Policy of our State is rather to dissemble an Injury, than to revenge it, tho' the *Hollanders* secret Envy is more to be feared than when they declare themselves openly against us: But yet it shall appear that I have not been altogether ignorant of their Beginnings and Rise, but have carefully beheld their Proceedings and Actions, and can judge of their malicious Detractions to us, and others; which is the Nature of Faction, at first to shew it self humble, till it mount to the top of Ambition.

Our Eyes and Senses make it clearly appear, that they and their cunning Courses are the mediate Causes of the Poverty that daily affails our Glorious Kingdom, as I shall Instance some Particulars within the Land, before I ingulf my self into the open Sea, which are as follow:

What Trades and Artificers of all kinds do they set up, to the ruine of many a poor *Englishman*, that has liv'd an Apprentice and Bondman 7 years to attain his Art and Occupation?

What Trades are there in which they have not Stocks going, or Scriveners with Money to lend?

What Land is to be sold, or Mortgage to be had, that they have not the first Refusal of?

What Marriages of Man or Woman falls amongst them, that they will enrich the *English* with, so long as any of their Country or Tribe is found amongst them?

What Maritime Town, or other of Account, within 20 Miles of the Sea, opposite to *Holland*, that is not stuffed and fill'd with their People, to the impoverishing of the Inhabitants and Dwellers?

What Masses of Money and Gold have they, against the Laws of the Realm, transported out of it, as Truth has made it plain?

What Loss did they to the King and Kingdom when they and their Faction oppos'd the brave Work of Dying and Dressing of Cloths, after it was in a good way of going forward?

What hurt or hindrance do they to our Navigation, when they freight strange Vessels, and refuse the *English* Ships?

What an innumerable Wealth have these People attain'd to, whose Beginning was nothing when they made their first Entrance into this Kingdom? If it be consider'd, it will appear to be admirable.

And for all these Domestick Damages the Subjects receive, his Majesty has no more Benefit by them than if they were natural *English*.

These are the least to what shall appear when I launch into the Ocean, and there encounter them; but in the mean time I will unmask their Craft and Cunning, and discover the Subtily of their *English* Friends to entrap us in the Snares of their Policy, under the false Colours and Pretence of Security to the State.

As well the one as the other desires it may be held a Maxim of State, That the Security of *England* must depend upon the Fortunes of *Holland*; a foul Imputation they cast upon us, when we remember the Noble and Victorious Actions of our Forefathers, who made other Nations fear them, and they to fear none: But this Position is devis'd to serve private Men's Purposes, contrary to Truth or Reason, as I will make it appear to the Judgment of wise Men. But under this conceiv'd Colour the *Hollander* plays the part of a *Panther*, which has a sweet Scent, but a loathsome Face, which makes other Beasts follow till he has got them into his Clutches. And the *Hollanders* have so entrapped us, that we are caught in their Nets, and by Nets we must be freed: We are made silly Fishes to be ensnar'd by the Subtily of those Fishermen; but I hope we shall be releas'd and reliev'd by Fish, with our Endeavour and Pains.

Now to hoist Sail and put to Sea, to encounter, at least to discover, the *Hollanders* Insolencies, their Practices, their Deceits and Designs, wherein I will make the indifferent Reader wonder, and after judge how dangerous a thing it was to put Arms into their Hands, and how necessary it is to bring them into the same State of Shipping they were before the Wars.

I will begin with the Days of Queen Elizabeth, speaking to the Watchmen of our Commonwealth of that time, and use an old Phrase without Application, *That Profit and Bribery makes a Judge blind.*

Was it Discretion and Safety in those Men, after the *Hollanders* had engaged us in the War with *Spain*, that our Ships were arrested, our Goods forfeited, and from thenceforward prohibited Traffick, yet to suffer the *Hollanders* to continue as absolute a Trade into *Spain* as in time of Peace, and supply them with Ammunition, Shipping, Mariners, and Intelligence against us? And rather than their manner of War should cease, by which they engrossed the entire Trade into their hands, if ever the King of *Spain's* Army in *Flanders*, or his Armado in *Spain*, should have wanted Powder, or other Abiliments for the War, they would have supply'd him: For all their Drift was no more than to keep us severed from *Spain*, and to prolong the War for their Benefit of Commerce and Traffick. This was the beginning of their Rising, to our Ruine; and from this very day we must reckon, as from the Birth of a Child, their first Life and Prosperity.

