The Project Gutenberg EBook of The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation. Vol. XIII. America. Part II. by Richard Hakluyt

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The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, And Discoveries Of The English Nation

Collected By

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Vol. XIII. America. Part II.

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Transcriber's Note.

This book is a transcription of a 17th century book, which had the spelling and printing conventions of that time: our “v” was often printed as a “u”, and sometimes vice versa, our “j” was printed as an “i”, etc. Those have been preserved in this book. There are other conventions which are converted into more modern usage; for instance, several words (such as “Lord” and “which”) were often printed in abbreviated form (such as an “L” and a superscript “d”, or “w” with a superscript “ch”), which have been transcribed in expanded form (such as “Lord” and “which”). In the plain ASCII version, indicators like (M10) refer to marginal notes, originally printed in the left or right margins of the page, and here printed at the end of the book; similarly, indicators like (10) refer to footnotes, also printed at the end of the book.

Part I.

I. Sir George Peckham's true Report of the late discoueries. continued.

The second Part or Chapter sheweth, that it is lawfull and necessarie to trade and traffique with the Sauages: And to plant in their Countries: And diuideth planting into two sorts.

And first for traffique, I say that the Christians may lawfully trauell into those Countries and abide there: whom the Sauages may not iustly impugne and forbidde in respect of the mutuall societie and fellowshippe betweene man and man prescribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the world, and from the renewing of the same after Noes flood, all men haue agreed, that no violence should be offered to Ambassadours: That the Sea with his Hauens should be common: That such as should fortune to be taken in warre, should be seruants or slaues: And that strangers should not be driuen away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come. [006]

If it were so then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to vse trade and traffique with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some part of their plentie?

A thing so commonly and generally practised, both in these our dayes, and in times past, beyond the memorie of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And forasmuch as the vse of trade and traffique (be it neuer so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith: I will therefore somewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer so carefull and diligent) which I meane to diuide into two sortts.

The first, when Christians by the good liking and willing assent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The principall causes why this voyage is vndertaken.

The second, when Christians being vniustly repulsed, doe seeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the establishment of Christian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and iustly exercised: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyses and Iosua, and other rulers before the birth of Christ, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings sithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wish, that before the second be put in practise, a proofe may be made of the first, sauing that for their safetie as well against the Sauages, as all other foreigne enemies, they should first well and strongly fortifie themselues: which being done, then by all fayre speeches, and euery other good meanes of perswasion to seeke to take away all occasions of offence.

As letting them to vnderstand, how they came, not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without molesting or grieuing them any way: which must not be done by wordes onely but also by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell iniury, be a iust cause of warre: yet must there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwise,
[007] the Christians should doe their best endeuour to take away such feare as may growe vnto them by reason of their strange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or such like, by quiet and peaceable conuersation, and letting them liue in securitie, and keeping a measure of blamelesse defence, with as little discommoditie to the Sauages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defensiue and not offensiue.

And questionlesse there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we should bring to passe all effects to our desired purposes: Considering that all creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and easier wonne for all assayes, by courtesie and mildnesse, then by crueltie or

roughnesse: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reason, it is first to be put in vse.

For albeit as yet the Christians are not so thoroughly furnished with the perfectnesse of their language, eyther to expresse their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the present opportunitie, such policie may be vsed by friendly signes, and courteous tokens, towards them, as the Sauages may easily perceiue (were their sences neuer so grosse) an assured friendship to be offered them, and that they are encountered with such a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquilitie and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must bee presented vnto them gratis, some kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glasses, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chrystall, Amber, Iet, or Glasse, &c. For such be the things, though to vs of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall societie with vs.

Moreouer, it shall be requisite eyther by speeche, if it be possible either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie vnto them, that once league of friendship with all louing conuersation being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to assist and defend them in their iust quarrels, from all inuasions, spoyles and oppressions offered them by any Tyrants, Aduersaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is so much the more to be esteemed, by how much the person vpon whom it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countreyman of ours, [008]
namely Dauid Ingram, (who trauelled in those countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Sauages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people whose foode is mans flesh, and haue teeth like dogges, and doe pursue

them with rauenous mindes to eate their flesh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case iustly and lawfully ayde the Sauages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we shall not only mightily stirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Christians, proffering vnto them both commodities, succour and kindnesse: But also by their franke consents shall easily enioy such competent quantity of Land, as euery way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation and contentation, considering the great abundance that they haue of Land, and how small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most heartily pray may take effect and place.

The seconde kinde of planting

But if after these good and fayre meanes vsed, the Sauages neuerthelesse will not bee herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will goe about to practise violence eyther in repelling the Christians from their Ports and safe-landings, or in withstanding them afterwards to enioy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themselues thither.

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defend themselues, to pursue reuenge with force, and to doe whatsoeuer is necessarie for the attaining of their saftie: For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence: And for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of Forts for auoyding the extremitie of iniurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnesse to continue, there is no barre (as I iudge) but that in stoute assemblies the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in auoyding murtherous tyrannie) to vse the Law of Armes, as in like case among all Nations at this day

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is vsed: and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, lest happily after the departure of the Christians, such Sauages as haue bene conuerted should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Ioshua) and continue their wicked custome of most vnnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit transgresse the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie, forasmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundry Kings and Princes, Gouernours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde: as also since the Natiuitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and kings haue performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For proofe whereof, I wilt alledge you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Testament, how that after Noes flood was ceased, restauration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee saued in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplyed to infinite numbers of Nations, which in diuers sortes diuided themselues to sundry quarters of the earth. And foreasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude a peculiar people to himselfe, to whom afterwardes being vnder the gouernment of Moyses in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adioyning thereunto. Neuerthelesse, before they came to possession thereof, hauing bene afflicted with many grieuous punishments and plagues for their sinnes, they fell in despayre to enioy the same.

But being encouraged and comforted by their rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themselues with all patience,

to suffer whatsoeuer it should please God to send: and at last attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people, and mighty Kings.

Iosua 4. Notwithstanding, Iosua their Leader replenished with the Spirite of God, being assured of the iustnesse of his quarrell, [010] gathered the chiefe strength of the children of Israel together, to Iosua 6. the number of 40000. with whom he safely passed the huge riuer Iordon, and hauing before sent priuie spies for the discouerie of the famous citie Ierico, to vnderstand the certaintie of the Citizens estate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it round about with his whole power the space of seuen dayes.

In which respite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Ierico should be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell should be destroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, because shee before had hid secretly the messengers of Iosua, that were sent thither as spies. As for all their golde, siluer, precious stones, or vessels of brasse, they were reserued and consecrated to the Lords treasurie.

Ioshua 8. In like maner he burned the citie Hay, slew the inhabitants Ioshua 9. thereof, and hanged vp their King. But for so much as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) sent Ambassadours vnto Iosua to entreate for grace, fauour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their liues should bee saued, and that they should be admitted to the children of Israel. Yet vnderstanding afterwards they wrought this by a pollicie, he vsed them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other necessaries for his Iudg. 11. 13. people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and neuer left till hee had subdued all the Hethites, Cananites. Peresites, Heuites, and Iebusites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, and diuers other strange nations, besides whose lands and dominions he wholy diuided among Gods people.

After that Iosua was deceased, Iuda was constituted Lord ouer the armie, who receiuing like charge from God, pursued the proceedings of the holy captaine Iosua, and vtterly vanquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduersaries to the children of Israel, with all such Rulers or Kings as withstoode him, and namely Adonibezek the most cruell tyrant: whose thumbes and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as hee had done the like before vnto seuentie Kings, whom being his prisoners, he forced to gather vp their victuals vnderneath his table. In this God shewed his iustice to reuenge tyrannie. We reade likewise, that Gedeon a most puissant and noble warriour so behaued himselfe in following the worthy acts of Iosua and Iuda, that in short time he not only deliuered the children of Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite.

Iudg. 1.

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A good note for al Conquerers to be mercifull. Iudg. 6. 7.

I could recite diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indeuour my selfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge some fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin withall, we doe reade: That after our Sauiour Iesus Christ had suffered his passion, the Apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all strange languages, did immediatly disperse themselues to sundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Gospel. Yet not in so generall a maner, but that there remayned some farre remote Countries vnvisited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the vttermost India, as yet had received no light of the word. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus, a very learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to search out vnknowen lands, did first discouer the same finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his returne being published, and for certaine vnderstood, there was another graue

Ruffinus lib. I. cap. 9.

Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Christian, who did resolue himselfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a short time assisted but with a fewe, in a small Vessel arriued there, hauing in his company two yong youths, Edesius and Frumentius, whom (being his schollers) he had thoroughly instructed both in liberall Sciences, and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius somewhile staying there, had (as hee thought) sufficient vnderstanding of the Indians whole estate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conquest of the same.

But by misfortune he was preuented, for being in the middest of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce droue him backe againe, to an unknowen Port of the said land: where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the sudden was slaine with all his company, except the two young schollers aforesayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her yong sonne to gouerne, and gaue free scope and liberty to the two Christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their natiue soyles, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured them was very sorrowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestly intreated them to tarie and assist her in the gouernment of her people, till such time as her yong sonne grewe to ripe yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

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Meropius slaine; Edesius and Frumentius preserued by the Indians.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisedome, ruled both the Queene and her subiects at his discretion, whereby he

Frumentius in great fauour with the Queene of the Indias; Another great worke begunne by a man a meane birth.

tooke occasion to put in practise priuily, that the foundation of Christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whom he thought his perswasion might best preuaile, and that soonest would giue eare vnto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edesius tooke leaue of the Queene to returne to his natiue countrey. And so soone as he was arriued there, he reuealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those euents: who both commending his deedes and wholy allowing thereof, by the aduise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a conuenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his so godly a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, vnto the possession of all the Indians countrey. The author of this storie Ruffinus receiued the trueth hereof from the very mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius. Moreouer Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall[1] in precise termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Constantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeauoured by all meanes to subiect all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour thoroughly ayded with a puissant armie of valiant souldiers whom he had before perswaded to Christian religion, in proper person himselfe came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Island of Britaines, bending from him full West, which he wholy conquered, made tributarie, and setled therein Christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisedome seemed best. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coast of the world, and there vtterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the

Ruffinus the Author of this storie.

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[1] *Marginal note*. Euseb. in his Ecclesiasticall historie, testifieth how that Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations. Eusebius lib. I. de vita Constant. cap. 4. et cap. 9. Euseb. cod. lib. cap. 39.

Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, hee reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwards he determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the vttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at last became victour ouer them all euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter Iohn, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Christians.

In the East likewise, what Nation soeuer at that time he could haue notice of, he easily wonne and brought in subiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though vnkowen vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquished.

This worthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also diuers other Emperours afterward to their vttermost endeauour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large set foorth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mention how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour imployed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Gospel, vtterly subuerting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such vsurping tyrants as with Paganisme withstoode the planting of Christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours, the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all the stout godlinesse most carefully imitated the foresteps of their Father; eyther in enlarging theyr territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Theodoret in eccle. lib. 5. cap 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

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Moreouer, it is reported by the sayd author, that Theodosius iunior the Emperour, no whit inferior in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great studie and zeale pursued and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants and countries, and vtterly destroyed all their idolatry, conuerting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries

to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who so listeth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy liues of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea euen in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the last chapter of this booke. Herein haue I vsed more copy of examples then otherwise I would haue done, sauing that I haue bene in place, where this maner of planting the Christian faith hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I ioyne many moe, but whosoeuer is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the authors last aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I trust) prooued that we may iustly trade and traffique with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth shew the lawfull title which the Queenes most excellent Maiestie hath vnto those countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

And it is very euident that the planting there shal in time right amply enlarge her Maiesties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather say) restore to her Highnesse ancient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arriued and there planted

1170. Owen Guyneth was then Prince of North-wales.

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Nullum tempus occurrit Regi. This Island was discouered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his last iourney.

himselfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leauing certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welsh Chronicle, where he then gaue to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

There is likewise a foule in the saide countreys called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth the said foules haue white heads. There is also in those countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreouer, there are diuers other Welsh wordes at this day in vse, as Dauid Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma[2] that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his subiects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes, vsed these speeches following.

Mutezuma his Oration to his subiects in presence of Hermando Cortes, which Oration was made about the yeere 1520.

My kinsmen, friends, and seruants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I haue bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient subiects, and so I hope you will remaine vnto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your fathers, or else our diuines haue instructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that he would send such as should rule and gouerne vs, if by chance he himselfe returned not, &c.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being thoroughly considered, because they haue relation to some strange noble person, who long [016]

[2] Montezuma.

before had possessed those countreys, doe all sufficiently argue the vndoubted title of her Maiestie: forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselues, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further proofe of her highnesse title sithence the arriuall of this noble Briton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the seuenth, Letters patents were by his Maiestie granted to Iohn Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, his three sonnes, to discouer remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which discouery was afterwardes executed to the vse of the Crowne of England, in the sayde Kings time, by Sebastian and Sancius his sonnes, who were borne here in England: in true testimony whereof there is a faire hauen in Newfoundland, knowen, and called vntill this day by the name of Sancius hauen, which proueth that they first discouered vpon that coast from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

M. Oliuer Dalbony.
M. Edward Reow.
M.R.H. M.I.A.

And this may stand for another title to her Maiesty: but any of the foresayd titles is as much or more then any other Christian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obtained by the discouery of Christopher Columbus, and the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnesse of her Maiesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countreys is likely to proue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

Now to shew how the same is likely to prooue very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that

the greatest iewell of this realme, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in marshal matter and maner, is the multitude of ships, masters and mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall nauy of her Maiesty, which by reason of this voyage shall haue both increase and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in sundry places of this realme ships haue beene built and set forth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing onely: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken and brought into England by the English nauy of fishermen, will no suffice for the expense of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men doe not goe so farre Westerly as the especiall fishing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatnesse of fish, is for that they haue no succour and knowen safe harbour in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish as long as pleased themselues, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish ready taken, salted, and dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof Dauid Ingram (who trauelled in those countreys as aforesayd) sayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elsewhere. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our shippes and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing onely: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

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Cox the master.

Moreouer, it is well knowen that all Sauages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of ciuility, will take maruelous delight in any garment, be it neuer so simple; as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotton cassocke, a cap, or such like, and

will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe haue heard this report made sundry times by diuers of our countreymen, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelue yeeres together, and some of lesse time; that the people in those parts are easily reduced to ciuility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons and artificers, whose names are quoted in the margent,[3] I do leaue to the iudgement of such as are discreet and questionlesse; hereby it will also come to passe, that all [018] such townes and villages as both haue beene, and now are vtterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes more excessiuely then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate: all which doe likewise tend to the inlargement of our nauy, and maintenance of our nauigation.

To what end need I endeuour my selfe by arguments to proue that by this voyage our nauie and nauigation shalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest and late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who since the first discouery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themselues and their subiects: but haue also by iust account trebled the number of their shippes, masters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance?

Besides this, it will prooue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, and vnprofitable to this realme, shall hereby be set on worke, but also children of twelue or fourteene yeeres of age,

The idle persons of this realme shall by occasion of this iourney bee well imployed and set on worke.

[3] *Marginal note*.—Clothiers. Woolmen. Carders. Spinners. Weauers Fullers. Sheermen. Diers. Drapers. Cappers. Hatters, &c. and many decayed townes repayred.

or vnder, may bee kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreouer, our idle women (which the Realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, drying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countreys most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselues in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the whale for Trane, and making casks to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying, salting and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons that are no men of Art or Science.

Hempe doeth growe neere S. Laurence riuer naturally.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number of the naturall Subiects of this Realme, which doe now liue here idlely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a passage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by sundry authors to be found leading to Cataia, the Molluccas and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconueniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doeth minister.

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Read the beginning of the booke intituled Diuers touching the discouery of America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of sound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vse and trade amongst vs.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countreis is likely to proue to the particular profit of all aduenturers.

I must, now according to my promise shew foorth some probable reasons that the aduenturers in this iourney are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore conuenient that I doe diuide the aduenturers into two sorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themselues, and the Merchants by themselues. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there shall be one societie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another societie of the merchants. And yet not so diuided, but that eche society may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselues, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I say, that all these things are verie easie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adioyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the eleuation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily coniecture: the rather because I doe certainly vnderstand, that some of those which haue the [020]
managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reueale the same, when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat and settle themselues in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as haue bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds and fowles both for pleasure and necessary for vse of man are to be found.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Beasts for pleasure.
Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers

other such like for pleasure. Also for such as haue delight in hauking, there are haukes of sundry kinds, and great store of game, both for land and riuer, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eighteene foote long, of which sort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was vpon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of diuers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage aboue two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and solde in France for fortie shillings an hide: and with this agreeth Dauid Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe; there are likewise beasts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be diuers of good credit in this realme that haue tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once settled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

Hides solde for forty shillings a piece.

Great grapes. Wine of the Palme tree.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed Merchants, as haue a desire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will first say vnto them, as I haue done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees abouesayde, is doubtlesse to bee found the most wholesome and best temperature of ayre, fertilitie of soyle, and euery other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we doe trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moscouie and Eastland. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time procured from thence with lesse danger then now we haue them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand vpon likelihoods and presumptions, I say

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that such persons as haue discouered and trauelled those partes, doe testifie that they haue found in those countreys all these things following, namely:

Of beasts for furres: Marterns, Beauers, Foxes, blacke and white, Leopards.

Of wormes: Silke wormes great and large.

Of Birds: Hawkes, Bitters, Curlewes, Herons, Partridges, Cranes, Mallards, Wilde geese, Stocke dooues, Margaus, Blacke birds, Parrots, Pengwins.

Of Fishes: Codde, Salmon, Seales, Herrings.

Of Trees: Palme trees yeelding sweet wines, Cedars, Firres, Sasafras, Oake, Elme, Popler, and sundry other strange Trees to vs vnknowen.

Of fruites: Grapes very large, Muskemellons, Limons, Dates great, Orrenges, Figges, Prunes, Raisins great and small, Pepper, Almonds, Citrons.

Of Mettals: Golde, Siluer, Copper, Lead, Tinne.

Of Stones: Turkeis, Rubies, Pearls great and faire, Marble of diuers kindes, Iasper, Christall.

Sundry other commodities of all sorts: Rosen, Pitch, Tarre, Turpentine, Frankincense, Honny, Waxe, Rubarbe, Oyle Oliue, Traine oyle, Muske codde, Salt, Tallow, Hides, Hempe, Flaxe, Cochenello and dies of diuers sorts, Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Featherbeds.

And seeing that for small costs, the trueth of these may be vnderstood (whereof this intended supply will giue vs more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to aduenture some competent portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise. [022]

Now for the triall hereof, considering that in the articles of the societie of the aduenturers in this voyage, there is prouision made, that no aduenturer shall be bound to any further charge then his first aduenture: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe his children, his apprentises and seruants, his and

their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priuiledge that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the said articles it is likewise prouided, that none other then such as haue aduentured in the first voyage, or shal become aduenturers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say vnto all such according to the olde prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reap by traffique into other farre countries, shal by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge, I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe riuers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twise in the yere at the least.

Commodities found in August last.

But let vs omit all presumptions how vehement soeuer, and dwel vpon the certainty of such commodities as were discouered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, and his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serue the whole realme of euery of these kindes: And of Traine oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which haue bene there, it would seeme incredible.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discouered there) I doe holde them for some respects, more meete for a time to be concealed then vttered.

Of the fishing I doe speake nothing, because it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the [023] Sauages doe require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, siluer, and precious stones. All which are matters

in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the aboue specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister iust occasion to thinke all cost and labour well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein those commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necccessary things, and fish of farre greater sise and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serue our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine riuer doth thereunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I doe not hereby meane the passage to the Molluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres past, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ship out of the Island of Iersey to the ende that they would keepe that trade secret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the said ship, to goe with them, which shippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooued very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already sayd, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serue for a taste, vntill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie to send vs better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this iourney, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the iudgement and liking of such of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not neccessary in this treatise, publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

The sixth Chapter sheweth that, the traffique and planting in those countries, shall be vnto the Sauages themselues very beneficiall and gainefull.