Was it Security for us when our Watchmen gave way to Monsieur, Brother and next Heir Apparent to the Crown of *France*, and who had succeeded his Brother if he had outliv'd him, to be invested Duke of *Brabant*, who had then enjoy'd the *Low Countries* with *France*, and who was no sooner plac'd in it, but he began treacherously to practise, by Example of *Amwerp* and other Places?

Was it the part of Friends, and with whom they had lately leagu'd, that when the King of *Spain* employ'd a Fleet against *England*, or upon Defence of his own Coast, he had Ships, Men, and his principal Pilots, *Hollanders*, who were either prest in *Spain*, or willingly serv'd against us?

Was it not Cunning in the *Hollanders*, and Fraud to us, when the greatest Trade of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* into the *West-Indies*, *Guiney*, and *Brazil*, was in *Holland* Ships, which defended the *Spaniards* Goods from the *English*, with more Slaughter to the *English* when they encounter'd, than ever we receiv'd from *Spain*? Here they supported an Enemy by Nature, to hurt and injure a Friend by Fact and Proof.

Was it Safety to us, or Honesty in the *Hollanders*, in the Year 99, that Her Majesty rigg'd and furnish'd a Royal Navy

upon a sudden Service, and expected Assistance of Ships from them by Contract, that in Conclusion they sent but 7 Ships, and such, that the worst of ours was better than the best of them? Here they left us unprovided to encounter a Danger; for a Foe is as good that hurts not, as a Friend that helps not.

Was it Security, Honour or Profit to us, that with an Expence of more Men and Money than we have Conquer'd Kingdoms hitherto, we have maintain'd their Principality, making Mechanick Persons equal with Princes, rais'd a Rabble Commonwealth against the Monarchy, train'd up their People in Discipline of War; that of a mean and timorous Generation we have put Valour and Knowledge of Arms into their Hands? And for all these unspeakable good Turns done them, we have no more Assurance from them, than Discourtesies we receive in all Parts where we meet: And no marvel; for Popular States write Favours in Dust, Injuries in Marble.

Was it Security, in all the time of War, to suffer our prime Soldiers, and of all Degrees, to be under their Subjection, the most part of our Wealth exhausted thither; and by Consequence to be in their Power to dispose of this Kingdom as pleas'd most Voices of their Select Council, which in their Government is opposite to Monarchy? For whereas Monarchy propounds Honour as the first thing, the second the Publick Good, and the third Interest; a Popular State prefers private Profit, makes the common Good the second, and Honour the last.

Was it Security to let go the Cautionary Towns, *Flushing* and *Brill*, being Bridles to their Insolencies; for by them we could at any time either curb or give them their Reins, as since we find by enjoying that Liberty all their Injuries towards us began, which before they durst not offer outwardly?

Was it, or is it, Security to us to suffer yearly 3000 Vessels of theirs to Fish upon his Majesty's Seas, and infringe his Majesty's Laws of *England* and *Scotland*, in which Seas they are bound to acknowledge a Sovereignty to the Kings of both Kingdoms; and under that Pretence of Fishing, they may use this Stratagem cunningly and secretly, to put 10 or 12 Soldiers in every Buss, and under colour of Fishing, to land in some of his Majesty's Dominions, where it is to be feared they will not want a Party?

Is it Safety, when we enter into Consideration, (by the multitude of their Vessels encreas'd out of Fishing) how they insult upon us at our own home and abroad; as namely, in the *East-Indies*, a thing able to move Pity for the Fact, and Revenge for the doing it: And besides many other Scorns and Disgraces they put upon us, which need no Repetition, because they are fresh in our Memory? They resemble *Hecuba*, that has a Humane Voice, speaking like a Friend, but is a Wolf, ravening like a Feind.