Now to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not vndertaken
[024] altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selues and our countrey (as generally other trades and iournies be) it shall fall out in proofe, that the Sauages shall hereby haue iust cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was vndertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the deuill to Christ, from hell to heauen. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde vs (were they many moe) that they should but receiue this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But hereunto it may bee obiected, that the Gospel must bee freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors, Kings and Princes, aswel before Christs time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answere, we may say
2 Corinth. 9. with S. Paul, If wee haue sowen vnto you heauenly things, doe you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. These heauenly tidings which those labourers our countreymen (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present vnto them, doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreouer, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they shall receiue from vs, be weighed in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equal iudgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receiue, shall farre surmount those which they

shall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put their land to some vse: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to ciuilitie and knowledge, and made then to vnderstand how the tenth part of their Land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary vse of mans life, then the whole now doeth: What iust cause of complaint may they haue? And in my private opinion, I do verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receiue by the Christians: for, ouer and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shal be reduced from vnseemly customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well gouerned common wealth, and withall, shalbe taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most vpon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and bloodsucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their liues shalbe preserued. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shall be preserued from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and ever heretofore vsed amongst them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpose were it not that I doe feare lest I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

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This bargen cannot be uniust, where both parties are gainers.

The seuenth Chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

Now therefore for proofe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons,

who wil neither be actors in any good action themselues, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Esops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath prouided such meanes for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand vs in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to hold his merciful hand ouer this realme, in preseruing the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in such penurie and want, as they could be contented to hazard their liues, and to serue one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like iourneyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreouer, things in the like iourneyes of greatest price and cost as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had
[026] in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corselets are not needefull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a iourney may present: for a small quantitie of all these, to furnish the Fort only, will suffice vntill such time as diuers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand vs in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we haue also, which in such like cases is a matter of marueilous cost, and will be in in this iourney procured very easily (that is to say) to transport yeerely as well our people, as all other necessaries needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in

Newfound-land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie vessels in effect, sauing some litle fraight with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldier, wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise haue giuen out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priuiledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straight way thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serueth to bring vs thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Ianuarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they haue in a few or none of other iourneyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, hauing but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twentie or foure and twentie dayes at the most. And in the same our iourney, by reason it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreyes, we may safely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subiect to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heretofore sometimes vpon slender occasion in other parts haue stayed our ships and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countrymen haue bene vtterly vndone, diuers put to ransome, yea, and some lost their liues: a thing so fresh in memorie as it neede no proofe, and is well worthy of consideration. [027]

Besides, in this voyage we doe not crosse the burnt line,[4] whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yeelde sundry extreame dangers but haue a

[4] Equator

temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to serue our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delayes by the way for taking in of fresh water and fewell, (a thing vsually done in long iournies) because, as I sayd aboue, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home haue found so wholesome and sweete, that they haue made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countreymen, the manifold benefits and commodities and pleasures heretofore vnknowen, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reueiled vnto vs, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like dormice haue slumbred in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting friuolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selues, questionlesse we should not only hereby set forth the glory of our heauenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good successe in the countrey of the Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subiect in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepstow in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges haue passed ouer into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which History our owne chronicles do witnesse: And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spanyards, who haue bene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse, and enioy so large a tract of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. English miles at the least, that

the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession, besides many goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, [028] Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said land is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

Or why should our noble nation be dismaid, more then was Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a priuate gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an ouerthrow vnto that mighty king Chemaccus, hauing an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

2. Decad. lib. 5. fol. 77. of the West Indies in English. Canoa is a kind of boat. 3. Decad. lib. I. fol. 97. About the yere of our Lord 1511.

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a priuate gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious and triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen and sixe pieces of Ordinance only, he ouerthrew 40000. Indians. The same Cortes with his sayd number of Spanyards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it aboue the number of 50000. Indians at the least, and in short time after obtained not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

Conquest of the West Indies. fol. 43. and 45. English.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but priuate gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discouerie and conquest of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieued in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he

A marueilous victorie.

tooke the great and mightie prince Atabalipa prisoner, midst the number of 60000. Indians his subiects, which were euer before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleased God to grant vnto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not hauing in his company aboue the number
[029] of 210. Spaniards, whereof there were not past threescore horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered vnto Pyzarro for his ransome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and siluer, and such golde and siluer vessels as they then vsed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which ransome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after when as this mighty prince had sent to his vassals and subiects to bring in gold and siluer for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cusco, as also to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire house, all slated and couered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie arose amongst the Spanyards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the said prince had politikely offered this great ransome vnder pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spanyards should be taken, slaine and ouerthrowen: wherevpon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and siluer already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inuentorie of the same, as well for the Emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwise, there was found to be already brought in into the sayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of siluer, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches neuer before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift part of, siluer 26485. pound waight, and to euery horseman eight thousand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of siluer.

Euery souldier had 4550. pezos of gold and 280. pound waight of siluer. Euery Captaine had some 30000. some 20000. pezos of gold and siluer proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, ouer and besides the massie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Letter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: neuer were there before that day souldiers so rich in so small a time, and with so little danger And in this iourney for want of yron, they did shoe their horses, some with gold, and some with siluer. This is to be seene in the generall historie of the West Indies, where as the [030] doings of Pizarro, and the conquest of Peru is more at large set forth.

To this may I adde the great discoueries and conquests which the princes of Portugall haue made round about the West, the South, and the East parts of Africa, and also at Callicut and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the sayd coastes and Islands, euer as they discouered: which being lightly weyed and considered, doth minister iust cause of yncouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subiects of this noble realme of England, to discouer, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from vs, but neere adioyning land offring themselues vnto vs (as is aforesayd) which haue neuer yet heretofore bene in the actuall possession of any other Christian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a little animate and encourage vs to looke out and aduenture abroad, vnderstanding what large Countreys and Islands the Portugals with their small number haue within these few yeeres discouered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I haue thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys, and Islands, so neere as I could vpon

the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Island of Geisera and towne of Arzila, not past an 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane and chiefe citie of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigan, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomosta[5] a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that first discouered for their vse Cape Verd, with the Islands adioyning, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonauista and Sant Iago discouering also the riuer Senega, otherwise called Niger, and Cape Roxo and Sierra Leone, and in few yeeres after they did discouer the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mina: then discouered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Islands of Principe, da Nabon, S. Matthewe, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the said Island of S. Thomas the hauen towne or port of Pauosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was sent forth, who was the first man that discouered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Esperanze, and passing the currents that run vpon the said coast, on the Southeast part of Africa, betweene the said maine land and the Island of S. Laurence, otherwise called of the ancients, Madagascar, he discouered to the harbor named the Riuer of the Infant. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510. through the trauailes and discoueries

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Ceffella accompted to be the place where the noble and wise king Salomon did fetch his gold.

[5] Louis Cadamosto, a Venetian, born about 1422, sailed from Madeira in 1455. under the auspices of Dom Henry, son of King John of Portugal. He discovered Senegal, Cape Verd, and Gambia River. In a second voyage, in 1456, he pushed as far as the Saint Dominic River. On his return to his native land in 1464, he published an account of his travels.

of Vasques de Gama,[6] Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, Iohn de Empoli, Peter Sintia, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonzo de Albuquerque,[7] they did discouer, people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the East side of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the South Pole, and direct West from the Island of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also vpon the said East side of Africa, they did afterward discouer people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza, and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so vp to the Streight of Babell-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all vpon the East coast of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape Guarda Fu, and passed the great gulfe of Arabia and the Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrional latitude, they made their course againe directly towardes the South, and began to discouer, people, and [032] plant vpon the West side of the hither India at Goa, Mangolar, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Island of Zeilam.[8]

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting vpon this coast, their forces grewe so great that they were able to compel all the Moores, the subiectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute vnto them, euer as they passed the gulfe of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Foelix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes

[6] Vasco da Gama was the first to double the Cape of Good Hope. Died at Cochin, 24th December 1525.

[7] Alonzo, Duke of Albuquerque, an illegitimate descendant of the Kings of Portugal, established the Portuguese power on the East Coast of Africa, in Arabia, the Persian Gulf, further India, the Moluccas, etc. As Viceroy of the East Indies, his justice and chivalrous nature won the love and respect of all, and many years after his death, which happened in 1515, the natives used to make pilgrimages to his tomb to pray for justice against his cruel successors.

[8] Ceylon.

of the sayd land, euer as they passed to and from the hauens of Cochin, Calecut, and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of discipline practised in those partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Persians, and professed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and vse of the Caliuer shot, and to interlace and ioyne footemen with his horsemen, sithence which time the Persians haue growen to that strength and force, that they haue giuen many mighty and great ouerthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

These are the furthest parts of the world from England. At these Islands hath sir Francis Drake bene, where the fame of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie was renowmed.

And from the Island of Zeilam aforesayd they all discouered more East in passing the gulfe of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous riuer of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, vnder the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and vnto the great and large Islands of Sumatra, Iaua maior, Iaua minor, Mindanao, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other the Islands of Molucques and Spiceries, and so East alongst the coasts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinsay, and to the Island of Zipango and Iapan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. These are their noble and worthie discoueries. Here also is not to bee forgotten, that in the yeere of our Lord. 1501, that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Vespucius did discouer, people, and plant to their vse the holdes and forts which they haue in Brasill, of whom (he but being a priuate gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the West Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

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I doe greatly doubt least I seeme ouer tedious in the recitall of the particular discoueries and Conquests of the East and West Indies, wherein I was the more bold to vrge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such as are not acquainted with the histories, how the king of Portugall, whose Countrey for popularity and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of England,

and the king of Spaine likewise, whose natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by means of their discoueries within lesse then 90. yeeres past, haue as it appeareth both mightily and marueilously enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose aid we shall not need to doubt, seeing the cause and quarrell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian faith.

To conclude, since by Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to the encreasing the true flock of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renowned memorie, and leaue vnto our posteritie a diuine memoriall of so godly an enterprise: Let vs I say for the considerations alledged, enter into iudgement with our selues, whether this action may belong to vs or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty assistance of the omnipotent God, shall take our desired effect (whereof there is no iust cause of doubt.) Then shal her Maiesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse ancient titles iustly confirmed, all odious idlenesse from this our Realme vtterly banished, diuers decayed townes repaired, and many poor and needy persons relieued, and estates of such as now liue in want shail be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannical neighbours, the diabolicall custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Sauiour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for he that cannot erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations. Which good work I trust is reserued for our nation to accomplish in these parts: Wherefore my deere countreymen, be not dismayed: for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the loue that he hath to the preaching and planting

[034] of the Gospel any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally vndertaken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques, Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West: and Vasques de Gama, Peter Aluares, et Alonso de Albuquerque in the East: Let vs therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the sequell to Almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee against vs: Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatsoeuer is in this treatise too much or too little, otherwise vnperfect, I take leaue and so end.

II. A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, incouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoueries, &c.

I vnderstand aswel by a letter I long since receiued from the Maior of Bristoll, as by conference with Sir Iohn Pekham, that you haue endeuoured, and giuen much light for the discouery of the Westerne partes yet vnknowen: as your studie in those things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue, your trauell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in priuate, but to the publike benefice of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

III. A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, concerning their aduenture in the Westerne discouerie.

After my heartie commendations, I haue for certaine causes deferred the answere of your letter of Nouember last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westerne discouerie I cannot but much commend. And for that sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you haue heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then [035]
yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil prooue profitable to the Aduenturers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steuenton, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heertily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

IV. A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretary to her Maiestie, concerning a Westerne voyage intended for the discouery of the coast of America, lying to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

Right honourable, vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto me and deliuered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steuenton, bearing the date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in priuate, whom I know most affectionate to this most godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as conuenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed vnto me priuately, to be read in publike, and after some good light giuen by M. Hakluyt vnto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolued the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands then present, and apparently knowen by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and vpward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westerne discouery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we haue heard

much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to haue M. Steuenton your honours messenger, and one well knowen to vs [036]
as captaine. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe vs of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honors best and most conuenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristol. March 27. 1583.

V. A briefe and summary discourse vpon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America: written by Captaine Carlile in April, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscouian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound fiue shilling.

When the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered vnto him, he presently bringeth the same to the touchstone, where by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he forthwith is able to iudge what the value is of that, which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make some briefe repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen vnto vs, whereby we may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is presently recommended vnto your knowledge and resolution.

And first to lay downe that of Moscouia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discouery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, togither with the leud dealing of some of their seruants, who thought themselues safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company aboue fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good
[037] course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euery body vnderstood.

Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that vncertainty of the Emperours disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadours betweene that Prince and her Maiesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on vs, hath likewise an aduantage vpon the ships in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoeuer he listeth to take the opportunitie.

The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen to be such towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many iniuries ouerlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to depriue them wholy of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose haue of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and ancient priuiledges in all their great townes.

The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to haue so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with vs vpon sudden occasions, and the presents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds.

As for the trades into all the parts of Italie, it may easily be considered by euery one of iudgement, that the same stand in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and trauell, are set at such excessiue ransoms before they can bee freed of their slauerie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three [038]
hundred, yea, foure or fiue hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enuiously the Venetians doe already oppose themselues against our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late customs which they haue imposed as well vpon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also vpon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoever it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Remember the great arrest of the Hollanders. An. 1598.

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee haue very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as also of the prouision they haue from the same, wherewith are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoeuer the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons depriue vs not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to bee noted, that when hee shall take a quarrell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoeuer hee bee that is but meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieued in his heart to consider, that his children and seruants whom hee desireth to haue well brought vp, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and to acquaint themselues with that which the Parents and Masters doe vtterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereaboutes, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many points of [039]

good moment belonging vnto it, as may almost be wished for.

1 As first it is to be vnderstood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discouerie thereof.

Commodities of this voyage in shortnesse.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is vpon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage. are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any foreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their seruants or children, shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable vnto their Parents and Masters.

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainely able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscouia and other.

But when this of America shall haue bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be imployed well, twise the yeere at the least. And

Commodities of the countrey more then those of Moscouie.

if for the present there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting but by that matter only to serue halfe a dozen of your best sorts of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for. [040]

The seuerall merchandise.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of those parts which stand to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an especiall good fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld vs now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Masts, Losshe hides, rich Furres, and other such like without being in any son beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselues alreadie very faire and in great abundance. Oliues being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will giue them such trifling things as they desired of vs, and shewing them once the means how to prouide the same, the labour thereof being so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to haue the same in good quantitie for vs. Besides, what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may serue for the fishing of those partes, may well appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

A lake of salt in Vasques his voyage.

Thus much for the beginning, because they may bee had with

an easie kinde of trauell: but when it may haue pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may haue planted amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar treating them, they bee made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet vnderstand of, and that in so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe: It is to bee assuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forsake their barbarous and sauage liuing, and growe to such order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may be well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diuersitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with vs, so these parts being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, [041] or giue lesse occasion of disquiet. But when it is considered that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which haue the government, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most louing and most assured friends?

There are further to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good prospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall but a very liberall vtterance of our English Clothes into a maine Country, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall haue wonderfull great vse of her sayde English Clothes, after they shall come once to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, ouer many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee prouided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serue in some reasonable and conuenient sort, to transport our Merchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly perfourmed

by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, vntill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who hauing long since expected some profits herein, vpon the great promises that haue bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe therevpon conceiue that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furnish their money towards the charge of the first discouerie.

But nowe to answere some others who begin with an other objection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that once these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Whereunto I answere, that in all attempts vnknowen, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand,
[042] the first charges are commonly aduentured in more desperate kinde, then those that followe vpon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselues bee willing and desirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembred by those who be Merchants, euen in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres haue fallen into those termes of some likelyhood, as is aforesayde.[9] So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by

[9] *Marginal note*.—The ewer of metal brought by M. Fromisher, caused two seuerall supplies, the two yeeres next following; whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ships.

them who directly came from thence, that such a Countrey and people they haue themselues seene, as is by vs spoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of those, who haue nowe neither heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such friuolous scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their fredoms of trade I would not haue pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather as such as haue great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, and that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Prouerbe that is vsed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of Common weale, and to those especially in priuate, who take on them the hazard of their life and trauell, or substance in the first attempts: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of each one towardes the vndertaking of this aduenture, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reasons doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite number of other, who [043] presently liue in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discouerie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion vpon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be vrged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discouery of the Moscouian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the

Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sinke, for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I haue beene throughly resolued to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to vnderstand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who haue any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before vs, in as much as thereby wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the sauage people to Christianitie and ciuilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their liuings after their parents decease, are driuen to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into such disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselues led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into such
[044] vile deedes: and insteade thereof, prooue greatly seruiceable in those affaires, where they might be so imployed.

Master Carliles owne experience

This I speake of mine owne experience, hauing seene diuers come ouer to the warres of the lowe Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had bene very euill and idle liuers, and by some little continuance with vs, haue growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in euery point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason enough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath bene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subiect wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may vnderstande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters, very directly.

In the yeere 1534. Iames Carthier, of S. Malo made his first discouerie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumes might haue bene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this yeere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouision into the Grand bay againe, where he keping the Northerly shoare, ran vp the great Riuer that comes downe from Canada and other places, vntill at last with his small pinnesses, (hauing left his great shipping by the way) be arriued at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which trauaile he had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient

for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discouerie, to winter it out in those partes, which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in
[045] these partes, and the sauage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of prouision, euen as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuse to serue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towardes the ende when the neede was most, as with our selues the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants serued all the yeere and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discouerie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes, wherewith the willing people endeuoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue beene well vnderstoode, they resolued with themselues to take some of the sufficientest men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them so long, as that hauing once atchieued the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least trauaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themselues, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best infourmed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further seruice, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discouerie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caryed away into France, where hee liued foure yeeres, and then dyed a

Christian there, as Theuet the French Kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as neuer since they would admit any conuersation or familiaritie with them, vntill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Marchants, who meant to haue kept the trade secret vnto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Iersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, sauing a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they haue multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of fourescore tunnes: which report is giuen by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of some of them.

The Frenchmens trade renewed in Canada, in the yeere 1581.

[046]

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Guernsey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got foureteene or fifteene hundreth for euery one hundreth: But how soeuer it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of some notable profite, in asmuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

Nowe if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath beene declared vnto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and

The South part best for inhabiting and traffique.

perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no otherwise with you for your seuerall small summes, then I doe with myselfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and trauaile of my person, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and vnspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

[047]

VI. Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchants, to conferre with M. Carlile, vpon his intended discouerie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America.

The names of the Committies.

Master Alderman Hart.
Master Alderman Spencer.
Master Hoddesden.
Master William Burrough.
Master Slany.
Master Towerson.
Master Staper.

Master Iohn Castelin.
Master Leake.

First the Committies are well perswaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with sauage people of a milde and tractable disposition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the onely most fit and most commodious for vs to intermeddle withall.

The conuenientest manner of attempting this enterprise is thought to bee thus: That there should be one hundreth men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular estate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or presently looked for.

The charge to transport these hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furnish them of munition and other needefull things, will not be lesse then foure thousand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Bristoll one thousand poundes, the residue being three thousande poundes, remaineth to bee furnished by this Citie of London, or any others who will aduenture their money in this first preparation.

The furnishing foorth of 100. men for one yeere will cost 4000. li.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a Priuilege should be procured by Master Carlile from her Maiesty, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following may be effectually prouided for.

[048]

First, that they who shall disbursse their money for the first preparation shall be named Aduenturers, and shall haue the one halfe of all such landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and siluer, and other metals whatsoeuer, as shall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this discouery: yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of all such gold and siluer, as shall happen to be had out of any mines that so shall be found.

That those parties which doe employ themselues personally in the present discouerie, shall be named Enterprisers, and shall haue the other halfe, of all the Lands, Territories, Townes, Mines

of Gold and Siluer and other mettals, yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of the Gold and Siluer as the Aduenturers do: The same to bee distributed by the Generall, with the consent of the greatest part of twelue discreet persons to bee chosen out of the whole number of the Enterprisers.

Also, that all trade of Merchandise which shall be vsed to and from those partes, which by this discouerie shall bee found out, shall apperteine onely to the Aduenturers which first shall disbursse their money for this discouery, which prohibition to all other her Maiesties subiects, and other Marchants to deale in the sayd parts, without the consent of the first Aduenturers, vpon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall aduenture in trade of merchandise: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure.

That no person shall hereafter aduenture in this discouerie as Aduenturers for the profits mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disbursse their money in the first preparation: and they shall not aduenture hereafter any greater summe, then ratably according to their proportion of this their first aduenture.

Also, the profite which by this discouerie shall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwise gotten: as also such profite which by this discouerie shall bee obtained by mines, or otherwise gotten, that eche one shall haue his part rate and rate, like, according to the proportion of their first aduenture, and not otherwise.