Is it good and beneficial to us to see the *Hollanders* enjoy our absolute Trade of the World, and first discover'd by us; and not contented with the moderate Gain to themselves, labour by all indirect Means to impoverish us, in uttering their Commodities at an under Rate, whereby to weary us of all such Trades? For such is their Covetousness, and such their Unthankfulness, that they regard neither Favours done, nor to be done them; and when there is no fear of Revenge, there is little Conscience of Offence in a Covetous Man. *Lycurgus* says, *That Riches and Trade produce a Scarcity of Vertue*: And it is a Rule, *That prove a Man unbankful, and disprove him in all his other Actions*.

By this false Position, That *England's* Safety must depend upon *Holland's* Prosperity, we were driven to a War with *Spain*, and by that War to defend their Commerce; for they never undertook hostile Act by Sea against *Spain* till oblig'd by Necessity that they were prohibited that Trade: But the greatest Mischief of all others, was tollerating their Fishing, which we only might have enjoy'd; by means whereof we have resign'd our Weapons, which are the Ships encreased out of it, into their Hands out of our own, to dispose of to their Advantage and our Hurt, if at any time they comply with their King, and make him thereby mighty by Sea, or if they cast themselves upon the Protection of *France*, as they will do if *France* can besteed them more than we. This is a way out of our Cynders to kindle a Fire to burn and consume us.

It may be compar'd to a subtle Woman, who, to abuse the Simplicity of her weak Husband with her Hypocrisie and indirect Practices, draws him to rely on her for the managing of his Estate, being made believe he cannot otherwise subsist, according to the former Proposition; but he dying, her voluptuous Desires discover her foul Intentions, and she despises his

Friends and Children. In this Simile *Holland* is the unnatural Mother, this Kingdom the silly Husband, and the Subjects the outcast and unrespected Children.

Our Watchmen in their Wildoms might have foreseen this and prevented it, by enjoying the Fishing; for then had *England* kept the same Strength by Sea which *Holland* has since attained to; then had *England* undertaken the same Courses in Fishing, as the *Hollanders* did; then would not *England* only have outstripp'd them, but all the World, in Strength of Ships and Wealth of Subjects; and by Consequence have caus'd, not only an Admiration, but a Terror, to all the World that should but hear of us, as now we are brought to Reproach and Scorn, by that mean Nation of *Holland*, in remote Countries, as far as the *Indies*, where they cast the Imputation of a petty Nation and poor People upon us, and make themselves Sovereigns and Kings over this part of the World; and as Vermin gnaw upon Meat, so do they detract from the worthiest Persons.

In this Trade, as in all others, they either deprave us or deceive; us by Example of a Merchant of Note, who above five years since freighted a Ship of Red-Herrings from *Yarmouth* to *Marseilles*, and departed in Company of some *Hollanders*: It happen'd that by Advantage of Wind and Weather the *Hollanders* arriv'd at their Port, and made Sale of their Herrings to an exceeding Gain before the other's coming. The *English* finding the *Hollanders* unburthen'd of their Lading, some 200 Barrells excepted, desired to buy them at the Rate the others had been sold, thinking thereby to keep up the Price; but the *Hollanders* sold them at a low Price to hinder and prejudice the others Sale. This Envy of the *Hollanders* was the greater, in that it was grounded upon Malice, and not founded upon Injury: For *Macrobius* says, *That Anger is encreas'd upon Occasion, but Malice upon ill Condition*.

But if we enter into Consideration of our other Trades, which they seek to deprive us of, let their Carriages in *Greenland*, in *Newfoundland*, and *Russia*, appear, three Places first known to us: In *Greenland* they contested with us in our Whale Fishing, and were like to bring it to a Naval Battel, tho' the Law of Nations casts it upon us as the first Discoverers. Here their Envy appear'd, and they show'd there is no such dangerous Foe, as the seeming Friend.

Newfoundland being our ancient Discovery, and that no Nation could challenge Interest therein but our selves; not many years since the *Hollanders* practis'd to convey Threescore or Four-score Mariners, out of the West Country, to instruct them in that manner of Fishing, but it was discover'd and prevented; beware therefore of them, for they are like a Serpent, that never stings so deadly, as when it Bites without Hiding.

Notwithstanding, as I have shew'd before, that they have brought the Trade of *Russia*, from Two Ships of their to Sixty, and the decrease of ours from Fifteen to Two, yet this would not satisfy them, but they practis'd with the *Muscovia* Ambassador at the Emperor's Court at *Prague*, to forbid us the absolute Trade of *Russia*; like envious Persons that desire no good to any but themselves.

It is no less admirable how they take advantage of us, upon all occasions offer'd, as namely in the year 1628, when our Wars with *France* prohibited our Trading thither, whereby we were compell'd to be serv'd by the Ships of *Holland* with the greatest part of Wine that furnish'd this Kingdom.

This Prohibition much encreas'd the *Holland* Shipping; and they thereby rais'd their Freight to their own Price, and brought it from 24 s. to 4 l. a Tun; a Sum never heard of, but upon that occasion.

One Instance I will make apparent by a Merchant of great Account, himself being Witness, and to whom it hap'n'd; a *Holland* Ship being in the River of *Thames* to be sold, this Merchant offer'd 250 l. for her, but could not have her under 300 l. whereupon they parted for this difference of Price, and the *Hollander* repaired to *Bordeaux* with his Ship, and there procur'd a Freight for *England*, which clear'd three times the Value of what he would have sold her for; for to this Merchant's knowledge, he gain'd 900 l. by that Voyage.

One great Advantage the *Hollanders* have of us, is the Built of their Ships; there being little difference betwixt the *Hamburgers*, or *Easterlings* and them. This gives them a Freedom of Trade into all parts, as well Friends as Foes: As Friends they pass for *Hollanders*, as Enemies they take upon them the name of *Easterlings*, so that betwixt the one and the other, they circumvent us in our Freights of Ships, and have just occasion to laugh at us; as

indeed I confess we deserve it, when I consider what they do is under pretence of Safety to this Kingdom: For good Words, and ill Deeds, deceive the Wise.

They have many Enticements to draw People and Trade to them; they debar no Man, be he *Turk*, *Jew*, or *Christian*, the Freedom of Religion, which made one truly say, That the true Religion was profest in *Amsterdam*; for all Sects, be they never so Diabolical, are there allow'd and maintain'd by some or other.

As for their Customs and Excises, tho' they be high, and indeed intolerable within the Land, (for those Mechanick People being in love with the word Liberty, tho' they find it not in effect, live in excessive Slavery, and pay Impositions for every thing they eat or wear) ye tany thing brought in by Sea, goes at a low rate; as for example of Wine from *Bordeaux*, that which pays 900 l. Custom in *England*, will not come to above 50 l. in *Holland*; and all other Merchandice after that proportion. And this is the only cause of their great Trade in their Provinces above all other parts.

As these are their Policies at home, so have they no less Deceits abroad, but far less justifiable by the Rules of Honesty; for to make a Man Honest, is to take away the occasion of being Dishonest; but contrary to the Law of Honesty, they injure, and will give no Redress; they will suffer no Wrong, nor yet give satisfaction in things of Right: The thing they call Good in themselves, how ill soever it isto others. But to come to them more particularly,

You shall not be ignorant of a Policy of theirs, wherein they shew'd Craft and Cruelty to the *Dunkirkers* they took at Sea, only to abuse us; for when they had the Chance to take one of them, which was not often, and that with the advantage of three Ships to one, most inhumanely they would slay them, purposely to make us believe, their Malice was implacable, and irreconcilable; and yet notwithstanding these barbarous Acts, they made their daily Resort and Trade into the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Flanders*, where they supplied them with Victuals, Powder, Shot, or any other things they stood in need of.