The Aduenturers in this first preparation shall at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to require the same. And yet withall shall for euer holde to them
[049] the freedome of the trade which shall growe in any of these partes: notwithstanding their sayd refusall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obteined, be graunted, that all her Maiesties subiects may transport themselues thither that

shall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his assignes may shippe thither from time to time, so many and such persons, men, women, and children, as they shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any lawe to the contrary notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, against all others, which shall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obteined.

That it shall not be lawful for any of her Maiesties subiects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall haue setled his chiefest being or residence.

VII. A relation of the first voyage and discouerie of the Isle Ramea, made for Monsieur de La Court Pre Ravillon and Grand Pre, with the ship called the Bonauenture, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beasts called the Morses with great teeth, which we haue perfourmed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591.

The fleete of Canada.

For the performance of our said voyage, we departed from S. Malo with the fleete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ships called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then lost them, a violent wind arising at Northwest, which separated vs.

After which we had faire wether, and came to the coast of Cape Rase, and had no further knowledge thereof, because the winde was at the Southwest but a scarce gale: and we came to the sounding Southwest of the Isles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 20. fathoms water, and we sayled Northwest one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

The next day being the 6. of May 1591. we were come to Cape de Rey, and saw a ship Southwest of vs, and stayed there that night.

The next day being the seuenth of the sayd moneth, we came to the Isles of Aponas, where we put foorth our boat, because
[050] we had not past 8. leagues to our hauen, which we kenned very clearly, although the coasts lay very low: and because the night approched, and the wind grew very high, we sought not to seeke our port, because it is very hard to find it when the wind is lofty, because of the shoalds that are about it. And we thought to keepe our course vntill the next morning between the Isle of Biton and the Isle of Aponas. But there arose so great a tempest at the Southwest, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among these Isles. And we trauersed vp and downe eleuen dayes, making our prayers vnto God to ende the tempest and to send vs faire weather, that we might obteine our hauen: which of his goodnesse he gaue vs. The last of May we ranged the Isle Ramea on the Northnorthwest side, vnto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southsoutheast: and seeing no land on the West side, wee ranged the sayd land to the East one quarter to the North at the least 15. leagues, and being from the shore some eight leagues, we found 15 fathoms water, and passed betweene the Isle of Duoron and the Isle of Ramea, where goeth a chanel of 3. leagues bredth; in the midest whereof you shall haue 7. 8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Isle Ramea, and the Isle Duoron lie Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. And take heede you come not neere the low

point of the Isle Ramea by a great league, for I haue sounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Isle is marked. And the harbour of the Isle Ramea lyeth Northeast and Southwest, one quarter to the East and West. And if you would enter the sayd harbour, keepe you a league off the shoare: for often times there is great danger.

The markes of the harbour of the Isle Ramea.

And that you may know the sayd hauen, to the Eastnortheast of the sayde Isle there are high lands appearing to them that are without on all sides like a number of Islands, but in very deede they are all firme land: and if you come on the South and Southwest side, you shall see a hill diuided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the hauen. And for another better marke of the sayd harbour, you shall see an Isle like vnto a Floure de lice, distant from the sayd hauen 6. leagues at the least: and this Isle and the sayd hauen lie Northeast and Southwest, a quarter to the North and South. And on the sayd Isle there is good pebble stone to drie fish vpon: But to the West thereof there is a very faire countrey: and there is a banke of sande, which runneth the length of a cable, hauing not past one fathom water vpon it. From the sayd Isle along the firme land the coast lyeth East and West, and you shall see as it were a great forrest running eastward: and the Easterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the sayd lands you shall see as it were a small Island, but it ioyneth to the firme land on the Southwest part: and there is good shingle to drie fish on. And you must coast the shore with boates and not with ships, by reason of the shallowes of the sayd coast. For I haue seene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from shore, and I iudged by reason of the highnesse of the land, that there had bene aboue thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing so: and I haue sounded comming neere the shore, in more or lesse depth. The coast stretcheth three leagues to the West from Lisle Blanche or the white Isle, vnto the entrance of a riuer, where we slewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Morses or Sea oxen,

An Isle like a Floure de lice.

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A banke of sand.

The maine a shold coast.

Lisle Blanche. The place where they killed 1500. Morses.

accounting small and great, where at full sea you may come on shoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coast trendeth foure leagues to the West 1/4 to the Northwest vnto the Isle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: vpon it there is neither wood nor grasse: there are Morses vpon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coast trendeth to the Northwest and Northnorthwest: which is all that I haue seene, to wit, the two sides and one ende of the Isle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Masters, when I was on the Northwest side with my shippe, I would haue aduentured to haue sayled South-southeast, to haue discouered the Easterne shoare of the sayd Isle.

Sands and sholds. A smal Island conteining a league of ground.

In your returne to the East, as you come from the hauen of Cape du Chapt vnto the sayde hauen are sandes and sholds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a small Island conteining about a league of ground: where there is an hauen toward the Southeast: and as you enter into the sayd hauen on the

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A hard hauen.

starreboord side; a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the sayd hauen but with the flood, because of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the sayd hauen. The tydes are there at Southeast and Northwest; but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the hauen at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth fiue foote and an halfe. The markes to enter into the sayd hauen are to leaue the Isle Blanche or White Island at your comming in on the starreboord; and the poynt of the hauen toward the West hath a thick Island, which you shall see on the other side, and it hath a little round Buttresse, which lyeth on the East side of the Island. There are also two other buttresses more easie to be seene then hidden: these are not to the East but to the West, and they haue markes on them. Here you shall not haue aboue two fathom and an halfe at a full sea vpon this barre. And the sounding is stone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you shall finde white sand which lyeth next the Southeast of the Cape, then you are vpon the barre: and bee not

Markes to come into the hauen.

The barre.

afrayd to passe vp the chanell. And for markes towarde the West athwart the barre, when you haue brought an Island euen, which lyeth to the westward without, with the thicke part of the high land which lyeth most to the West, you shall bee past the barre: and the chanell runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the sayd hauen, see that you carefully seeke the middest of the sayd Thicke land, which lyeth in the bottome of the sayd hauen: for you must anchor betweene two bankes of sand, where the passage is but narrow. And you must anker surely: for there goeth a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as swiftly. There is good ground and ankorage here: and you shall ride in three fathom water. And within the sayde hauen there is nothing to hurt you, for you are free from all winds. And if by chance you should be driuen Westward of the sayd hauen, you may seeke an entrance, which is right ouer against the small Island named before, which is called The Isle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other hauen at a full sea: And you must passe vpon the West side, and you shall finde on the Barre at a full sea fourteene foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very swiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeast and Northwest.

The best anchorage.

Another entrance. The Isle of Cormorants.

[053]

Right ouer against you on the other side, you may passe with boates at a full sea. And all these entrances make all but one hauen, which is good within. I say this, because I haue passed into the maine Sea by the one and the other passage. And the said Isle is not past two leagues ouer in the middest. It is but two bankes of sande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo, which let the Sea from passing through the middest of all the Isle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Islands altogether cut and separated with streames and riuers.

To anker in the sayd harbour, you must not ride farther then fiue or sixe cables length from the sayd hauen.

VIII. A letter sent to the right Honourable Sir William Cecil Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England &c. From M. Thomas Iames of Bristoll, concerning the discouerie of the Isle of Ramea, dated the 14 of September. 1591.

Right Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordship done, I thought good humbly to aduertise your honour of the discouery of an Island made by two smal shippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies past being prised neare Silley by a ship of which I am part owner, called the Pleasure, sent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Maiesties seruice. Which prise is sent backe to this Port by those of the sayd shippes, with upwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Island lyeth in 47. degrees, some fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and some part of the Island is flat Sands and shoulde: and the fish commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May and Iune, by numbers of thousands, which fish is very big: and hath two great teeth: and the skinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of fiue of the saide fishes they make a hogshead of Traine, which Traine is very sweet, which if it will make sope, the king of
[054] Spaine may burne some of his Oliue trees. Humbly praying your Lordship to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightie. From Bristoll this 14 of September. 1591. Your Honours most humbly at commandement. THOMAS IAMES.

IX. A briefe note of the Morsse and the vse thereof.

In the first voyage of Iaques Carthier, wherein he discouered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534. as you may reade in pag. 250 of this present volume,[10] he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words. About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouthes like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the sea. Wee sawe one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the sea. Touching these beasts which Iaques Carthier saith to be as big as Oxen, and to haue teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in Latine Boues Marini, or Vaccæ Marinæ, and in the Russian tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I haue seene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dressed I haue yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Buls hides in England. The Leather dressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets against the arrowes of the Sauages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores vse in Barbarie against arrowes and lances, whereof I haue seene diuers in her Maiesties stately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I haue seene a dry flat full at once, are a foote and some times more in length: and haue bene sold in England to the combe and knife makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best Iuory is solde for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow then the Iuorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beasts teeth which were brought from

[10] This page refers to Vol. III. of the Edition of 1812. For Jacques Cartier's voyage, see farther on.

the Isle of Ramea in the first prize, which was half a yard long
[055] or very little lesse: and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministering medicine to his patients, and had found it as soueraigne against poyson as any Vnicornes horne.[11]

X. The voyage of the ship called the Marigold of M. Hill of Redrife vnto Cape Briton and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an halfe, 1593. Written by Richard Fisher Master Hilles man of Redriffe.

The voyage of M. Drake of Apsham to Ramea.

The ship called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furnished with 20 men, wherof 10 were mariners, the Masters name being Richard Strong of Apsham, the Masters mate Peter Langworth of Apsham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morsses or sea Oxen (whereof diuers haue teeth aboue a cubit long and skinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other necessary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of Iune 1593 in consort of another ship of M. Drakes of Apsham, which vpon some occasion was not ready so soone as shee should haue bene by two moneths. The place for which these two ships were bound was an Island within the streightes of Saint Peter on the backe side of Newfoundland to the Southwest in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees, called by the Britons of Saint Malo the Isle of Ramea, but by the Sauages and naturals of the Continent next adioyning Menquit: On which Isle are so great abundance of the huge and mightie

The Isle of Ramea, or Menquit.

[11] A very curious account of the Unicorn is to be found in Goldsmid's Myths of Ancient Science, 1886.

Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and Iune, that there haue bene fifteene hundreth killed there by one small barke, in the yeere 1591. The two English shipps aforesayde, lost companie before they came to Newfoundland: and neuer came after together in all their voyage.

The ship of M. George Drake fell first with New-foundland, and afterward very directly came to the Isle Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where shee found a shippe of Saint Malo three parts fraighted with these fishes: the men whereof enquiring whence our shippe was and who was the Master thereof, being answered that shee was belonging to Master George Drake of Apsham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league [056] with England, fled so hastily that present night that they left three and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men seazed vpon and brought away as good prises home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-Oxen, but nothing such numbers as they might haue had, if they had come in due season, which they had neglected. The shippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfoundland the eleuenth of Iulie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuse, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and sayling toward the straight of Saint Peter (which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being vnacquainted with the place, beate vp and downe a very long time, and yet missed it, and at length ouer shot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

The English men land vpon Cape Briton.

Here diuerse of our men went on land vpon the very Cape, where, at their arriuall they found the spittes of Oke of the Sauages which had roasted meate a litle before. And as they viewed the countrey they sawe diuers beastes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But hauing found no people here at this our first landing wee went againe on shipboorde, and sayled farther foure leagues to the West of Cape Briton, where

They goe on shore in another place.

wee sawe many Seales. And here hauing neede of fresh water we went againe on shore. And passing somewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Sauages to keepe fish in, with certaine weares in them made to take fish. To these pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Sauage with blacke long hayre hanging about his shoulders who called vnto vs, weauing his handes downewardes towardes his bellie, vsing these wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one of our mens musket vnawares shot off: wherevpon hee fell downe, and rising vp suddenly againe hee cryed thrise with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right vp ouer the bushes with great agilitie and swiftnesse came towardes vs with white staues in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not so bigge as a grey-hounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired vnto our boate without any hurt at all receiued. Howbeit one of them brake an hogshead which wee had filled with fresh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Vpon which occasion we bestowed halfe a dozen muskets shotte vpon them, which they avoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themselues to the woodes. One of the Sauages, which seemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beastes skinnes hanging on one of his shoulders. The rest were all naked except their priuities, which were couered with a skinne tyed behinde. After they had escaped our shotte they made a great fire on the shore, belike to giue their fellowes warning of vs.

The people of the countrey came downe to our men.

Blacke dogs.

[057]

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of vs Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diuerse other kindes to vs vnknowne, because wee stayed not long with diligence to obserue them: and there is great shewe of rosen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land

abundance of Raspeses, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good smell, and diuers good for the skuruie, and grasse very ranke and of great length. Wee sawe fiue or sixe boates sayling to the Southwestwardes of Cape Briton, which wee iudged to bee Christians, which had some trade that way. Wee sawe also, while wee were on shore, the manner of their hanging vp their fish and flesh with withes to dry in the ayre: they also lay them vpon raftes and hurdles and make a smoake vnder them, or a softe fire, and so drie them as the Sauages vse to doe in Virginia.

A secret trade to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee sounded and had sixtie fathomes black ozie ground. And sayling thence Westwarde nine or ten leagues off the shore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde sande, and small whitish stones. Wee continued our course so farre to the Southwest, that wee brought ourselues into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, hauing sayled fiftie or sixtie leagues to the Southwest of Cape Briton. We found the current betweene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to set out toward the Eastsoutheast. In our course to the West of Cape Briton we saw exceeding great store of seales, and abundance of Porposes, whereof we killed eleuen. We sawe Whales also of all sortes aswel small as great: and here our men tooke many Iberded Coddes with one teate vnderneath, which are like to the Northeast Cods, and better then those of Newfoundland.

Soundings to the South and Southwestward of Cape Briton.

They sayle 50 or 60 leagues to the South-West of Cape Briton.

Great store of Seales, Porposes, Whales and Cods.

[058]

From our arriuall at the hauen of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforesayde the eleuenth of Iuly) we continued beating vp and downe on the coast of Arambec to the West and Southwest of Cape Briton vntil the twentie eight of September, fully by the space of eleuen weekes: and then by the perswasion of our Master and certaine others wee shaped our course homeward by the Isles of the Açores, and came first to Coruo and Flores, where beating vp and downe, and missing of expected pray, we sayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we sought to boorde a Portugall shippe, which

They continue on the coast from Cape Briton Westwards full eleuen weekes.

we found too well appointed for vs to bring along with vs, and so being forced to leaue them behinde and hauing wasted all our victuals, wee were constrained against our willes to hasten home vnto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Christmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very strange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our shippe by the space of many dayes as we passed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee coulde chase from our ship, untill one of our men fell ouerboord and was drowned, after which time shee immediatly forsooke vs, and neuer afterward appeared vnto vs.[12]

An huge Whale pursued their ship by the space of many dayes till one of their men fell ouerboord.

XI. A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. George Drake of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesayd yere 1593.

In the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher seruant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe reporte of their loosing of their consort the shippe of Master George Drake of Apsham: which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two moneths as she ought to haue bene, she was not onely the hinderance of her consort the Marigolde, and lost
[059] the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Morses or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and Iune: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Isle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled

[12] Probably a Shark.

and taken vp by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint Iohn de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee say. Which lingering improuidence of our men hath bene the ouerthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the vndertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Authour himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme I am constrained to leaue it out. The want whereof, for the better vnderstanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplyed by the voyage of Master Charles Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly preuented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischiefe, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayde gainefull and profitable trade.

Neuerthelesse albeit hitherto the successe hath not answered our expectation through our owne default, as is abouesaid, yet I was very willing to set downe in briefe and homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Siluester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that haue conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and haue brought vs true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes; while wee this long time haue stood still and haue bene idle lookers on, making courtesie who should giue the first aduenture, or once being giuen, who should continue or prosecute the same.

[060]

XII. The voyage of the Grace of Bristoll of M. Rice Iones, a Barke of thirty-fiue Tunnes, vp into the Bay of Saint Laurence to the Northwest of Newfoundland, as farre as the Ile of Assumption or Natiscotec, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by Siluester Wyet, Shipmaster of Bristoll.

Wee departed with the aforesaid Barke manned with twelue men for the place aforesaid from Bristoll the 4 of Aprill 1594 and fell with Cape d'Espere on the coast of Newefoundland the nineteenth of May in the heighth of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being distant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very same day.

The 20 day we were thwart of Cape Raz.

Then we set our course Northwest for Cape S. Marie, which is distant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eastside of the great bay of Placentia almost at the entrie thereof.

The Islands of the Martyers. The Isles of S. Peter.

From thence we shaped our course for the Islands of S. Pedro passing by the broken Islands of the Martyers, our course to the Isles of S. Pedro was West and by North. In these Isles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ships of Sibiburo fishing for Cod: where we stayed 2 dayes, and tooke in balest for our ship. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ship vpon the lee, and in 2 houres space we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our prouision of our ship. Then we departed from the Isle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulffe of S. Laurence betweene Cape

Briton and the said Isle, and set our course West North West, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be distant from the Isles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we set our course Northnorthwest being distant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeast and by East some 18 or 19 leagues.

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biskaine ships, which had bene cast away three yeeres before: where we had some seuen or eight hundred Whale finnes, and some yron bolts and chaines of their mayne shrouds and fore [061] shroudes: al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caske remained still. Some part of the commodities were spoiled by tumbling downe of the clifts of the hils, which couered part of the caske, and the greater part of those Whale finnes, which we vnderstood to be there by foure Spaniards which escaped, and were brought to S. Iohn de Luz. Here we found the houses of the Sauages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and set round like a Doue-house, and couered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found also some part of their victuals, which were Deeres flesh roasted vpon wooden spits at the fire, and a dish made of a ryne of a tree, sowed together with the sinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were also foules called Cormorants, which they had pluckt and made ready to haue dressed, and there we found a wooden spoone of their making. And we discerned the tracks of the feete of some fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

When we had dispatched our businesse in this bay of S. George and stayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northern point of the said Bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet escape the fisher for a time, are woont vsually to shoot themselues on shore on the Isle of Assumption, or Natiscotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great riuer that runneth vp to Canada, we shaped our course ouer to that

long Isle of Natiscotec, and wee found the distance of the way to the Estermost ende thereof to be about fourty foure leagues: and it standeth in the latitude of 49. Here wee arriued about the middest of Iune at the East end, and rode in eighteene fadome water, in faire white sand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaued a lyne ouerboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fish: we went also seuen of vs on shore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of diuers beastes in the sand when we were on shore. From the Easter end we went to the Norther side of the Island, which we perceiued to be but narrow in respect of the length thereof. And after wee had searched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to haue found there, and missed of our purpose, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Island of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eastermost part of Natiscoter some twelue leagues. From the Isle of Penguin wee shaped our course for Cape de Rey and had sight of the Island of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Isles of Saint Pedro, and so came into the Bay of Placentia, and arriued in the Easterside thereof some ten leagues vp within the Bay among the fishermen of Saint Iohn de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threescore and odde sayles, whereof eight shippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well vsed and they wished heartily for peace betweene them and vs. There the men of Saint Iohn and Sibiburo men bestowed two pinnesses on vs to make vp our voyage with fish. Then wee departed ouer to the other side of the Bay, where we arriued in an harbour which is called Pesmarck, and there made our stage and fished so long, that in the ende the Sauages came, and in the night, when our men were at rest, cut both our pinnesse and get them againe. Then for feare of a shrewder turne of the Sauages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and hauing passed Cape Kaz, we passed Northwarde foureteene leagues and

They land on the Isle of Natiscotec.

[062]

arriued in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie sayles of Englishmen, wee made vp our fishing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of August to our good content: and departing thence we arriued first in Combe and staied there a seuen night, and afterward in Hungrod in the riuer of Bristoll by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

XIII. The voyage of M. Charles Leigh, and diuers others to Cape Briton and the Isle of Ramea.

The Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, whereof was M. Steuen Bennet, bound vnto the riuer of Canada, set to sea at the sole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the saide Charles Leigh himselfe, and Steuen Van Herwick brother to the sayd Abraham, going themselues in the said ships as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graues-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after some hindrances, arriuing at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the said moneth put to sea againe. And with prosperous windes the [063]
18 of May we were vpon the Banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we lost the Chancewel. The 20 we had sight of land and entred within the bay of Assumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ship: and afterward in the same bay wee met with our consort. Whereupon we presently put to sea againe: and the next day we arriued at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was giuen vs at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) vntill the last of May.

On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuse to seeke Shallops but could find none. The first of Iune we set saile from Rogneuse, and the second we put roome to a bay vnder the Northside of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme storme. The 4 we set saile, and this day we saw a great Island of yce. The 5 at night we lost the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne setting we had sight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reason of contrary windes we cast anker vnder the Northeast ende of the Isle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reasonable ground. In that place we caught great store of Cods, which were larger and better fish then any in Newfoundland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the shore we fell to fishing where the Cods did bite at least 20 fathomes aboue ground, and almost as fast as we could hale them into the ship. The 14 we came to the two Islands of Birds, some 23 leagues from Monego: where there were such abundance of Birds, as is almost incredible to report. And vpon the lesse of these Islands of Birds, we saw great store of Morsses or sea Oxen, which were a sleepe vpon the rockes: but when we approched nere vnto them with our boate they cast themselues into the sea and pursued vs with such furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arriued at Brians Island, which lyeth 5 leagues West from the Island of Birds. About this Island ther is as great aboundance of cods as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught also a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was so great that the hooke could not hold her into the ship: but when she was aboue water she bent the hooke and escaped. In this Island we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, and great store of wood, but of smal groweth. Springes of fresh water we found none in all the Island, but some standing pooles of raine water. The same day at night we weighed anker againe. The 17 we had stormy weather. The 18 we came to the Isle of

The Isle of Menego.

The 2 Islands of Birdes.

Store of Morsses.

[064]

In Bryans Island excellent ground for corne and meadow.

Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our consort. And approching neere vnto the harborough of Halabolina we cast anker in 3 fadomes water and sent our great boate into the harborough, with the masters mate and some dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ships. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and two of Sibiburo adioyning to Saint Iohn de Luz being the French Kings subiects, whom they supposed to haue bene of Spaine, and so affirmed vnto vs. Whereupon wee went presently into harborough, finding but eleuen foote and an halfe of water vpon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had cast anker we sent presently to speake with the masters of all the ships: but those only of Saint Malo came aboord, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demaunded of whence the other two shippes were. They sayde as they thought of Saint Iohn de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we presently sent our boate for the Masters of both the sayd shippes, to request them to come aboord, and to bring with them there Charters parties and other euidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which message one of the sayde Masters came aboord, with the Pilote and Masters mate of the other shippe: whom when we had examined, they sayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings subiects. We requested them for our better securitie in the harborough peaceably to deliuer up their powder and munition: promising them that if we found them to be the French Kings subiects it shoulde be kept in safetie for them without diminishing. But they woulde not consent thereunto: whereunto we replyed, that vnlesse they would consent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not consenting, we sent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboorde their ship; but straightly commanded our men not to touch anything else in the ship vpon their further perill: which they promised to performe. When they came aboorde the said ships which were mored together, they were resisted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie: which done, they fell presently to pillaging [065]

of the Baskes, contrary to their promise: whereupon we sent another to forbidde them: but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my selfe, and tooke away from our men whatsoever they had pillaged, and gaue it againe to the owners: onely I sent aboord our owne ship their powder and munition to be kept in safetie vntil we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gaue the Baskes possession of their shippe againe, and tolde them they should not loose the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings subjects. Then I caryed away all our men, and also tooke with me two or three of the chiefest of them, and when I came aboord went to examining of them, and by circumstances found one of the ships to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the master of the said ship, that I was throughly satisfied that he was of France and so dismissed him in peace. Of the other ship we had great presumption that she was of Spaine, but had no certaine proofe thereof, wherefore wee dismissed them likewise in peace. After I had thus dismissed them, our ships company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them resolued to cary one of those ships away. But they were preuented of their euill purpose by ayde which the saide ships receiued from their countreymen in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of Iune, very early there were gathered together out of all the ships in both harboroughs, at the least 300 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted vpon the shore three pieces of Ordinance against vs, and had prepared them selues in al readinesse to fight with vs, which so soone as as we had discried them gaue the onset vpon vs with at least an hundred small shot out of the woods. There were also in a readines to assault vs about three hundred Sauages. But after we had skirmished a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whose ship rowed hard by vs: In which parley they required some of our men to come on shore vnto them: wherevpon wee requested M. Ralph Hill and the Boatswaines mate to go on shore to them: whom when they

Another harbourough in Ramea.

A skirmish betweene the French men and vs.

had they detained as prisoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baskes in possession; which we surrendered vnto them in safetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there came aboord vnto vs one Captaine Charles, who was captaine of the great ship of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baskes which at first we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almost bene betraied. For the said Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themselues aboord of our ship and held vs in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others should haue entred our ship vnawares from one of the ships of S. Malo, which professed to be our friend, and vnto whom we shewed all courtesie. But we perceiuing their treacherous intent, threatned to set fire on the said ship, which was then thwart our hawse, from which they would haue entred. By which resolution of ours God did discourage them from effecting their mischieuous purposes. Now the said captaine Charles when he saw himself preuented of his wicked intents, took his boat presently to go on shore, and promised that all things should be ended in peace betweene vs, and that he would send vs our two men againe. But when he was on shore he presently sent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, and withall commanded vs out of the harborough, but he sent not our men as he promised, we being now the weaker side did not only deliuer his boat but also determined to be gon and then requested them to help vs with our anker which was on shore; but they would not. Then we desired them to cut the bent of the cable vpon the anker on shore (for we durst not send our boat lest they should haue kept from vs both our boat and men) which they promised to do for vs, as also to send our men; but when they were on shore, they would do neither. We therefore seeing their falshood in euery thing, durst no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawse: which we did, and so departed the harborow about 9

of the clock, leauing two of our men with our cable and anker, and 20 fathoms of a new hawser behind vs. And as we were going away, they made great shewes of friendship, and dranke vnto vs from the shore; but more for feare then loue, and requested vs to come on shore for our men, whom then they deliuered. The same morning in passing ouer the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboord, our ship came on ground vpon the sands; where we lay some 8 houres: during which time, at low water we trimmed our ship without boord, and by the great prouidence of God found our leake which then we stopped. About sixe of the clocke at night we got our ship on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then because of the wind we could not passe. But it pleased God to send vs faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ship cleane ouer the bar. The 21 day after we got ouer the barre the wind arose at east and eastsoutheast, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ship and men perished in the sands. The same day, because the wind kept vs within the bay, we went to the Isle Blanch, where the ships of the other harborow had their stages: but it was at least two leagues from their ships: where we hoped by friendship to procure a shallope and assurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the shore with our ship, and weaued them with a white flag, they in sted of comming vnto vs, sent their message by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on shore of purpose against vs; so that they would neither speake with vs, nor permit vs to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would haue put to sea that night: but there was much wind at East, which kept vs within the bay, and inforced vs to come to an anker vnder Isle Blanch. The next morning being the 22. we put to sea, and about 12 of the clocke the same day, the wind being at Northeast and foule weather, the master sayd he could not ply vp to Grande Coste, because of the leeshore,

and the wind against vs, and therefore asked what we should do. I asked then how farre we had to the river of cape Briton: he sayd a little way. Then sayd I, If it be not farre, we were best to go thither to trade with the Sauages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water and balist, which we wanted. To which the master sayd, that if I would he would cary vs thither. I thinking it to be the best course, sayd I was content, so farre forth as that from thence we tooke the first faire wind for Grande Coste. Hereupon the master willed him at the helme to keepe his course southeast and southeast and by south. Presently after I asked him how many leagues we had to the sayd riuer, and from the sayd riuer to Grande Coste. He then sayd that we had 40. leagues to the riuer, and from the riuer to Grande Coste 120 leagues. Hereupon I said I would not consent to go so far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directest course for Grande Coste; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ship presented me and the master with a request in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Islands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coste; and therefore do what I could they turned the the helme homewards. The 14 of Iune we sent our boat on shore in a great bay vpon the Isle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arriued on the West side of the Isle of Menego, where we left some caske on shore in a sandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we cast anker in another bay vpon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our consort in a shallope; who told vs that their ship was cast away vpon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and vpon a rocke within a mile of the shore, vpon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoon: and that they had cleered their ship from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they presently did run her vp into a sandy bay, where she was no sooner come on ground, but

presently after there came aboord many shallops with store of French men, who robbed and spoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men euen to their very shirts, and vsing them in sauage maner: whereas they should rather as Christians haue aided them in that distresse. Which newes when we heard, we blessed God, who by his diuine prouidence and vnspeakeable mercy had not onely preserued all the men, but brought vs thither so miraculously to ayd and comfort them. So presently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was also one ship of Sibiburo, whose men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the master thereof which had dealt very honestly with our men stayed in his ship, and came aboord of vs whom we vsed well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely such things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had dispatched our businesse, we gaue him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one shallop with mast, sailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ship. In recompence whereof he gaue vs two hogsheads of sider, one barrel of peaze, and 25 score of fish. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biskaine some 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whose men dealt most doggedly with the Chancewels company. The same night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biskain was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow; and approching nere their stage, we saw it vncouered, and so suspected the ship to be gone: whereupon we sent our pinnesse on shore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great store of fish on shore, but all the men were fled: neither could they perceiue whether the ship should be gone, but as they thought to sea. This day about twelue of the clocke we tooke a Sauages boat which our men pursued: but all the Sauages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on boord. The same day in the afternoone we brought our ship to an anker in the harborow: and the same day we tooke three hogsheads and an halfe of traine, and some

300 of greene fish. Also in the euening three of the Sauages, whose boat we had, came vnto vs for their boat; to whom we gaue coats and kniues, and restored them their boate againe. The next day being the first of Iuly, the rest of the Sauages came vnto vs, among whom was their king, whose name was Itarey, and their queene, to whom also we gaue coats and kniues, and other trifles. These Sauages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greatest multitude of lobsters that euer we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net aboue 140. The fourth of Iuly in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we cast anker in a reasonable good harborow called New Port vnder an Island some eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the English port. At this place in pursuing certaine shallops of a ship of Rochel, one of them came aboord, who told vs, that the Biskainer whom we sought, was in the English port with two Biskainers more, and two ships of Rochel. Thereupon wee sent one of our men in the Rochellers shallop to parle with the admiral and others our friends in the English port, requesting them ayd for the recouery of our things, which the other ship called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Master Iohannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they answered, that if we would come in vnto them in peace, they would assist vs what they might. This answere we had the sixt day: and the seuenth in the fornoone we arriued in the English port, and cast anker aloofe from the other ships: which done, I went aboord the Admirall, to desire the performance of his promise: who sent for Iohannes de Harte, who was contented to restore most of our things againe: whereupon I went aboord his ship to haue them restored. This day and the eighth I spent in procuring such things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were briefe with them, and willed them either to restore vs the rest of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and also haue satisfaction for

our victuals and merchandises which by their meanes were lost in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ship to goe neere vnto them. Whereupon their Admirall sent his boat aboord, and desired to speake with mee: then I went aboord vnto him, and desired to haue our things with peace and quietnesse, proffering to make him and the Masters of the two ships of Rochel our vmpires, and what they should aduise I would stand vnto. Heereupon he went aboord the other ship to make peace; but they would heare no reason, neither yet condescend to restore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I desired that as I came in peace vnto them, they would so set me aboord my ship againe: which they denied to doe, but most vniustly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our shallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboord: but so soone as she came to the Admirals ships side, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men also as prisoners with vs. Then presently all the three Biskainers made toward our ship, which was not carelesse to get the winde of them all: and hauing by the mercy of God obtained the same, shee then stayed for them: but when they saw they had lost their aduantage, they presently turned their course, making as great haste in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twise to goe aboord, but was still enforced backe by the two other Biskainers, who sought our liues: so that in the end the Master of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft vs: and yet notwithstanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at vs: for we were to passe by them vnto our ship: but we rescued our shallop vnder our Masters great boat; and by that meanes passed in safety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purposed if the winde had serued our turne, to haue made them to repent their euill dealing, and to restore vs our owne againe, or els to haue suncke their ships if we could. But the winde serued not our turne for that purpose; but caried vs to sea: so that the same morning wee tooke our course toward the bay of S. Laurence in

Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spanish ship, which as we had intelligence, did fish at that place. The thirteenth day we had sight of S. Peters Islands. And the foureteenth day being foggy and misty weather, while we made towards the land, we sent our shallop before the shippe to discouer dangers: but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, she lost vs: yet we kept on our course, thinking that although we could not see them, yet they might see our ship: and comming into sixteene fathoms water we cast anker, supposing our selues to be neere the shore: and in the euening it pleased God to giue vs for the space of one quarter of an houre clere weather, by which we found our selues to be imbayed, and also had sight of our shallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from vs. The same night we went further into the same bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on shore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the same euening we had sight of S. Laurence, and sent off our boat in the night with our Master and sixteene men to surprise the Spanyard, which lay in Litle S. Laurence: who presently vpon the entrance of our men surrendered vp their ship and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Master of our ship with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came foorth to meet our shippe, but being foggy, he cast anker by the mouth of the harborow, thinking in faire weather to put out to our ship, which through the current and foggy weather was put fiue or sixe leagues to leeward: and while they were at anker in the boat they were surprised again by certaine Basks of S. Iohn de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. These Basks with their forces (hauing receiued intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who sleeping on shore, escaped vnto them ouerland) on the sudden surprised the sayd boat with our Master and others: and then presently made vnto the ship; but our men aboord defended them off. In the end they threatned that vnlesse they would yeeld, they

would kill M. Crafton and our other men before their eyes. So at last vpon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to saue their liues, they yeelded vp the ship againe, vpon condition, that they should not iniure any of our men, but should let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their couenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, disarming them, stripping their clothes from their backs, and vsing them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they presently towed the shippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne shippes did ride, and within lesse then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our shippe arriued in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our shallop came aboord vnto vs, with most part of our sixteene men, who tolde vs the whole story before recited, as also that captaine Laurence had caried away our Master, and Stephen van Herwicke prisoners, and turned the rest of our men on shore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almost any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboord, except the two prisoners: and the same day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards shallops, with fiue hogsheads of traine oile in ech of them, and in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two shallops fled on shore. The same day also we tooke the Master of one of the ships which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained prisoners to ransome M. Crafton and Stephen van Henrick: The 22 captaine Laurence sent them aboord, and we also released all our prisoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatswaine of the Spanish ship, whom we kept with vs: and the same day we set from thence. The 24 we had aduice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the same night, being within fiue or six leagues of the harborow, I sent off our two shallops with thirty men to discouer the harborow, and to surprise the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ship, and

in the mouth thereof we espied three shallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ship of Rochel, which they had surprised with foure men in her: who told them that there were but two ships in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell isle. And as we were discoursing with the Rochellers, we had sight of the ships: whereupon we sent our boat aboord the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to request him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This message being sent, we made all the haste we could vnto the ship of Belle isle, which first began with vs with three great shot, one whereof hit our maintopsaile, but both the other missed vs. And we also sent one vnto them: then being approched nere vnto them ten or twelue of vs went in a shallop to enter them, and we caried also a warpe with vs to make fast vnto their ship, whereby our ship might the better come vp to ayd vs. And when we boorded them in our boat, they betooke themselues to their close fights, playing chiefly vpon vs with shot and pikes out at two ports, between which we entred very dangerously, escaping neere dangers both by shot and pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was shot out of my hand into the sea: which shot also burst one side of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboord, but through the helpe of God we caused them to yeeld vnto our mercy. There were of them in the ship aboue forty men, most whereof we sent aboord our shippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dresse the wounded men, one of which was wounded vnto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable strong ship, almost two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had also foureteene or fifteene men more, which were then absent from the ship; otherwise we should haue had the hoter fight. The same day we got our sailes to the yard, and our top masts on end, and rigged the shippe what we could. The 26 day we got some

oile aboord, and there we taried vntill the second of August, fitting our selues for the sea, and getting fish aboord as weather serued vs. During our abode there we diuided our men, and appointed to ech ship their company, my selfe and my friends being resolued to take our passage in the prize; wherein when we were shipped, and the company, there arose great enmity against vs by the other shippe, which afterward was quieted. The second day of August, hauing taken in water and wood, we put to sea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpose to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to sea we found our sailes so olde, our ropes so rotten, and our prouision of bread and drinke so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England: whereupon we drew out our reasons the fourth day of August, and sent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cause of our resolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and saying, that we in the prize went about to cousin and deceiue them. To conclude, they sent vs word that they would keepe vs company for England. But I had giuen William Crafton commission before to go for the Island of the Açores, and there to spend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of August, hauing a faire winde, we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the Hopewell keeping vs company vntill midday, whenas hauing lost vs in a fogge, she shot off two pieces of ordinance, and we answered her with three: afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Islands. The 27 of August, drawing neere the coast of England, we sounded and found ground at seuenty fadoms. Some of the mariners, thinking we were in Bristow channell, and other in Silly channell: so that through variety of iudgements, and euil marinership we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, sometimes running to the Northeast, sometimes to the Southeast, then againe to the

East and Eastnortheast. Thus did we spend faire winds, and lose our time vntill the last of August. And then it pleased God that we fell with the Island of Lundy within the channell of Bristoll; from whence we shaped our course: and after diuers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gaue certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleased God to bring the ship in safety to London, where she was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine obseruations touching the countreys and places where we trauelled.

The Newfoundland we found very subiect to fogs and mists. The ground of it is very rocky: and vpon it there is great store [075] of firre trees, and in some places red; and about the shore it hath great abundance of cod fish. We were on land in it in foure seuerall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Rase: 3 At the harborow of Lano, which lieth foure leagues to the West of Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Island of Monego for the soile is much like Newfoundland, but the fish about it, as also throwout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better than that of the Newfoundland. This Island is scant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midst of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thrise on shore: once at the East side, and twise at the West.

The three Islands of birds are sandy red, but with the multitude of birds vpon them they looke white. The birds sit there as thicke as stones lie in a paued street. The greatest of the Islands is about a mile in compasse. The second is little less. The third is a very little one, like a small rocke. At the second of these there lay on the shore in the Sunshine about thirty or forty sea-oxen or morses: which when our boat came nere them, presently made into the sea, and swam after the boat.

Brions Island wee found to be very good, and sandy ground. It hath in it store of firre trees. It is somewhat more than a league long, and about three leagues in compasse. Here we were on land once, and went from the one side of it to the other.

The Island of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Island, hauing also abundance of firre trees. It seemeth to be in length about twelue or thirteene leagues at least. We were there in harborow, but not on shore, which we much desired, and hoped to haue bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Basks and Britons, mentioned before, preuented vs.

The Isle Blanche likewise seemeth in quality of the ground and bignesse of it to be much like Brions Island aforesayd, but somewhat lesse. We were not on shore vpon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be somewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the West end of it we saw the clouds lie lower then the hils: as we did also at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Easterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing so high land, as the West. We went on
[076] shore vpon it in fiue places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was cast away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Island betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the English port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulnesse of Brions Island, Isle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great store of wild corne like barley, strawberries, gooseberries, mulberies, white roses, and store of wilde peason. Also about the sayd Islands the sea yeeldeth great abundance of fish of diuers sorts. And the sayd Islands also seeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other necessary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

[077]

XIV. The first relation of Iaques Carthier of S. Malo, of the new land called New France, newly discovered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. Iaques Carthier departed from the Port of S. Malo, with two ships, and came to Newfoundland, and how he entred into the Port of Buona Vista.

After that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, and Viceadmirall of France had caused the Captaines, Masters, and Mariners of the shippes to be sworne to behaue themselues truely and faithfully in the seruice of the most Christian King of France, vnder the charge of the sayd Carthier, vpon the twentieth day of Aprill 1534, we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ships of threescore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in each one: and with such prosperous weather we sailed onwards, that vpon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Vista, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude ——.[13] But because of the great store of the ice that was alongst the sayd land, we were constrayned to enter into an hauen called S. Katherins [078]
Hauen, distant from the other Port about fiue leagues toward Southsoutheast: there did we stay tenne days looking for faire weather; and in the meanwhile we mended and dressed our boats.

How we came to the Island of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

[13] Blank in original.

Vpon the 21 of May the wind being in the West, we hoisted saile, and sailed toward North and by East from the cape of Buona Vista vntil we came to the Island of Birds, which was enuironed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt: notwithstanding the sayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in some birds, whereof there is such plenty, that vnlesse a man did see them, he would thinke it an incredible thing: for albeit the Island (which containeth about a league in circuit) be so full of them, that they seeme to haue been brought thither, and sowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many houering about as within; some of which are as big as iayes, blacke and white, with beaks like vnto crowes: they lie alwayes upon the sea; they cannot flie very high, because their wings are so little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yet do they flie as swiftly as any birds of the aire leuell to the water; they are also exceeding fat: we named them Aporath. In lesse then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with stones: so that besides them which we did eat fresh, euery ship did powder and salt fiue or sixe barrels full of them.