And since then, as in the days of King *James*, in the view of all People, and tho' our Articles of Peace with the Arch-Duke, did warrant our Traffick thither, yet they would forbid it, and seize upon Ships

Ships of ours, as they entred the Ports of *Flanders*, seeking to force us to *Calais*, from whence they knew our Merchandice would be carried to *Flanders*; their drift being only to enrich *France* by our loss, with the Customs we there paid: to thankful People the remembrance of Benefits should never wax old; for no Man is more bound to be grateful than they, who have receiv'd such deep Obligations, as I have prov'd the *Hollanders* have done from us.

Many Grievances our Merchants have receiv'd from *Spain*, came by their foul Practices, as namely, by their carrying counterfeit Brass Money into that Kingdom, and laying it upon us; for which we have found a displeasure and punishment due for such an Offence.

In time of Peace, in the Reign of King *James*, the *Hollanders* spar'd not to disperse Rumours throughout this Kingdom, of Fleets, and preparations in *Spain* against us, to our no small scandal, as tho' we were Born to fear; or that our Intelligence seem'd so weak as to receive it from them; when indeed they did it to nourish Jealousies betwixt the Two States, to eat us out of that Trade, as they have done in all others.

He that shall read what is gone before, shall find, that their Ingratitude does as much appear, as a Crow that picks out the Eyes of him that first nourish'd him. And now I will apply my self to the Watchmen of our time, to consider of these Collections following.

1. Whether the ground and foundation of their Positions to make *Holland* equal in Power with *England*, was laid with mature Judgment, yea, or no; or out of some private ends to advance themselves, Fortunes and Credit?

2. In the Second I would have them consider, in what Estate *Holland*, and the People in it, was in, before they contested with their lawful Prince for Sovereignty, to that they are now brought to?

3. The Third, is to consider what a height they are now in, by our conniving with them; and we lessen'd and diminish'd by it.

4. The Fourth, is the damage and hazard we have run in labouring to continue their Greatness, and not seeking to abate it.

5. The Fifth is the Discourtesies done us, out of a covetous desire of Gain, and we still to bear and permit them.

6. The Sixth is the Condition of their *English* Friends that still uphold their Faction, and what the end of their Designs are like to prove, if they be let alone?

7. The Seventh is their strength by Sea, and to think of a means to equal them in number of Shipping, and how to bring their Fishing and other Trades into our hands, which may easily be effected, if my former Proposition of Fishing be prosecuted.

8. And Lastly, it is to be consider'd, what Tie or Security we can have of them, longer than we yield to their insufferable Injuries and Insolencies? For they may well presume, that we bearing so many blows at their hands, without Revenge, demand the more.

And this shall suffice for a Discovery of the *Hollanders* first beginning in Greatness; their Sixty and odd years of continuance, and their present state now in being; wherein their Ingratitude to *England* is laid open, which the *Persians* define to be a Spring of Vice, the Enemy of Nature, the Poison of Amity, the Ruine of Gentleness and Benignity. All Men must confess they have found the true affection of Friendship in us, describ'd by *Plato*, That he is a good Friend who does his Friend good; but a mighty Friend that defends him from harm.

Some other things I forbore to insert in this Sixth Book of Fishing, concerning the Islands *Hebrides*, and especially the *Lewes*, worthy of Consideration.

I forbore to handle the Conditions of those Islands, and the use the *Hollanders* may make of them, for the same Reasons express'd before, as too tart a Sauce for *Hollanders* Tasts, and unfit to be publish'd to the view of the vulgar sort.

But before I look so far to the Northward as those Islands, I will take a Survey of my own Country of *England*, and gather such Collections, as to make me understand the other the better.

I will not speak, as I am an *Englishman*; for all Men naturally are partial to the Country and Soil that first gave them Life and Food; but I will speak according to Sense and Truth, to make my Argument and Reason the stronger in what I shall say of the State of the Islands *Hebrides*.

As God hath given a Blessing to *England* above all other Lands he hath plac'd and seated in this World; for as it were with his own Finger he hath settled it in a Sea

Sea for its own Security ; an annoyance to all other Countries, in permitting and impeaching universal Trades and Navigations, as that we may truly say to that point, That we are only Happy above all others.