Of two sorts of birds, the one called Godetz, the other Margaulx; and how we came to Carpunt.

Besides these, there is another kinde of birds which houer in the aire, and ouer the sea, lesser than the others; and these doe all gather themselves together in the Island, and put themselues vnder the wings of birds that are greater: these we named Godetz. There are also of another sort, but bigger, and white, which bite euen as dogs: those we named Margaulx. And albeit the sayd island be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithstanding beares come swimming thither to eat of the sayd birds: and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence leapt into the sea: and vpon

[079]
A great white bear.

Whitsunmunday (following our voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, swimming toward land as swiftly as we could saile. So soone as we saw her, we pursued her with our boats, and by maine strength tooke her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a calf of two yeres olde. The Wednesday following, being the 27 of the moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Castles; but because the weather was ill and the great store of ice we found, we were constrained to enter into an harborow about the sayd entrance called Carpunt, where, because we would not come out of it, we stayed til the ninth of Iune, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of God to saile further then the said Carpunt, which is latitude 51 degrees. Les Chasteaux.

The description of Newfoundland, from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad.

The land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head toward Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest. All this part of land is parted into Islands one so near the other, that there are but small riuers betweene them: thorow the which you may passe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good harborows, among which are those of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of these Islands that is the highest of them all, being the top of it you may plainly see the two low Islands that are nere to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it fiue and twenty leagues; and there are two entrances thereat, one on the East, the other on the South side of the Island. But you must take heed of the side and point of the East, because that euery where there is nothing els but shelues, and the water is very shallow: you must go about the Island toward the West the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe toward the South to the sayd Carpunt. Also you are to take heed of three shelues that are in the chanell vnder the

water: and toward the Island on the East side in the chanell, the water is of three or four fadome deepe, and cleere ground. The other trendeth toward Eastnortheast, and on the West you may go on shore.

[080]

Of the Island which is now called S. Katherins Island.

Going from the point Degrad, and entring into the sayd bay toward the West and by North: there is some doubt of two Islands that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the sayd point three leagues, and the other seuen, either more or lesse then the first, being a low and plaine land, and it seemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it Saint Katherines Island; in which, toward the Northeast there is very dry soile; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground so that you must go a little about. The sayd Island and the Port of Castles trend toward North northeast, and South southwest, and they are about 15. leagues asunder. From the said port of Castles to the port of Gutte, which is in the northerne part of the said Bay, that trendeth toward East northeast, and West southwest, there are 12. leagues and an halfe: and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to say, the third part athwart the saide Bay the depth being sounded it is about 38. fadomes: and from the said port of Balances to the white Sands towards West southwest there is 15. leagues, but you must take heed of a shelfe that lyeth about 3. leagues outward from the said white Sands on the Southwest side aboue water like a boat.

Blanc Sablon or white Sands.

Of the place called Blanc Sablon or the white Sand: of the Iland of Brest, and of the Iland of Birds, of the sorts and quantitie of birds that there are found: and of the Port called the Islettes.

White Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor southeast. But toward South southwest from the saide road there are two Ilands, one of the which is called Brest Iland, and the other the Iland of Birds, in which there is great store of Godetz, and crowes with red beakes and red feete: they make their nestes in holes vnder the ground euen as Conies. A point of land being passed about a league from white Sand, there is a Port and passage found called the Islettes, a better place then white Sand: and there is great fishing. From the said Port of the Islettes vnto another called Brest, the circuit is about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51. degrees and 55. minutes, and longitude ——.[14] From the Islettes to that place there are many other Ilands: and the saide Port of Brest is also amongst those Ilands. Moreouer the Ilands do compasse more then 3. leagues from the said Brest, being low, and ouer them are the other lands aboue mentioned seene.

Brest a place to the North in Newfoundland.

[081]

How we with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, and sayling onward toward the West we passed amidst the Islettes, which were so many in number, that it was not possible to tell them: and how we named them the Islettes.

Vpon the 10. of June wee with our ships entred into the Port of Brest, to furnish our selues with water and wood, and to make vs ready to passe the said Bay. Vpon S. Barnabas day Seruice being heard, we with our boats went beyond the said Port toward the west, to see what harboroughes were there: wee passed through the midst of the Islettes, which were so many in number that it was not possible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10. leagues beyond the said Port. We to rest our selues stayed

[14] Blank in original.

in one of them a night, and there we found great store of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their nests, we named them all The Islettes.

Of the Port called S. Antonies Port, S. Seruans Port, Iames Cartiers Port: of the riuer called S. Iames: of the customes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of White Sand.

The next day we passed the said Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good hauen, which we named S. Antonies Hauen, and one or two leagues beyond wee found a little riuer towarde the southwest coast, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we set vp a Crosse, and named it S. Seruans Port: and on the Southwest side of the said Port and riuer, about one league there is a small Iland as round as an Ouen, enuironed about with many other litle Ilands that giue notice to the said Ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater riuer, in which we tooke a good store of salmon, that we named S. Iames his Riuer. Being in the said riuer, we saw a ship of Rochel that the night before had passed the Port of Brest, where they thought to haue gone a fishing: but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approched neere vnto it, and did direct it to another Port one league more toward the West than the said riuer of S. Iames, which I take to be one of the best in all the world, and therefore wee named it Iames Carthiers Sound. If the soile were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great commoditie: but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather stones and wilde cragges, and a place fit for wilde beastes, for in all the North Iland I did not see a Cart-load of good earth: yet went I on shoare in many places, and in the Iland of White Sand, there is nothing else but mosse and small thornes scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I beleeue that

[082] The riuer of S. Iaques.

this was the land that God allotted to Caine. There are men of an indifferent good stature and bignesse, but wilde and vnruly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other such thing instead of a naile, and with them they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beastes skinnes as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments than the men do, with their wastes girded: they paint themselues with certaine Roan colours: their boates are made of the barke of birch trees, with the which they fish and take great store of Seales, and as farre as we could vnderstand since our comming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the maine land out of hotter countreys, to catch the saide seales and other necessaries for their liuing.

Boats made of the barke of birch trees.

Of certaine Capes, that is to say, The double Cape, The pointed Cape, Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke: of the mountaines of Granges: of the Ilands of Doue houses: and of the great fishing of Cods.

Vpon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ships againe with our boats on purpose to saile forwards because the weather was faire, and vpon Sunday we caused Seruice to be saide; then on Munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from Brest, [083] and sailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had seene, that seemed vnto vs to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidst the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one aboue the other, and therefore wee named it The double Cape. In the entrance of the Bay wee sounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about vs. From Brest to The double Cape there is about 20 leagues, and about fiue or sixe leagues beyond we sounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The said land lieth Northeast and Southwest.

The next day being the 16 of the moneth we sailed along the said coast toward the Southwest, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very steepe and wilde hilles, among the which were seene certaine smal cabbans, which we in the countrey call Granges, and therefore we named them The hilles of the Granges. The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke mists and fogges of the weather, we could not haue sight of any land, but in the euening we spied an entrance into the land, by a riuer among the said Hilles of Granges, and a Cape lying toward the Southwest about 3 leagues from vs. The said Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and also toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the North side of which there is a plaine Iland. And because we would haue notice of the said entrance, to see if there were any good hauens, we strooke saile for that night. The next day being the 17 of the moneth we had stormie weather from Northeast, wherefore we tooke our way toward the Southwest, vntill Thursday morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athwart a Bay full of round Ilands like doue houses, and therefore wee named them The doue houses. And from the Bay of S. Iulian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by West, which wee called Cape Roial, there are 7. leagues, and toward the West southwest side of the saide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and aboue round. On the North side of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named The Cape of milke. Betweene these two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, aboue which there are also certaine others that shew that there be some riuers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee sounded and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greatest fishing of Cods
[084] that possible may be: for staying for our company, in lesse then an houre we tooke aboue an hundreth of them.

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene Cape Royall, and The Cape of milke.

The next day being the 18 of the moneth, the winde with such rage turned against vs, that we were constrained to go backe towards Cape Royal, thinking there to finde some harborough, and with our boates went to discouer betweene the Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke, and found that aboue the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, within which are certaine Ilands. The said gulfe on the Southside is shut vp. The foresaid low grounds are on one of the sides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The saide low grounds doe stretch themselues more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill soile: and in the middest of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The saide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude ——.[15] That night we found no harborough, and therefore we lanched out into the Sea, leauing the Cape toward the West.

Of the Iland called S. Iohn.

From the said day vntill the 24 of the moneth being S. Iohns day we had both stormie weather and winde against vs, with such darknesse and mistes, that vntill S. Iohns day, we could haue no sight of any land, and then we had sight of a Cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth Southwest about 35 leagues, but that day was so foggie and mistie, that we could not come neere land, and because it was S. Iohns day, we named it Cape S. Iohn.

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of Margaulx, and of the kinds of beas and birds that there are found. Of the Iland of Brion, and Cape Dolphin.

[15] Blank in original.

The next day being the 25. of the moneth, the weather was also stormie, darke, and windy, but yet we sailed a part of the
[085] day toward West North west, and in the euening wee out our selues athwart vntill the second quarter: when as we departed, then did we by our compasse know that we were Northwest and by West about seuen leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S. Iohn, and as wee were about to hoise saile, the winde turned into the Northwest, wherefore we went Southeast, about 15. leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as steepe and vpright as any wall, so that it was not possible to climbe them: and betweene them there is a little rocke. These Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of grasse, which there do make their nestes: and in the greatest of them, there was a great and infinite number of those that wee call Margaulx, that are white, and bigger then any geese, which were seuered in one part. In the other were onely Godetz, but toward the shoare there were of those Godetz, and great Apponatz, like to those of that Iland that we aboue haue mentioned: we went downe to the lowest part of the least Iland, where we killed aboue a thousand of those
The Islands of Margaulx. Godetz, and Apponatz. We put into our boates so many of them as we pleased, for in lesse then one houre we might haue filled thirtie such boats of them: we named them The Ilands of Margaulx. About fiue leagues from the said Ilands on the West, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and so much in breadth: there did we stay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is enuironed round about with sand, and hath a very good road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Those Ilands haue the best soile that euer we saw, for that one of their fields is more worth then all the New land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and peason bloomed, as thicke, as ranke, and as faire as any can be seene in Britaine, so that they seemed to haue bene plowed and sowed. There was also a great store of gooseberies, strawberies, damaske roses,
Morses or Sea oxen. parseley, with other very sweete and pleasant hearbes. About the

said Iland are very great beastes as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouths like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue also in the Sea. We saw one of them sleeping vpon the banke of the water: wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but so soone as he heard vs, he cast himselfe into the Sea. We also saw beares and wolues: we named it Brions Iland. About it toward Southeast, and Northwest, there are great lakes. As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I thinke that there be [086] some passage betweene New found land, and Brions land. If so it were, it would be a great shortening, aswel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward West-South-west is the firme land, which seemeth to be as an Iland compassed about with litle Ilands of sands. There is a goodly Cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27. of Iune we compassed the said lands about that lie West Southwest: and a farre off they seeme to be little hilles of sand, for they are but low landes: wee could neither goe to them, nor land on them, because the winde was against vs. That day we went 15. leagues.

Of the Iland called Alezai, and of the cape of S. Peter.

The next day we went along the said land about 10. leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low countrey. There is also betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole vnto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is fashioned as it were halfe a circle, all compassed about with sand like a ditch, ouer which as farre as ones eye can stretch, there is nothing but marrish grounds and standing pooles. And before you come to the first Cape very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About fiue leagues from the second Cape toward the Southwest, there is another Iland very high and pointed, which

we named Alezai. The first Cape we named S. Peters Cape, because vpon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called Cape Orleans: of the Riuer of boates: of Wilde mens Cape: and of the qualitie and temperature of the countrey.

From Brions Iland to this place there is good anckorage of sand, and hauing sounded toward Southwest euen to the shoare about fiue leagues, wee found twentie and fiue fadome water, and within one league twelue fadome, and very neere the shoare six fadome, rather more then lesse, and also good anckorage. But because wee would bee the better acquainted with this stonie and
[087] rockie ground, wee strooke our sailes lowe and athwart. The next day being the last of the moneth saue one, the winde blewe South and by East. Wee sailed Westward vntill Tuesday morning at Sunne rising, being the last of the moneth, without any sight or knowledge of any lande except in the euening toward Sunne set, that wee discouered a lande which seemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond vs West southwest, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at sunne rising wee sailed Westward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceiued that the land we had seene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South southeast, and North northwest, to a very good Cape of
An exceeding goodly land. land called Cape Orleans. Al the said land is low and plaine, and the fairest that may possibly be seene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, because it is all full of shelues and sands. We with our boats went on shore in many places, and among the rest wee entred into a goodly riuer, but very shallow, which we named The riuer of boats, because that there wee saw boates full of wild men that were crossing the riuer. We had no other notice of the said wild men: for the wind came from the sea, and so beat vs against

the shore, that wee were constrained to retire our selues with our boates toward our ships. Till the next day morning at Sunne rising, being the first of Iuly we sailed Northeast, in which time there rose great mistes and stormes, and therefore wee strucke our sailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became cleare, and there we had sight of Cape Orleans, and of another about seuen leagues from vs, lying North and by East, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the Northside of this Cape about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous shelfe, and banke of stones. Whilst wee were at this Cape, we sawe a man running after our boates that were going along the coast, who made signes vnto vs that we should returne toward the said Cape againe. We seeing such signes, began to turne toward him, but he seeing vs come, began to flee: so soone as we were come on shoare, we set a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a little staffe, and then came to our ships again. That day we trended the said land about 9. or 10. leagues, hoping to finde some good harborough, but it was not possible: for as I haue said already, it is a very low land, and enuironed round about with great shelues. Neuerthelesse we went that day on shore in foure places to see the goodly and sweete smelling trees that were there: we found them to be Cedars, ewetrees, Pines, white elmes, ashes, willowes, with many other sorts of trees to vs vnknowen, but without any fruit. The grounds where no wood is, are very faire, and all full of peason, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackeberies, and wilde corne, euen like vnto Rie, which seemed to have bene sowen and plowed. This countrey is of better temperature then any other that can be seene, and very hote. There are many thrushes, stockdoues, and other birds: to be short, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

[088]

Varietie of goodly trees.

Of the Bay called S. Lunario, and other notable Bayes and Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodnesse of those grounds.

The next day being the second of Iuly we discouered and had sight of land on the Northerne side toward vs, that did joyne vnto the land abouesaid, al compassed about, and we knew that it had about ——[16] in depth, and as much athwart, and we named it S. Lunarios Bay, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the shore so shallow, that for the space of a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the Northeast side from the said Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there is another Cape of land, in the middst whereof there is a Bay fashioned trianglewise, very deepe, and as farre off, as we could ken from it the same lieth Northeast. The said Bay is compassed about with sands and shelues about 10. leagues from land, and there is but two fadome water: from the said Cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. We being a crosse the said Capes, discouered another land and Cape, and as farre as we could ken, it lay North and by East. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, so that wee were constrained to beare a smal saile vntil the next morning, being the thirde of July when the winde came from the West: and we sailed Northward to haue a sight of the land that we had left on the Northeast side, aboue the low lands, among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in some places about 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reason of the great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we conceiued hope that we should finde a passage, like vnto the passage of The Castles. The said gulfe lieth East Northeast, and West southwest. The ground that lieth on the Southside of the said gulfe, is as good and easie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that

[089]

The passage de Chasteaux.

[16] Blank in original.

euer wee haue seene, as plaine and smooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of sundry sorts: among the rest there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as possibly can be seene, able to make mastes for ships of three hundred Tunne: neither did we see any place that was not full of the saide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The middest of the said Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

Trees able to mast ships of 300. tunnes.

Of the Cape D'Esperance, or the Cape of Hope, and of S. Martins Creeke, and how seven boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themselues, but being terrified with our Culuerins which we shot at them, and our lances, they fled with great hast.

The Cape of the said South land was called The Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to finde some passage. The fourth of Iuly we went along the coast of the said land on the Northerly side to find some harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no succour against the wind: we thought good to name it S. Martines Creeke. There we stayed from the fourth of Iuly vntil the twelfth: while we were there, on Munday being the sixth of the moneth, Seruice being done, wee with one of our boates went to discouer a Cape and point of land that on the Westerne side was about seuen or eight leagues from vs, to see which way it did bend, and being within halfe a league of it, wee sawe two companies of boates of wilde men going from one land to the other: their boates were in number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the which came to the said point, and a great number of men went on

Fortie or 50 boates of sauages.

shore making a great noise, beckening vnto vs that wee should come on land, shewing vs certaine skinnes vpon pieces of wood,
[090] but because we had but one onely boat, wee would not goe to them, but went to the other side lying in the See: they seeing vs flee, prepared two of their boats to follow vs, with which came also fiue more of them that were comming from the Sea side, all which approched neere vnto our boate, dancing, and making many signes of ioy and mirth, as it were desiring our friendship, saying in their tongue Napeu tondamen assurtah, with many other words that we vnderstood not. But because (as we haue said) we had but one boat, wee would not stand to their courtesie, but made signes vnto them that they should turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward vs: and suddenly with their boates compassed vs about: and because they would not away from vs by any signes that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them, which did so terrifie them, that they put themselues to flight toward the sayde point, making a great noise: and hauing staid a while, they began anew, euen as at the first to come to vs againe, and being come neere our boat wee strucke at them with two lances, which thing was so great a terrour vnto them, that with great haste they beganne to flee, and would no more follow vs.

How the said wilde men comming to our ships, and our men going toward them, both parties went on land, and how the saide wilde men with great ioy began to trafique with our men.

The next day part of the saide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and entrance of the Creeke, where we with our ships were at road. We being aduertised of their comming, went to the point where they were with our boates: but so soone as they saw vs, they began to flee, making signes that they

came to trafique with us, shewing vs, such skinnes as they cloth themselues withall, which are of small value. We likewise made signes vnto them, that we wished them no euill: and in signe thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and carry them kniues with other Iron wares, and a red hat to giue vnto their Captaine. Which when they saw, they also came on land, and brought some of their skinnes, and so began to deale with vs, seeming to be very glad to haue our iron ware and other things, stil dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to cast Sea water on their heads. They gave vs whatsoeuer they had, not keeping any thing, so that they were constrained to go [091] back againe naked, and made signes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more skinnes with them.

How that we hauing sent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladnesse. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth forth, and of the Bay called Baie du Chaleur, or The Bay of heat.

Vpon Thursday being the eight of the moneth, because the winde was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boates in a readinesse to goe to discouer the said Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we sailed vntil noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the said Bay, and how that ouer the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but seeing that there was no passage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coast: and sayling, we saw certaine wilde men that stood vpon the shoare of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: wee went thither, and found that there was a channel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the chanell, the wilde

men with one of their boates came vnto vs, and brought vp pieces of Seales ready sodden, puttiug them vpon pieces of wood: then retiring themselues, they would make signes vnto vs, that they did giue them vs. We sent two men vnto them with hatchets, kniues, beads, and other such like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by and by in clusters they came to the shore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them skinnes and other such things as they had, to haue of our wares. They were more than 300. men, women, and children: Some of the women, which came not ouer, wee might see stand vp to the knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the riuer where we were, came very friendly to vs, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would they lift them vp toward heauen, shewing many signes of gladnesse: and in such wise were wee assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoeuer they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gaue vs all whatsoeuer they had, and that was but of small value. We perceiued that this people might very easily be conuerted to our Religion. They goe from place to place. They liue onely with fishing. They haue an ordinarie time to fish for their prouision. The countrey is hotter than the countrey of Spaine, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth, and leuel. There is no place be it neuer so little, but it hath some trees (yea albeit it be sandie) or else is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like vnto Rie: the corne is like oates, and smal peason as thicke as if they had bene sowen and plowed, white and red gooseberies, strawberies, blackberies, white and red Roses, with many other floures of very sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many goodly medowes full of grasse, and lakes wherein great plentie of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The bay of heat.

Three hundred gentle Sauages.

[092]

Bay du Chaleur, or the Bay of heat.

Of another nation of wilde men: of their manners, liuing, and clothing.