For whereas the Southern and richest part of *Europe* cannot subsist, nor the Traffick of the *Indies* be maintain'd and upheld without such Materials as are sent out of the Northern Regions : As also, that there is a necessity in the same case for the North to receive benefit of the South ; all these Navigations, as well the one as the other must necessarily have their Passage through our Seas and Chanel, and by consequence fall into our Mercies, as I have handled in my First Book.

And as it has been an antient Position of State, for the Kingdom of *England* to have an Eye to its back Door, which was then *Scotland*, till both the Kingdoms were Bless'd and United in one, whereby the occasion of Jealousie, and the opportunity and practice of *France* ceas'd, that was wont to stir up Coals, and set one Nation against the other.

So I may say of these Islands *Hebrides*, that they may be made as dangerous a back door to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as *Scotland* has been in former Ages to *England*, being plac'd and seated with most advantage to annoy the Two Kingdoms aforesaid, if the *Hollanders* hold their footing they now have in them : The Condition of the People of *Holland* being consider'd, with their popular Government, which other Nations begin naturally to affect, by the Example and Encouragement of their late Successes and Fortunes, by their Wealth encreas'd out of their Trade, and by the excessive number of Shipping, which are the dangers of Islands ; for without Shipping they cannot be invaded.

By the *Hollanders* possessing those Islands, they may make their Rendezvous and Staple of all their Southern Navigations, as well in Peace as War ; they shall find sufficient Succour in those Islands of Victuals, both Flesh and Fish, to give them Relief ; they shall find that in those Islands they shall be secur'd with several Harbours of more Importance and Goodness, than their own Coast can afford them ; those Islands will furnish them more natural helps against an Enemy to defend themselves, if any attempt should be made against them ; but above all, when they have thus Settled and Seated themselves, we shall lose our antient and accustom'd Ad-

vantage, of their Passage through our *Narrow Seas*, which is the only awing Power we have over them and all other Nations ; for they enjoying those Islands, will be enabled to resort to them Nine Months in the Year, and so to pass to *Holland* by the Northern parts of *Ireland* and *Scotland* ; and avoid our Chanel and us, and our means to intercept them.

Moreover, in those Islands, which are seated as a Back Door to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as I have said, and in so remote a Place and Distance from *England* ; the danger is, that the People who are untam'd, uncivil, will easily Rebel by the insinuating Practices, and Insigation of the *Hollanders*, who are ready to allure, entice, and undertake any unlawful Action, which shall tend to the overthrow of Monarchy, and to settle their own Form of Usurp'd Government.

And therefore it behoves us to have a circumspect Eye over the *Hollanders* ; for of Errors and Dangers not remedy'd in the beginning, after follows great and unavoidable Mischiefs, like what is past ; which is sooner to be repented than recall'd

This shall suffice to those Points I have treated of in this Sixth Book, wherein I have unmasqu'd and discover'd, out of my own Experience and Observations, the *Hollanders* long and subtle Deceits to abuse us ; for all true-minded *Englishmen* to behold with an Eye of Indifference, how with Cunning and Craft they have still labour'd to nourish divisions betwixt the Two mighty Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain*, merely for their own Profit and Gain, till the death of Queen *Elizabeth* ; when they could no longer support their politic Practice, King *James* succeeding, who brought the Blessed effect of his Motto, *Beati Pacisci*.

I could follow this Subject of the *Hollanders*, but for making the bulk of this Book too big ; and that I would not do Injury to another Book that is written by the same Author, Entitled, *Certain Observations that are not worthy the name of History, that happen'd to England since the year of our Lord 1558. and a little before*. Which Book contains these particulars.

The Favours *England* hath done *Holland*.

The State of *Holland* from the beginning of their Insurrections. The continuance, and what the end is like to prove.

Collections gathered out of a Book, written by Sir Roger Williams, and Printed 1618.

Whether

Whether *Holland* do injury to their Prince, yea or no?

The desperate condition *Holland* has been often reduc'd to.

The difference of times betwixt the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and the later end.