Being certified that there was no passage through the said Bay, we hoised saile, and went from S. Martines Creeke vpon Sunday being the 12. of July, to goe and discouer further beyond the said Bay, and went along the sea coast Eastward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but shallow ground, and the Sea stormie, so that we were constrained to draw toward shore, between the said Cape and an Iland lying Eastward, about a league from the said Cape, where we cast anker for that night. The next morning we hoised saile to trend the said coast about, which lyeth North Northeast. But there rose such a stormie and raging winde against vs, that we were constrained to come to the place againe, from whence we were come: there did we stay all that day til the next that we hoised vp saile, and came to the middest of a riuer fiue or sixe leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being ouerthwart the said Riuer, there arose againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and stormes. So that we were constrained vpon Tuesday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the riuer, and there did we stay till the sixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thursday, the winde became so raging that one of our ships lost an anker, and we were constrained to goe vp higher into the riuer seuen or eight leagues, into a good harborough and ground that we with [093] our boates found out, and through the euill weather, tempest, and darkenesse that was, wee stayed in the saide harborough till the fiue and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee sawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fishing for mackerels, whereof there is great store. Their boates were about 40, and the persons what with men, women, and children two hundred, which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the sides

of our ships. We gaue them kniues, combes, beads of glasse, and other trifles of small value, for which they made many signes of gladnesse, lifting their hands vp to heauen dancing and singing in their boates. These men may very well and truely be called Wilde, because there is no poorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates and nets was not worth fiue souce.[17] They goe altogether naked sawing their priuities, which are couered with a little skinne, and certaine olde skinnes that they cast vpon them. Neither in nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found first: their heads be altogether shauen, except one bush of haire which they suffer to grow vpon the top of their crowne as long as a horse taile, and then with certaine leather strings binde it in a knot vpon their heads. They haue no other dwelling but their boates, which they turne vpside downe, and vnder them they lay themselues all along vpon the bare ground. They eate their flesh almost raw, saue onely that they heat it a little vpon imbers of coales, so doe they their fish. Vpon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the riuer, and freely went on shore among them, whereat they made many signs, and all their men in two or three companies began to sing and dance, seeming to be very glad of our comming. They had caused all the young women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that stayed with them, to ech of which we gaue a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breasts with their hands. When the men saw vs giue something vnto those that had stayed, it caused al the rest to come out of the wood, to the end that that they should
[094] haue as much as the others: These women are about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell vpon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their manner of cherishing and making much of one, who gaue to each of them a little Tinne

[17] Sous.

bell: then suddenly they began to dance, and sing many songs. There we found great store of mackrels, that they had taken vpon the shore, with certaine nets that they made to fish, of a kinde of Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they neuer come to the sea, but onely in fishing time. As farre as I vnderstand, there groweth likewise a kind of Millet as big as Peason, like vnto that which groweth in Bresil, which they eate in stead of bread. They had great store of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They haue also Prunes (that is to say Damsins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honesta. They haue also Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cahehya. If we shewed them any thing that they haue not, nor know not what it is, shaking their heads, they will say Nohda, which is as much to say, they haue it not, nor they know it not. Of those things they haue, they would with signes shew vs how to dresse them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taste of salt. They are very great theeues, for they will filch and steale whatsoeuer they can lay hold of, and all is fish that commeth to net.

Maize.

How our men set vp a great Crosse vpon the poynt of the sayd Porte, and the Captaine of those wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeased, and contented that two of his Children should goe with him.

This hauen seemeth to be Gaspay.

Vpon the 25 of the moneth, wee caused a faire high Crosse to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the presence of many of them, vpon the point of the entrance of the sayd hauen, in the middest whereof we hanged vp a Shield with three Floure de Luces in it, and in the top was carued in the wood with Anticke letters this posie, Viue le Roy de France. Then before them all we set it vpon the sayd point. They with

great heed beheld both the making and setting of it vp. So soone as it was vp, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heauen, yeelding God thankes: and we made signes vnto them, shewing them the Heauens, and that all our saluation, dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth:
[095] whereat they shewed a great admiration, looking first one at another, and then vpon the Crosse. And after wee were returned to our ships, their Captaine clad with an old Beares skin, with three of his sonnes, and a brother of his with him, came vnto vs in one of their boates, but they came not so neere vs as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration vnto vs, shewing vs the crosse we had set vp, and making a crosse with two fingers, then did he shew vs all the Countrey about vs, as if he would say that all was his, and that wee should not set vp any crosse without his leaue. His talke being ended, we shewed him an Axe, faining that we would giue it him for his skin, to which
Two sauages taken. he listned, for by little and little hee came neere our ships. One of our fellowes that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and suddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, whereat they were greatly astonished. But our Captain did straightwaies assure them, that they should haue no harme, nor any iniurie offred them at all, and entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we shew them with signes, that the crosse was but onely set vp to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would shortly come againe, and bring good store of iron wares and other things, but that we would take two of his children with vs, and afterward bring them to the sayd port againe: and so wee clothed two of them in shirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about euery ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gaue they their old clothes to their fellowes that went backe againe, and we gaue to each one of those three that went backe, a hatchet, and some kniues, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the

newes vnto their fellowes, in the after noone there came to our ships sixe boates of them, with fiue or sixe men in euery one, to take their farewels of those two we had detained to take with vs, and brought them some fish, vttering many words which we did not vnderstand, making signes that they would not remoue the crosse we had set vp.

How after we were departed from the sayd porte, following our voyage along the sayd coast, we went to discover the land lying Southeast, and Northwest.

The next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the said port: and being out of the riuer, we sailed Eastnortheast, for after the entrance into the said riuer, the land is enuironed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sayling behind, which we came to seeke, the land lying Southeast and Northwest, the course of which was distant from the riuer about twentie leagues. [096]

Of the Cape S. Aluise, and Cape Memorancie, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and suddenly went ouer it.

On Munday being the 27 of the moneth, about sunne-set we went along the said land, as we haue said, lying Southeast and Northwest, till Wednesday that we saw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the East: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we sounded, and found 24 fadome water. The said lands are plaine, and the fairest and most without woods that we haue seene, with goodly greene fields

and medowes: we named the sayd Cape S. Aluise Cape, because that was his day: it is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and in longitude ——.[18] On Wednesday morning we were on the East side of the Cape, and being almost night we went Northwestward for to approch neere to the sayd land, which trendeth North and South. From S. Aluise Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fifteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend Northwest. About three leagues from the sayd Cape we would needes sound, but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along the said land about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the first of August, by Sunne rising, wee had certaine other landes, lying North and Northeast, that were very high and craggie, and seemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low lands with woods and riuers: wee went about the sayd lands, as well on the one side as on the other, still bending Northwest, to see if it were either a gulfe, or a passage, vntill the fift of the moneth. The distance from one land to the other is about fifteene leagues. The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a terce in latitude. We had much adoe to go fiue miles farther, the winds were so great and the tide against vs. And at fiue miles end, we might plainely see and perceiue land on both sides, which there beginneth to spread it selfe, but because we rather fell, then got way against the wind, we went toward land, purposing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthermost out into the sea that we could see, about fiue leagues from vs, but so soone as we came thither, we found it to be naught else but Rockes, stones, and craggie cliffes, such as we had not found any where since we had sailed Southward from S. Iohns Cape: and then was the tide with vs, which caried vs against the wind Westward, so that as we were sayling along the sayd coast, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and suddenly went ouer, but we were constrained to

Fifty degrees of latitude.

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[18] Blank in original.

leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

How after we had agreed and consulted what was best to be done, we purposed to returne: and of S. Peters Streight, and of Cape Tiennot.

After we had sailed along the sayd coast, for the space of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne against vs, with so swift and raging a course, that it was not possible for vs with 13 oares to row or get one stones cast farther, so that we were constrained to leaue our boates with some of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went ashore to the sayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend Southwest, which hauing seene, we came to our boats againe, and so to our ships, which were stil ready vnder saile, hoping to go forward: but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where so soone as we came, wee assembled together all our Captaines, Masters, and Mariners, to haue their aduice and opinion what was best to be done: and after that euery one had said, considering that the Easterly winds began to beare away, and blow, and that the flood was so great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that stormes and tempests began to reigne in Newfound land, and that we were so farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we must agree to returne [098] home againe, or els to stay there all the yeere. Moreouer, we did consider, that if the Northerne winds did take vs, it were not possible for vs to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and considered, we altogether determined to addresse our selues homeward. Nowe because vpon Saint Peters day wee entred into the sayd Streite, wee named it Saint Peters Streite. Wee sounded it in many places, in some wee found 150 fadome water, in some 100, and neere the shoare sixtie, and cleere ground. From that

The Streit of S. Peter.

day till Wednesday following, we had a good and prosperous gale of winde, so that we trended the said North shore East, Southeast, West Northwest: for such is the situation of it, except one Cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the Southeast, about twenty fiue leagues from the Streight. In this place we saw certaine smokes, that the people of the countrey made vpon the sayd cape: but because the wind blewe vs toward the coast, we went not to them, which when they saw, they came with two boates and twelue men vnto vs, and as freely came vnto our ships, as if they had bene French men, and gaue vs to vnderstand, that they came from the great gulfe,[19] and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was vpon that Cape, making signes vnto vs, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ships, and that they were laden with Fish. We named the sayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the said Cape all the land trendeth Eastsoutheast, and Westnorthwest. All these lands lie low, very pleasant, enuironed with sand, where the sea is entermingled with marishes and shallowes, the space of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from West to Eastnortheast altogether enuironed with Islands two or three leagues from land, in which as farre as we could see, are many dangerous shelues more then foure or fiue leagues from land.

How that vpon the ninth of August wee entred within White Sands, and vpon the fift of September we came to the Port of S. Malo.

From the sayd Wednesday vntill Saturday following, we had a great wind from the Southwest, which caused vs to run East-northeast, on which day we came to the Easterly partes of
[099] Newfoundland, between the Granges and the Double Cape. There began great stormie windes comming from the East with

[19] Gulf of Mexico.

great rage: wherefore we coasted the Cape Northnorthwest, to search the Northerne part, which is (as we haue sayd) all enuironed with Islands, and being neere the said Islands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought vs within the sayd gulfe, so that the next day being the 9 of August, we by the grace of God entred within the white Sands. And this is so much as we haue discouered. After that, vpon the 15 of August, being the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, after that we had heard seruice, we altogether departed from the porte of White Sands, and with a happy and prosperous weather we came into the middle of the sea, that is between Newfoundland and Britanie, in which place we were tost and turmoyled three dayes long with great stormes and windy tempests comming from the East, which with the ayde and assistance of God we suffred: then had we faire weather, and vpon the fift of September, in the sayd yere, we came to the Port of S. Malo whence we departed.

The language that is spoken in the Land newly discouered, called New France.

God	——
the Sunne	Isnez
the Heauen	camet
the Day	——
the Night	aiagla
Water	ame
Sand	estogaz
a sayle	aganie
the Head	agonaze
the Throate	conguedo
the Nose	hehonguesto
the Teeth	hesangue
the Nayles	agetascu

the Feete	ochedasco
the Legs	anoudasco
a dead man	amocdaza
a Skinne	aionasca
that Man	yca
a Hatchet	asogne
a Cod fish	gadagoursere
good to be eaten	guesande
Flesh	————
Almonds	anougaza
Figs	asconda
Gold	henyosco
the priuie members	assegnega
an Arrow	cacta
a greene Tree	haueda
an earthen dish	vndaco
a Bow	————
Brasse	aignetaze
the Brow	ansce
a Feather	yco
the Moone	casmogan
the Earth	conda
the Wind	canut
the Raine	onnoscon
Bread	cacacomy
the Sea	amet
a Ship	casaomy
a Man	vndo
the Haires	hoc hosco
the Eyes	ygata
the Mouth	heche
the Eares	hontasco
the Armes	agescu

a Woman	enrasesco
a sicke Man	alouedeche
Shooes	atta
a skinne to couer a mans priuy members	ouscozon
red cloth	cahoneta
a Knife	agoheda
a Mackrell	agedoneta
Nuttes	caheya
Apples	honesta
Beanes	sahe
a Sword	achesco

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XV. A shorte and briefe narration of the Nauigation made by the commandement of the King of France, to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and diuers others which now are called New France, with the particular customes, and maners of the inhabitants therein.

Chap 1.

In the yeere of our Lord 1535, vpon Whitsunday, being the 16. of May, by the commandement of our Captaine Iames Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S. Malo

we deuoutly each one confessed our selues, and receiued the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the sayd Church, wee presented our selues before the Reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed vs all, being in his Bishops roabes. The Wednesday following, being the 19. of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoysed sayle with three ships, that is to say, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundreth, or a hundreth and twentie tunne, wherein the foresaid Captaine Iames Cartier was Generall, and master Thomas Frosmont chiefe Master, accompanied with master Claudius de Pont Briand, sonne to the Lorde of Montceuell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraies, Iohn Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the second ship called the little Hermina, being of threescore tunne burden, were Captaines vnder the sayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and Master William Marie. In the third ship called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. Iames Maringare. So we sayled with a good and prosperous wind, vntill the 20 of the said moneth, at which time the weather turned into stormes and tempests, the which with contrary winds, and darkenesse, endured so long that our ships being without any rest, suffered as much as any ships that euer went on seas: so that the 25 of Iune, by reason of that foule and foggie weather, all our ships lost sight one of another againe till wee came to Newfoundland where wee had appointed to meete. After we had lost one another, wee in the Generals ship were with contrary winds tost to and fro on the sea, vntill the seuenth of Iuly, vpon which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Island is so full of birds, that all our ships might easily haue bene fraighted with them, and yet for the great number that there is, it would not seeme that any were taken away. We to victuall our selues filled two boats of them. This Island hath the Pole eleuated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Vpon the eight of the sayd moneth we sailed further, and with a prosperous weather, came to the

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The Isle of birds in 49 degrees 40 minutes.

The Bay des Chasteaux or The Grant Bay.

Port called The Port of white sands, that is in the Bay called The Bay of Castels, where we had purposed to meete and stay together the 15 of the said moneth. In this place therefore we looked for our fellowes, that is to say, the other two ships, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together. So soone as our fellowes were come, we set our ships in a readines, taking in both water, wood, and other necessaries. And then on the 29 of the sayd moneth, early in the morning we hoised saile to passe on further, and sayling along the Northerne coast that runneth Northeast and Southwest, til two houres after Sun-set or thereabouts, then we crossed along two Islands, which doe stretch further foorth then the others, which we called S. Williams Islands, being distant about 20 leagues or more from the Port of Brest. All the coast from the Castels to that place lieth East and West, Northeast and Southwest, hauing betweene it sundry little Islands, altogether barren and full of stones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30 of Iuly, we sailed on Westward to find out other Islands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a halfe, among which there is a great Bay toward the North all full of Islands and great creekes, where many good harboroughs seeme to be: them we named S. Marthas Islands, from which about a league and a halfe further into the sea there is a dangerous shallow, wherein are fiue rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas Islands about seuen leagues as you passe into the sayd Islands, on the East and on the West side, to which we came the sayd day an houre after noone, and from that houre vntill midnight we sailed about fifteene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Islands, which we named S. Germans Islands. Southeastward, from which place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise betweene S. Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about two leagues from the sayd Islands, there lyeth a banke of sand, vpon which banke the water is but foure fadome deepe, and therefore seeing the danger of the coast, we strucke saile and went no further that

night: The next day being the last of Iuly, we went all along the
[103] coast that runneth East and West, and somewhat Southeasterly which is all enuironed about with Islands and drie sands, and in trueth is very dangerous. The length from S. Germans Cape to the said Islands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the rest of the coast be compassed about with sands without any signe or shew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trendeth Northwest about seuen leagues from the foresaid Islands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therefore we sailed on all that night West and Westnorthwest, till it was day, and then the wind turned against vs, wherefore we went to seeke a hauen wherein we might harbour our ships, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpose, about seuen leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, and that we named S. Nicholas Hauen, it lieth amidst 4 Islands that stretch into the sea: Vpon the neerest wee for a token set vp a woodden crosse. But note by the way, that this crosse must be brought Northeast, and then bending toward it, leaue it on the left hand and you shall find sixe fadome water, and within the hauen foure. Also you are to take heede of two shelues that leane outward halfe a league. All this coast is full of shoulds and very dangerous, albeit in sight many good hauens seeme to be there, yet is there nought else but shelues and sands. We staied and rested our selues in the sayd hauen, vntill the seuenth of August being Sonday: on which day we hoysed sayle, and came toward land on the South side toward Cape Rabast, distant from the sayd hauen about twentie leagues Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest: but the next day there rose a stormie and a contrary winde, and because we could find no hauen there toward the South, thence we went coasting along toward the North, beyond the abouesayd hauen about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Islands, passages, and entrances toward what wind soeuer you please to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Island that

is like to a Cape of lande, stretching somewhat further foorth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill fashioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the sayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the sayd moneth wee went from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, sayling Westward, and discouered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth West and by South, distant from the sayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about fiue and twenty leagues. And of the two wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde vs, that this was part of the Southerne coaste, and that there was an Island, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the yeere before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes iourney from the sayd Cape, and Island began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North shore extending toward Canada, and about three leagues athwart the sayd Cape, there is a hundreth fadome water. Moreouer I beleeue that there were neuer so many Whales seen as wee saw that day about the sayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of August the fifteenth of the moneth, hauing passed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hilles, and this Cape wee named The Island of the Assumption, and one Cape of the said high countreys lyeth Eastnortheast, and Westsouthwest, the distance betweene which is about fiue and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainely be perceiued to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We trended the sayd landes about toward the South: from the sayd day vntill Tewesday-noone following, the winde came West, and therefore wee bended toward the North, purposing to goe and see the land that we before had spied. Being arriued there, we found the sayd landes, as it were ioyned together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are vpon the sayd low lands stretch East, and West, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told vs that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that

A Cape of the Isle of Assumption.

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A mighty skull of Whales.

it was land inhabited, and that thence commeth the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly lands, and the Northerly about thirty leagues distance, and more then two hundreth fadome depth. The sayd men did moreouer certifie vnto vs, that there was the way and beginning of the great riuer of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which riuer the further it went the narrower it came, euen vnto Canada, and that then there was fresh water, which went so farre vpwards, that they had neuer heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and how they did affirme no other passage to be there, would not at that time proceede any further, till he had seene and noted the other lands, and coast toward the North, which he had omitted to see from S. Laurence his gulfe, because he would know, if between the lands toward the North any passage anight be discouered.

The mouth of the riuer of Hochelaga about thirty leagues broad.

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Chap. 2. How our Captaine caused the ships to returne backe againe, only to know if in Saint Laurence gulfe there were any passage toward the North.

Vpon the 18 of August being Wednesday, our Captaine caused his shippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other shore, so that we trended the said Northerly cost, which runneth Northeast and Southwest, being fashioned like vnto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not so high as that on the South parts. The Thursday following we came to seuen very high Islands, which we named The round Islands. These Islands are distant from the South shore about 40 leagues, and stretch out into the sea about 3 or 4 leagues. Against these there are goodly low grounds to be seene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats compassed about. Ouerthwart these

lands there are diuers sandy shelues more then two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almost dry. At the furthest bounds of these lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a riuer of fresh water, that with such swiftnesse runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it the water is as fresh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred in the sayd riuer, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome and a halfe of water. There are in this riuer many fishes shaped like horses, which as our wild men told vs, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we saw therin a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we hoysed saile, and sailed so long along the said coast, that we had sight of the rest of the sayd Northerne coast, which as yet we had not seene, and of the Island of the Assumption which wee went to discouer, departing from the sayd land: which thing so soone as we had done, and that we were certified no other passage to be there, we came to our ships againe, which we had left at the said Islands, where is a good harborough, the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the same place by occasion of contrary winds and foggie mists, we were constrained to stay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoise saile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed and came to a hauen on the Southerly coast about 80 leagues from the said Islands. This hauen is ouer against three flat Islands that lie amidst the riuer, because on the midway betweene those Islands, and the sayd hauen toward the North, there is a very great riuer that runneth betweene the high and low landes, and more then three leagues into the sea it hath many shelues, and there is not altogether two fadome water, so that the place is very dangerous: and neere vnto the said shelues, there is either fifteene or 20 fadomes from shore to shore. All the Northerly coaste runneth Northeast and by North, and Southwest and by South. The said hauen wherin we stayed on the South side, is as it were but a sluce of the waters that rise by the flood,

The Isle of Assumption or Natiscotec.

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A hauen on the Southerne coast.

and but of smal accompt: we named them S. Iohns Islets, because we found them, and entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the said hauen, there is an Island lying Eastward about 5 leagues distant from the same: betweene which and the land there is no passage sauing only for smal boats. The hauen of S. Iohns Islets dryeth vp all the waters that rise by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the least. The best place to harborough ships therein is on the South part of a little Island that is ouer against the said hauen, whereby the bancke or shore of the Island riseth. Vpon the first of September we departed out of the said hauen, purposing to go toward Canada; and about 15 leagues from it toward the West, and Westsouthwest, amidst the riuer, there are three Islands, ouer against the which there is a riuer which runneth swift, and is of a great depth, and it is that which leadeth, and runneth into the countrey and kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told vs. This riuer passeth and runneth along very high and steepe hils of bare stone, where very little earth is, and notwithstanding there is great quantity of sundry sorts of trees that grow in the said bare stones, euen as vpon good and fertile ground, in such sort that we haue seene some so great as wel would suffise to make a mast for a ship of 30 tunne burden, and as greene as possibly can be, growing in a stony rocke without any earth at all. At the entrance of the sayd riuer we met with 4 boats ful of wild men, which as far as we could perceiue, very fearfully came toward vs, so that some of them went backe againe, and the other came as neere vs as easily they might heare and vnderstand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, vpon whose word they came to vs. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the sayd riuer to go to Canada, and by reason of the seas flowing, the tide was very swift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Islands, about which, more then three leagues compasse, lie many rocks and great stones, and but two fadome water: and the

This is the riuer of Tadascu, or of Saguenay.

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flowing amidst those Islands is very vnconstant and doubtful, so that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to lose our Pinnesse: and coasting along the said drie sands, there is more then 30 fadom water.

About fiue leagues beyond the riuer of Saguenay Southwest, there is another Iland on the Northside, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to haue cast anker, on purpose to stay the next tide, but we could sound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a flight shoot from shore, so that we were constrained to winde backe to the said Iland, where wee sounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoysed saile and went thence, sayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fish neuer before of any man seene or knowen. They are about the bignesse of a porpose, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grayhounds, altogither as white as snow without any spot, within which riuer there is great quantitie of them: they doe liue altogither betweene the Sea and the fresh water. These people of the Countrey call them Adhothuys, they tolde vs that they be very sauory and good to be eaten. Moreouer they affirme none to be found elsewhere but in the mouth of that riuer. The sixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more vpward into the riuer, and there lighted on an Iland that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little hauen or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Iland. There are likewise great quantitie of the said Adhothuys taken by the inhabitours of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeux in France at euery tide. This Iland is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, replenished with many goodly and great trees of many sorts. Among the rest there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, somewhat bigger and better in sauour then ours, but somewhat harder, and therefore we called it The Iland of Filberds. The seuenth of the

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The Ile of Condres or Filberds.

moneth being our Ladies euen, after seruice we went from that Iland to goe vp higher into the riuer, and came to 14 Ilands seuen or eight leagues from the Iland of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Ilands is ten leagues in length, and fiue in bredth, greatly inhabited of such men as onely liue by fishing of such sorts of fishes as the riuer affordeth, according to the season of them. After we had cast anker betwene the said great Iland, and the Northerly coast, we went on land and tooke our two wild men with vs, meeting with many of these countrey people, who would not at all approch vnto vs, but rather fled from vs, vntill our two men began to speake vnto them, telling them that they were Taignoagoy and Domagaia, who so soone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to reioyce, dancing and shewing many sorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefest of them came to our boats and brought many Eeles and other sorts of fishes, with two or three burdens of great Millet wherewith they make their bread, and many great muske millions. The same day came also many other boates full of those countreymen and women, to see and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteously receiued and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as possibly could be. And to haue them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gaue them many small gifts, but of small value: neuerthelesse they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whose proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelue boats came to our ships, accompanied with many people, who causing ten of his boates to goe backe with the other two, approched vnto vs with sixteene men. Then beganne the said Agouhanna ouer against the smallest of our ships, according to their maner and fashion, to frame a long Oration, moouing all his bodie and members after a strange fashion, which thing is a ceremonie and signe of gladnesse and securitie among them, and then comming to the Generals ship, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he

This great Iland is called The Ile of Orleans. Maiz.

spake with them and they with him, where they began to tell and shew vnto him what they had seene in France, and what good [109] entertainement they had had: hearing which things the said Lord seemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kisse it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for so they vse to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, causing bread and wine to be brought to make the said Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and satisfied. Our Captaine for that time gaue them nothing, because he looked for a fitter opportunity. These things being done, ech one tooke leaue of others, and the said Lord went with his boats againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then caused our boates to be set in order, that with the next tide he might goe vp higher into the riuer, to find some safe harborough for our ships: and we passed vp the riuer against the streame about tenne leagues, coasting the said Iland, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little riuer and hauen, where by reason of the flood there is about three fadome water. This Santa Croix. place seemed to vs very fit and commodious to harbour our ships therein, and so we did very safely, we named it the holy Crosse, for on that day we came thither. Neere vnto it, there is a village, Goodly hemp. whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees euen as in France, as Okes, Elmes, Ashes, Walnut trees, Maple tres, Cydrons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring foorth fruit as bigge as any damsons, and many other sortes of trees, vnder which groweth as faire tall hempe, as any in France, without any seede or any mans worke or labour at all. Hauing considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our Captaine withdrew himselfe on purpose to returne to our ships: but behold, as we were comming out of the riuer we met comming against vs one

of the Lords of the said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, women, and children, who after the fashion of their country, in signe of mirth and ioy, began to make a long Oration, the women still singing and dancing vp to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kindnesse toward vs, caused the boat wherein they were, to come vnto him, and gaue them certaine trifles, as kniues, and beades of glasse, whereat they were maruellous glad, for being gone about leagues from them, for the pleasure they concerned of our comming we might heare them sing, and see them dance for all they were so farre.

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Chap. 3. How our Captaine went to see and note the bignesse of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ships, causing them to be brought to the riuer of The holy Crosse.

After we were come with our boats vnto our ships againe, our Captaine caused our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the said Iland, to note the trees that in shew seemed so faire, and to consider the nature and qualitie of it: which things we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Also we saw many goodly Vines, a thing not before of vs seene in those countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland. It is in length about twelue leagues, in sight very pleasant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, vnlesse it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fishers dwellings as before we haue said. The next day we departed with our ships to bring them to the place of the holy Crosse, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of those people, came to meete vs, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ships, shewing sundry

The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans.

and diuers gestures of gladnesse and mirth, except those two that he had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, who seemed to haue altered and changed their mind, and purpose, for by no meanes they would come vnto our ships, albeit sundry times they were earnestly desired to doe it, whereupon we began to mistrust somewhat. Our Captaine asked them if according to promise they would go with him to Hochelaga? They answered yea, for so they had purposed, and then ech one withdrew himselfe. The next day being the fifteenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on shore, to cause certaine poles and piles to be driuen into the water, and set vp, that the better and safelier we might harbour our ships there: and many of those countrey people came to meete vs there, among whom was Donnacona and our two men, with the rest of [111] their company, who kept themselues aside vnder a point or nooke of land that is vpon the shore of a certaine riuer, and no one of them came vnto vs as the other did that were not on their side. Our Captaine vnderstanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the saide point where he found the said Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and diuers other: and after salutations giuen on ech side, Taignoagny setled himselfe formost to speake to our Captaine, saying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieue and sorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine answered, that albeit it did greeue them yet would not he leaue them off, and that (as he knew) it was the maner of France. But for all these words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to speake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceiue, that whatsoeuer Taignoagny spake, was onely long of himselfe and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a maruellous stedfast league of friendship, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, cast out three great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one hauing taken leaue of the other for that day, we went aboord againe. The day following we

brought our two great shippes within the riuer and harborough, where the waters being at the highest, are three fadome deepe, and at the lowest, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinnesse without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soone as we had safely placed our ships, behold we saw Donnacona, Taignoagny and Domagaia, with more then fiue hundred persons, men, women and children, and the said Lord with ten or twelue of the chiefest of the countrey came aboord of our ships, who were all courteously receiued, and friendly entertained both of our Captaine and of vs all: and diuers gifts of small value were giuen them. Then did Taignoagny tell our Captaine, that his Lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them should goe with him, because the riuer was of no importance. Our Captaine answered him, that for all his saying, he would not leaue off his going thither, if by any meanes it were possible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as possibly he could: and that if he (that is to say Taignoagny) would goe with him, as he had promised, he should be very well entertained,
[112] beside that, he should haue such a gift giuen him, as he should well content himselfe: for he should doe nothing else but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagny answered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they sodainly returned to their houses. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned euen as at the first, and brought with him many Eeles, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take great store in the said riuer, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soone as they were come to our ships, according to their wonted use they beganne to sing and dance. This done, Donnacona caused all his people to be set on the one side: then making a round circle vpon the sand he caused our Captaine with all his people to enter thereinto, then he began to make a long Oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelue yeeres old,

which he presented vnto our Captaine: then sodainly beganne all his people to make three great shreeks, or howles, in signe of ioy and league of friendship: presently vpon that he did present vnto him two other young male children one after another, but younger then the other, at the giuing of which euen as before they gaue out shreeks and howles very loud, with other cerimonies: for which presents, our Captaine, gaue the saide Lorde great and hearty thankes. Then Taignoagny told our Captaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter vnto the said Lords owne sister, and the presents were only giuen him to the end he should not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Captaine answered, that if they were only giuen him to that intent, if so he would, he should take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leaue his going off, for as much as he was so commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Captaine that their Lord had giuen him those children as a signe and token of goodwill and security, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, vpon which talke great wordes arose betweene Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainely perceiued that Taignoagny was but a crafty knaue, and that he intended but mischiefe and treason, as well by this deede as others that we by him had seene. After that our Captaine caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two Swords and two copper Basons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought vnto him, and them he gaue to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yeelding most heartie thankes vnto our Captaine for them, and presently vpon [113] that he commanded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our Captaine to cause a peece of artillerie to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them maruellous things, and also, because they had neuer heard nor seene any before: to whom our Captaine answered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelue cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was

hard by those people and ships, at whose noyse they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heauen had fallen ypon them, and put themselues to flight, howling, crying, and shreeking, so that it seemed hell was broken loose. But before we went thence, Taignoagny caused other men to tell vs, that those men which we had left in our Pinnesse in the road, had slaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had shot off, whereupon the rest had put themselues all to flight, as though they should all haue bene slaine: which afterward we found vntrue, because our men had not shot off any peece at all that day.

Chap. 4. How Donnacona and Taignoagny with others, deuised a prettie sleight or pollicie: for they caused three of their men to be attired like Diuels, fayning themselues to be sent from their God Cudruaigny, onely to hinder our voyage to Hochelaga.

The next day being the eighteenth of September, these men still endeuoured themselues to seeke all meanes possible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and deuised a prettie guile, as hereafter shalbe shewed. They went and dressed three men like Diuels, being wrapped in dogges skinnes white and blacke, their faces besmeered as blacke as any coales, with hornes on their heads more then a yard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ships as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the space of two houres, looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the Diuels were, might approach and come neere vs, which when time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood comming to vs, but yet not so neere as they were wont to do. There began

Taignoagny to salute our Captaine, who asked him if he would haue the boate to come for him; he answered, not for that time, but after a while he would come vnto our ships: then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeit Diuels were with such long hornes on their heads, and the middlemost came making a long Oration and passed along our ships with out turning or looking toward vs, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and Diuels, who so soone as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boate, euen as if they had beene dead: then were they taken vp and carried into the wood, being but a stones cast off, then euery one withdrew himselfe into the wood, not one staying behind with vs, where being, they began to make a long discourse, so loud that we might heare them in our ships, which lasted aboue halfe an houre, and being ended we began to espie Taignoagny and Domagaia comming towards vs, holding their hands vpward ioyned together, carying their hats vnder their vpper garment, shewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking vp to heauen, cryed three times Iesus, Iesus, Iesus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Iesus Maria, Iames Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ailed, and what was happened or chanced anew; they answered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, saying in French, Nenni est il bon, that is to say, it was not good: our Captaine asked them againe what it was, then answered they, that their God Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochleaga: and that he had sent those three men to shewe vnto them that there was so much yce and snow in that countrey, that whosoeuer went thither should die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them saying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or said; then bade we them shew his messengers from vs, that Christ would defend them all from colde, if they would beleeue in him. Then did they aske of our

Captaine if he had spoken with Iesus: he answered no, but that his Priests had, and that he told them they should haue faire weather: which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell those newes vnto their felowes, who sodainly came all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those words that our Captaine had spoken, and to shew that thereby they had had, and felt great ioy,
[115] so soone as they were before our ships, they altogether gaue out three great shreekes, and thereupon beganne to sing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a resolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them should goe with him to Hochelaga vnlesse he would leaue him some hostage to stay with him: our Captaine answered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they should stay, and that for all them he would not leaue off his iourney thither.

Chap 5. How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinnesse, and the two boates from Canada to goe to Hochelaga: and also there is described, what was seene by the way vpon the said riuer.

Vines laden with grapes.

The next day being the 19 of September we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and two boates departed to goe vp the riuer with the flood, where on both shores of it we beganne to see as goodly a countrey as possibly can with eye be seene, all replenished with very goodly trees, and Vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the riuer, which rather seemed to
Hochelay. haue bin planted by mans hand than otherwise. True it is, that because they are not dressed and wrought as they should be, their bunches of grapes are not so great nor sweete as ours: also we sawe all along the riuer many houses inhabited of Fishers, which

take all kindes of fishes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindnesse vnto vs, as if we had beene their Countreymen, and brought vs great store of fish, with other such things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting vp their hands toward heauen, gaue many signes of ioy: we stayed at a place called Hochelai, about fiue and twentie leagues from Canada, where the riuer waxeth very narrow, and runneth very swift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but also for certaine great stones that are therein. Many boates and barkes came vnto vs, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the contrey, making a long discourse, who being come neere vs, did by evident signes and gestures shew vs, that the higher the riuer went, the more dangerous it was, [116] and bade vs take heede of our selues. The said Lord presented and gaue vnto our Capuine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being a wench 7 or 8 yeres old, the man child he gaue him againe, because it was too yong, for it was but two or three yeeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteously as he could did entertaine and receiue the said Lord and his company, giuing them certaine small trifles, and so they departed toward the shore againe. Afterwards the sayd Lord and his wife came vnto Canada to visite his daughter, bringing vnto our Captaine certaine small presents. From the nineteenth vntill the eight and twentieth of September, we sailed vp along the saide riuer, neuer losing one houre of time, all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a countrey as possibly can be wished for, full (as we haue said before) of all sorts of goodly trees, that is to say, Okes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Ashes, Boxe, Willowes, and great store of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, so that if any of our fellowes went on shore, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many Cranes, Swannes, Geese, Duckes, Feasants, Partriges, Thrushes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreasts, Nightingales, Sparrowes of diuerse kindes, with many other sorts of Birds, euen as in France,

The lake of Angolesme.

and great plentie and store. Vpon the 28 of September we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the riuer fiue or sixe leagues broad, and twelue long, all that day we went against the tide, hauing but two fadome water, still keeping the sayd scantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espie no passage or going out, nay, rather it seemed to haue bene closed and shut vp round about, and there was but a fadome and an halfe of water, little more or lesse. And therefore we were constrayned to cast anker, and to stay with our Pinnesse, and went with our two boates to seeke some going out, and in one place we found foure or fiue branches, which out of the riuer come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the said branches, because of the great fiercenesse and swiftnesse wherewith they breake out, and the course of the water, they make certaine barres and shoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Those Shouldes being passed, we found foure or fiue fadome, and as farre as we could perceiue by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flowe
[117] higher by three fadomes. All these foure or fiue branches do compasse about fiue or sixe Ilands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the saide Islands, and met with fiue men that were hunting of wilde beastes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had euer bene brought vp togither. Our boates being somewhat neere the shore, one of them tooke our Captaine in his armes, and caried him on shore, as lightly and as easily as if he had bene a child of fiue yeeres old: so strong and sturdie was this

Wild rats as big as Conies.

fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wild Rats that liue in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gaue vnto our Captaine, who for a recompence gaue them kniues and glassen Beades. We asked them with signes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they answered yea, and that we had yet three dayes sayling thither.

Chap 6. How our Captaine caused our boates to be mended and dressed to goe to Hochelaga: and because the way was somewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinnesse behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainment we had of the people.

They leaue their Pinnesse behind.

The next day our Captaine seeing that for that time it was not possible for our Pinnesse to goe on any further, he caused our boates to be made readie, and as much munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanyed with many Gentlemen, that is to say, Cladius of Ponte Briand, Cup-bearer to the Lorde Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, Iohn Gouion, Iohn Powlet, with twentie and eight Mariners: and Mace Iallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge vnder the Captaine of the other two ships, to goe vp as farre as they could into that riuer: we sayled with good and prosperous weather vntill the second of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our Pinnesse fiue and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of those countriemen, who brought vs fish and such other victuals as they had, still dancing and greatly reioycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gaue them kniues, beades, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied. So soone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete vs aboue a thousand persons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receiue vs as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time seene, the men dauncing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another: after that they brought vs great store of fish, and of their bread made of Millet, casting them into our boates so thicke, that you would haue thought it to fall from

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Hochelaga distant from the lake of Angolesme 45 leagues.

heauen. Which when our Captaine sawe, he with many of his company went on shore: so soone as euer we were aland they came clustring about vs, making very much of vs, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to haue our Captaine and his company to touch them, making signes and shewes of great mirth and gladnesse, that lasted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine seeing their louing kindnesse and entertainment of vs, caused all the women orderly to be set in aray, and gaue them Beades made of Tinne, and other such small trifles, and to some of the men he gaue kniues: then he returned to the boates to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as neere our boates as they might, making great fires, and dauncing very merily, still crying Aguiaze, which in their tonge signifieth Mirth and Safetie.

Chap. 7. How our Captaine with fiue gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to see the towne of Hochelaga, and the situation of it.

The third of October.

Ovr Captaine the next day very rarely in the morning, hauing very gorgeously attired himselfe, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the towne and habitation of those people, and a certaine mountaine that is somewhat neere the citie: with whom went also fiue Gentlemen and twentie Mariners, leauing the rest to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with vs three men of Hochelaga to bring vs to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best countrey that possibly can be seene, full of as goodly great Okes as are in any wood in France, vnder which the ground was all couered ouer with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or fiue miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest Lords of the citie, accompanied with many moe, who so soone as he sawe vs beckned and made signes vpon vs, that

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Hochelaga sixe miles from the riuer side.

we must rest vs in that place where they had made a great fire, and so we did. After that we had rested our selues there a while, the said Lord began to make a long discourse, euen as we haue saide aboue, they are accustomed to doe in signe of mirth and friendship, shewing our Captaine and all his company a ioyfull countenance, and good will, who gaue him two hatchets, a paire of kniues and a crosse which he made him to kisse, and then put it about his necke, for which he gaue our Captaine heartie thankes. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of such corne as the countrie yeeldieth. It is euen as the Millet of Bresil, as great and somewhat bigger than small peason, wherewith they liue euen as we doe with ours. In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were ioyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber; with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrosse aboue. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly ioyned togither after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Ouer it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get vp, all full of stones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houses, about fiftie paces long, and twelue, or fifteene broad, built all of wood, couered ouer with the barke of the wood as broad as [120] any boord, very finely and cunning ioyned togither. Within the said houses, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middest of euery one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They liue in common togither: then doe the husbands, wiues and children each one retire themselues

This Millet is Maiz.

The description of Hochelaga.

to their chambers. They haue also on the top of their houses certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They haue certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beat our hempe, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder; then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote stone, and then couer it with hote stones, and so they bake their bread in stead of Ouens. They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corne and also of pease and of beanes, whereof they haue great store, as also with other fruits, as Muske-Millions, and very great Cowcumbers. They haue also in their houses certaine vessels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preserue and keepe their fish, causing the same in sommer to be dried in the sunne, and liue therewith in winter, whereof they make great prouision, as we by experience haue seene. All their viands and meates are without any taste or sauour of salt at all. They sleepe vpon barkes of trees laide all along vpon the ground being ouer-spread with the skinnes of certaine wilde Beastes, wherewith they also cloth and couer themselues. The thing most precious that they haue in all the world they call Asurgny: it is as white as any snow: they take it in the said riuer of Cornibotz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deserued death, or that they take any of their enemies in Warres, first they kill him, then with certaine kniues they giue great slashes and strokes vpon their buttocks, flankes, thighs, and shoulders: then they cast the same bodie so mangled downe to the bottome of the riuer, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leaue it ten or 12 houres, then they take it vp againe, and in the cuts find the said Esurgny or Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their necks, euen as we doe chaines of gold and siluer, accounting it the preciousest thing in the world. They haue this vertue and propertie in them, they will stop or stanch bleeding at the nose, for we haue prooued

Maiz, pease, beanes, musk-millions, cucumbers, and other fruits. Plentie of fish and the preseruing thereof.