A Relation of some things that happen'd in the Reign of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

Tho' I have made a Description at large of the *Hollanders* Inconstancy, Faithlesness, and manifest Injuries they have offered us, yet I must say there is no Man so wicked or vicious, but some kind of Virtue will appear in him, for which he deserves Cherishment, as well as Chastisement for the other; but naturally they are People that desire rather to live without Virtue, than die without Money; and this that followeth shall set forth their Praises in the Worldly Carriages.

They are frugal in Expence, the Benefit whereof themselves and Country find; they are Industrious, as their Actions at home and abroad do witness; they are Just in Contracts, holding a Conscience in the little Religion they have, not to defraud any Man; they labour to seek out the Secrets of Lands not inhabited, and Countries undiscover'd; they are Inventors of Arts, which to their Praise they have enrich'd the World with; they are willing without excuse to contribute for the good of the State, not standing so much upon Privileges or Petition of Right, as to neglect any Occasion of Advantage to benefit their Common-wealth; they are laborious and painful of Body, not admitting a Beggar in their Provinces, and willing to relieve and comfort one another in strange Countries; they are Enemies to the Expence of Law, and the griping of Lawyers, and end most of their Controversies by Arbitration of Friends: Their Expences in Drinking are sav'd and mitigated by their Misery in Eating; for out of their excessive Covetousness they almost starve their Bellies; and by their unmeasurable Frugality they scarce cloath their Bodies; for it is verily believ'd the People in one of their chief Cities spend not so much in Apparel, as is spent in a Prince's Court.

But all these Virtues are drown'd in a covetous Ingratitude, that holds Friendship with no body, but for Interest, which ends in the self same Interest: And no mar-

vel; for popular States are no longer Thankful, than they receive Benefits; nor nothing is of shorter Life amongst them, than the memory of Pleasures or Favours past: They are so careless to give Satisfaction for the Ill they do, that if it be demanded, it is as much as to speak of Valour to a Faint Heart, or Charity to an Unmerciful Man; or of Courtelie to a Churlish Disposition; for it will prove but the telling a Tale to him that is a sleep. The Definition by a Philosopher in matters of Friendship is as followeth.

A Friend is long sought for, scarce to find, and hard to keep; a Friend is always ready to Comfort in Adversity, to Help in Necessity, to bear with ones Infirmary, and reprove his Errors gently. But the *Hollanders* are contrary in their Friendship, for they are like an ill Bird that lays an ill Egg, an ill Tree that brings forth ill Fruit, or a young Cubb that grows Crafty like his Dam; they practise and follow the steps of their Predecessors; they make Riches the Heaven of their Thoughts; and as it is held no hurt to know Ill but to do it, these People are perfect Artists, as well in doing as knowing Mischief.

Yet to speak Truth, their natural Ill has been nourish'd and made worse by us; for if we had not conniv'd at them and their Actions, to our own prejudice, they had wanted Power to have executed their Ingratitude: Therefore it had behov'd us to consider what we gave, before we gave, as also to whom we gave, and how we gave it; for States ought to be govern'd by Wisdom, and not by popular Affection or Passion. Wise Men should not measure things by outward Appearance, but by Discretion and Reason, or else they behold their Actions in a false Glass.

But now let us at last seek to avoid that evil we have done in making the *Hollanders* too great for us to tolerate, lest we feel the effect of Repentance. It is not the meanest point of Wisdom to doubt and mistrust the worst; for Doubts beget Understanding, and thereby Prevention: And as in natural Bodies, the longer one lives in Health, Sicknes is the more dangerous when it comes, so it is with us and the *Hollanders*; the longer we have liv'd in a mutual and unseparable Peace, now that they have overwrought us with Cunning, and made us feeble by the strength they have suck'd from us, it will behove us to recover our antient Vigour and Va-

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lour, and be no longer deluded with false pretences of Safety to us and the Common-wealth. Let us follow the old Rule in seeking to put out the Fire of our Neighbour's House, tho' he be our Enemy, lest it should flame into our own; for it is

an easier thing to oppose Danger abroad, than repulse it at home.

I have had occasion to insert some part of this last Leaf in my former Fourth Book, which is there to be seen.

The End of the Sixth Book.

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