Esurgni good to stanch blood.

it. These people are giuen to no other exercise, but onely to husbandrie and fishing for their sustenance: they haue no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they haue no knowledge of it, and that is, because they neuer trauell and go out of their countrey, as those of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongst the riuer be subiects vnto them. [121]

Chap. 8. How we came to the Towne of Hochelaga, and the entertainement which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gaue them, with diuers other things.

So soone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselues before vs after their fashion, making very much of vs: we were by our guides brought into the middest of the towne. They haue in the middlemost part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stones cast, whither we were brought, and there with signes were commanded to stay: then suddenly all the women and maidens of the towne gathered themselues together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie soeuer they could touch, weeping for very ioy that they saw vs, shewing vs the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring vs with their signes, that it would please vs to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselues backe, then they euery one sate downe on the ground round about vs, as if they would haue shewen and rehearsed some Comedie or other shew: then presently came the women againe, euery one bringing a foure square Matte in manner of Carpets, and spreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they caused vs to sit vpon them. That done, the the

Lord and King of the countrey was brought vpon 9 or 10 mens shoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) sitting vpon a great Stagges skinne, and they laide him downe vpon the foresaid mats neere to the Captaine euery one beckning vnto vs that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old: he was no whit better apparelled then any
[122] of the rest, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing made of the skinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in stead of his Crowne. He was full of the palsie, and his members shronke togither. After he had with certaine signes saluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he shewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with signes desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gaue it vnto our Captaine: that done they brought before him diuers diseased men, some blinde, some criple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and couered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it seemed vnto them that God was descended and come downe from heauen to heale them. Our Captaine seeing the misery and deuotion of this poore people, recited the Gospel of Saint Iohn, that is to say, In the beginning was the word; touching euery one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receiue Baptisme and Christendome: that done, he tooke a Seruice-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the passion of Christ, word by word that all the standers by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept silence, and were maruellously attentiue, looking vp to heauen, and imitating vs in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on an other, and to the chiefest of them he gaue hatchets, to

the other kniues, and to the women beads and such other small trifles. Then where the children were, he cast rings, counters, and brooches made of Tin, whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other musicall instruments to be sounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leaue and went to our boate: the women seeing that, put themselues before to stay vs, and brought vs out of their meates that they had made readie for vs, as fish, pottage beanes, and such other things, thinking to make vs eate, and dine in that place: but because the meates had no sauour at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signes gaue them to vnderstand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diuerse of the men and women followed vs, and brought vs to the toppe of the foresaid mountaine, which we named Mount Roiall, it is about a league from the Towne. [123]

A ridge of mountaines to the North of Hochelaga and another to the South.

When as we were on the toppe of it, we might discerne and plainly see thirtie leagues about. On the Northside of it there are many hilles to be seene running West and East, and as many more on the South, amongst and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleasant as possibly can be seene, being leuell, smooth, and very plaine, fit to be husbanded and tilled: and in the middest of those fieldes we saw the riuer further vp a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath beene seene, and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discerne, going South-west along three faire and round mountaines that wee sawe, as we judged about fifteene leagues from vs. Those which brought vs thither tolde and shewed vs, that in the sayd riuer there were three such falles of water more, as that was where we had left our boates: but because we could not vnderstand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were from one another.

The 3 faults or falls of water in 44 degrees of latitude.

Moreouer they shewed vs with signes, that the said three fals being past, a man might sayle the space of three monethes more alongst that Riuer, and that along the hilles that are on the North

The riuer of Saguenay commeth from the West, where there is gold and siluer.

side there is a great riuer, which (euen as the other) commeth from the West, we thought it to be the riuer that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any signe or question mooued or asked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whistle, which was of siluer, and the dagger haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his side being of yellow copper guilt, and shewed vs that such stuffe came from the said Riuer, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to say, as euill people, who goe all armed euen to their finger ends. Also they shewed vs the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought together. They gaue vs also to vnderstande that those Agouionda doe continually warre one against another, but because we did not vnderstand them well, we could not perceiue how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine shewed them redde Copper, which, in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that
[124] Countrey, with signes asked them if any came from thence, they shaking their heads answered no: but they shewed vs that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and seene these things of them, we drewe to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of those people: some of them when as they sawe any of our fellowes weary, would take them vp on their shoulders, and carry them as on horsebacke. So soone as we came to our boates we hoysed saile to goe toward our Pinnesse, doubting of some mischance. Our departure grieued and displeased them very much, for they followed vs along the riuer as farre as they could: we went so fast that on Munday being the fourth of October wee came where our Pinnesse was. The Tuesday following being the fift of the moneth, we hoysed saile, and with our Pinnesse and boates departed from thence toward the Prouince of Canada, to the port of the Holy Crosse, where we had left our ships. The seuenth day we came against a riuer that commeth from the North, and entred into that riuer, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilands full of faire and goodly

trees: we named that riuer The riuer of Fouetz: But because one of those Ilandes stretcheth it selfe a great way into the riuer, our Captaine at the point of it caused a goodly great Crosse to be set vp, and commanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe vp the saide riuer, and consider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went vp as farre as we could: but because we found it to be of no importance, and very shallow, we returned and sayled down the riuer.

Chap. 9. How we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, and in what state we found our ships: and how the Lord of the Countrey came to visite our Captaine, and our Captaine him: and of certaine particular customes of the people.

Vpon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Crosse, where our ships were, and found that the Masters and Mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ships, altogether closed with great peeces of timber set vpright and verywell fastened togither: then had they beset the said trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other necessarie [125] things to shield and defend themselues from the power of all the countrey. So soone as the Lord of the countrey heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to visite vs, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia, and many others, fayning to be very glad of our comming, making much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deserued it. Donnacona their Lord desired our Captaine the next day to come and see Canada, which he promised to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to visite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ships. The place where they make their abode is called

Stadaoona. When we were about a stones cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meete vs, being all set in a ranke, and (as their custome is) the men all on one side, and the women on the other, still dancing and singing without any ceasing: and after we had saluted and receiued one another, our Captaine gaue them kniues and such other sleight things: then he caused all the women and children to passe along before him, giuing each one a ring of Tin, for which they gaue him hearty thankes: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to see their houses, which (the qualitie considered) were very well prouided, and stored with such victuals as the countrey yeeldeth, to passe away the winter withall. Then they shewed vs the skins of fiue mens heads spread vpon boards as we do vse parchment: Donnacona told vs that they were skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them. Moreouer they told vs, that it was two yeeres past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea euen into the said riuer, in an Iland that lyeth ouer against Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women, and children, who being all asleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would haue come out of it to saue themselues, they were all slaine, only fiue excepted, who escaped. For which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing with signes, that one day they would be reuenged: that done, we came to our ships againe.

Toudamani dwelling South-ward of Canada.

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Chap. 10. The maner how the people of that Countrey liue: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and customes.

This people beleeue no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them and telleth them what weather shal follow, whether good or bad. Moreouer they say, that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they beleeue that when they die they go into the stars, and thence by litle and little descend downe into the Horizon, euen as the stars doe, and that then they goe into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire and precious trees, floures, and fruits. After that they had giuen vs these things to vnderstand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceiue them, for he is but a Diuell and an euill spirit: affirming vnto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heauen, and who giueth vs all necessaries, being the Creatour of all himselfe, and that onely we must beleeue in him: moreouer, that it is necessarie for vs to be baptised, otherwise wee are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily beleeue, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to say, nought, so that very earnestly they desired and prayed our Captaine that he would cause them to be baptised, and their Lorde, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came vnto vs, hoping to be baptised: but because we did not throughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe and religion, we excused our selues, desiring Taignoagny, and Domagaia, to tell the rest of their countreymen, that he would come againe another time, and bring Priests and chrisome with vs, for without them they could not be baptised: which they did easily beleeue, for Domagaia and Taignoagny had seene many children baptised in Britain whiles they were there. Which promise when they heard they seemed to be very glad. They liue in common togither: and of such commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well stored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themselues with the skinnes of certaine wilde beasts, but very miserably. In winter they weare hosen and shoes made of wilde beasts skins,

They desire to be baptised.

[127] and in Sommer they goe barefooted. They keepe and obserue the rites of matrimonie sauing that euery one weddeth 2 or 3 wiues, which (their husbands being dead) do neuer marrie againe, but for the death of their husbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life, besmearing al their faces with cole dust and grease mingled togither as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are knowen to be widdowes. They haue a filthy and detestable vse in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for euery man that will haue to doe with them, vntill such time as they find a match. This I say, because I haue seene by experience many housen full of those Damosels, euen as our schooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreouer, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally togither, shewing whatsoever God hath sent them. They are no men of great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a sword, on which ground groweth their corne, which they call Offici: it is as bigge as our small peason: there is great quantitie of it growing in Bresill.

Tobacco described. They haue also great store of Muske-milions, Pompions, Gourds, Cucumbers, Peason and Beanes of euery colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth also a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great prouision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men vse of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beasts skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe: then when they please they make pouder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire vpon it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They say that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they neuer goe without some of it about

them. We ourselues haue tryed the same smoke, and hauing put it in our mouthes, it seemed almost as hot as Pepper. The women of that countrey doe labour much more then the men, as well in fishing (whereto they are greatly giuen) as in tilling and husbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men as women and children, are very much more able to resist cold then sauage beastes, for wee with our owne eyes haue seene some [128] of them, when it was coldest (which cold was extreme raw and bitter) come to our ships starke naked going vpon snow and yce, which thing seemeth incredible to them that haue not seene it. When as the snow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take great store of wilde beasts, as Faunes, Stags, Beares, Marterns, Hares and Foxes, with diuers other sorts whose flesh they eate raw, hauing first dried it in the sunne or smoke, and so they doe their fish. As farre foorth as we could perceiue and vnderstand by these people, it were a very easie thing to bring them to some familiaritie and ciuility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies sake set thereunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.

Chap. 11. Of the greatnesse and depth of the said riuer, and of the sorts of beasts, birdes, fishes, and other things that we haue seene, with the situation of the place.

The said riuer beginneth beyond the Iland of the Assumption, ouer against the high mountaines of Hognedo, and of the seuen Ilands. The distance ouer from one side to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the middest it is aboue 200 fadome deepe. The surest way to sayle vpon it is on the South side. And toward the North, that is to say, from the said 7 Ilands, from side to side, there is seuen leagues distance, where are also two great riuers that come downe from the hils of Saguenay, and make

diuers very dangerous shelues in the Sea. At the entrance of those two riuers we saw many and great store of Whales and Sea horses. Ouerthwart the said Islands there is another little riuer that runneth along those marrish grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherein there is great store of water foules. From the entrance of that riuer to Hochelaga there is about 300 leagues distance: the originall beginning of it is in the riuer that commeth from Saguenay, which riseth and springeth among high and steepe hils: it entreth into that riuer before it commeth to the Prouince of Canada on the North side. That riuer is very deepe, high, and streight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any vessell to goe vpon it. After that riuer followeth the Prouince of Canada, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are also in the circuit and territorie of Canada, along, and within the said riuer, many other Ilands, some great, and some small, among which there is one that containeth aboue ten leagues in length, full of goodly and high trees, and also many Vines. You may goe into it from both sides, but yet the surest passage is on the South side. On the shore or banke of that riuer Westward, there is a goodly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, conuenient and fit for to harborough ships. Hard by there is in that riuer one place very narrow, deepe, and swift running, but it is not passing the third part of a league, ouer against the which there is a goodly high piece of land, with a towne therein: and the countrey about it is very well tilled and wrought, and as good as possibly can be seene. That is the place and abode of Donnacona, and of our two men we tooke in our first voyage, it is called Stadacona. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, that is to say, Ayraste, Starnatan, Tailla, which standeth vpon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stadagona, vnder which towne toward the North the riuer and port of the holy crosse is, where we staied from the 15 of September, vntil the 16 of May 1536, and there our ships remained dry, as we haue said before. That place being past, we found the habitation of the

It is now found to be but 200 leagues.

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people called Teguenondahi, standing vpon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which standeth in a Champaigne countrey. All the said countrey on both sides of the riuer as farre as Hochelay and beyond, is as faire and plaine as euer was seene. There are certain mountaines farre distaines diuers riuers descend, which fall into the said riuer. All that countrey is full of sundry sorts of wood and many Vines, vnless it be about the places that are inhabited, where they haue pulled vp the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houses and lodgings. There is great store of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other such sorts of beasts, as Connies, Hares, Marterns, Foxes, Otters, Beares, Weasels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great and diuers other sortes of wilde beasts. They cloth themselues with the skinnies of those beasts, because they haue nothing else to make them apparell withall. There are also many sorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Bustards, wild Geese white and grey, Duckes, Thrushes, Blackbirdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Red-breasts, Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes, euen as in France. Also, as we haue said before, the said riuer is the plentifullest of fish that euen hath of any man bene seene or heard of, because that from the mouth to the end of it, according to their seasons, you shall finde all sorts of fresh water fish and salt. There are also many Whales, Porposes, Seahorses, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fish that we had neuer seene or heard of before. They are as great as Porposes, as white as any snow, their bodie and head fashioned as a grayhound, they are wont alwaies to abide between the fresh and salt water, which beginneth betweene the riuer of Saguenay and Canada.

Riuers falling from mountaines.

Beasts.

Birds.

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Fishes.

Chap. 12. Of certaine aduertisements and notes giuen vnto vs by those countreymen, after our returne from Hochelaga.

After our returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, traffickt, and with great familiaritie and loue were conuersant with those that dwelt neerest vnto our ships, except that sometimes we had strife and contention with certaine naughtie people, full sore against the will of the others. Wee vnderstood of Donnacona and of others, that the said riuer is called the riuer of Saguenay, and goeth to Sagnenay, being somewhat more then a league farther West-northwest, and that 8 or 9 dayes journeys beyond, it will beare but small boats. But the right and ready way to Saguenay is vp that way to Hochelaga, and then into another that commeth from Saguenay, and then entreth into the foresaid riuer, and that there is yet one moneths sayling thither. Moreouer, they told vs and gave vs to vnderstand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they haue great store of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the said first riuer to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an Iland enuironed round about with that and other riuers, and that beyond Saguenay the said riuer entereth into two or 3 great lakes, and that there is a Sea of fresh water found, and as they haue heard say of those of Sanguenay, there was neuer man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told vs, they themselues were neuer there. Moreouer they told vs, that where we had left our Pinnesse when wee went to Hochelaga, there is a riuer that goeth Southwest, from whence there is a whole moneths sayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor snow seene, where the inhabitants doe continually warre one against another, where there is great store of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other sorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beasts skinnes euen as they: we asked them if there were any gold or red copper, they answered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceiue and vnderstand by their signes and tokens.

The right way to Saguenay.

Store of gold and red copper.

Two or three great lakes. Maredulcum aquarum.

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Chap. 13. Of a strange and cruell disease that came to the people of Stadacona, wherewith because we did haunt their company, we were so infected, that there died 25 of our company.

In the moneth of December, wee vnderstood that the pestilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in such sort, that before we knew of it, according to their confession, there were dead aboue 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ships, or vs. And albeit we had driuen them from vs, the said vnknowen sicknes began to spread itselfe amongst vs after the strangest sort that euer was eyther heard of or seene, insomuch as some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feete, then did their legges swel, their sinnowes shrinke as blacke as any cole. Others also had all their skins spotted with spots of blood of a purple coulour: then did it ascend vp to their ankels, knees, thighes, shoulders, and necke: their mouth became stincking, their gummes so rotten, that all the flesh did fall off, even to the rootes of the teeth, which did also almost all fall out. With such infection did this sicknesse spread itselfe in our three ships, that about the middle of February, of a hundreth and tenne persons that we were, there were not ten whole, so that one could not help the other, a most horrible and pitifull case, considering the place we were in, forsomuch as the people of the countrey would dayly come before our fort, and saw but few of vs. There were alreadie eight dead, and more then fifty sicke, and as we thought, past all hope of recouery. [132]
Our Captaine seeing this our misery, and that the sicknesse was gone so farre, ordained and commanded, that euery one should deuoutly prepare himselfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Christ, caused his Image to be set vpon a tree, about a flight shot from the fort amidst the yce and snow, giuing all men to vnderstand, that on the Sunday following, seruice should be said

there, and that whosoeuer could goe, sicke or whole, should goe thither in Procession, singing the seuen Psalmes of Dauid, with other Letanies, praying most heartily that it would please the said our Christ to haue compassion vpon vs. Seruice being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our Captaine there made a vow, that if it would please God to giue him leaue to returne into France, he would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rougemont, borne in Amboise, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and because the sicknesse was to vs vnknowen, our Captaine caused him to be ripped to see if by any meanes possible we might know what it was, and so seeke meanes to saue and preserue the rest of the company: he was found to have his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his liuer was indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogither shrunke about the heart, so that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood issued out from about his heart: his milt toward the backe was somewhat perished, rough as it had bene rubbed against a stone. Moreouer, because one of his thighs was very blacke without, it was opened, but within it was whole and sound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. In such sort did the sicknesse continue and increase, that there were not aboue three sound men in the ships, and none was able to goe vnder hatches to draw drinke for himselfe, nor for his fellowes. Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead vnder the snow, because we were not able to digge any graues for them the ground was so hard frozen, and we so weake. Besides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the countrey would perceiue our weaknesse and miserie, which to hide, our Captaine, whom it pleased God alwayes to keepe in health, would go out with two or three of the company, some sicke and some whole, whom when he saw out of the Fort, he would throw stones at them and chide them, faigning that so soone as he came againe, he would beate them, and then with signes shewe the people of the countrey that hee

caused all his men to worke and labour in the ships, some in calking them, some in beating of chalke, some in one thing, [133] and some in another, and that he would not haue them come foorth till their worke was done. And to make his tale seeme true and likely, he would make all his men whole and sound to make a great noyse with knocking stickes, stones, hammers, and other things togither, at which time we were so oppressed and grieued with that sicknesse, that we had lost all hope euer to see France againe, if God of his infinite goodnesse and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked vpon vs, and reuealed a singular and excellent remedie against all diseases vnto vs, the best that euer was found vpon earth, as hereafter shall follow.

Chap. 14. How long we stayed in the Port of the holy Crosse amidst the snow and yce, and how many died of the said disease, from the beginning of it to the midst of March.

From the midst of Nouember vntill the midst of March, we were kept in amidst the yce aboue two fadomes thicke, and snow aboue foure foot high and more, higher then the sides of our ships, which lasted till that time, in such sort, that all our drinkes were frozen in the Vessels, and the yce through all the ships was aboue a hand breadth thicke, as well aboue hatches as beneath, and so much of the riuer as was fresh, euen to Hochelaga, was frozen, in which space there died fiue and twentie of our best and chiefest men, and all the rest were so sicke, that wee thought they should neuer recouer againe, only three or foure excepted. Then it pleased God to cast his pitiful eye vpon vs, and sent us the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recouerie, in such maner as in the next Chapter shall be shewed.

Chap. 15. How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recouered our health: and the maner how to vse it.

[134] Ovr Captaine considering our estate (and how that sicknesse was encreased and hot amongst vs) one day went foorth of the Forte, and walking vpon the yce, hee saw a troupe of those Countrey-men comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelue dayes afore, had bene very sicke with that disease, and had his knees swolne as bigge as a childe of two yeres old, all his sinews shrunke together, his teeth spoyled, his gummes rotten, and stinking. Our Captaine seeing him whole and sound, was thereat maruellous glad, hoping to vnderstand and know of him how he had healed himselfe, to the end he might ease and help his men. So soone as they were come neere him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heale himselfe: he answered, that he had taken the juice and sappe of the leaues of a certain Tree, and therewith had healed himselfe: For it is a singular remedy against that disease. Then our Captaine asked of him if any were to be had thereabout, desiring him to shew him, for to heale a seruant of his, who whilest he was in Canada with Donnacona, was striken with that disease: That he did because he would not shew the number of his sicke men. Domagaia straight sent two women to fetch some of it, which brought ten or twelue branches of it, and therewithall shewed the way how to vse it, and that is thus, to take the barke and leaues of the sayd tree, and boile them togither, then to drinke of the sayd decoction euery other day, and to put the dregs of it vpon his legs that is sicke: moreouer, they told vs, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other disease: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Sassafras tree. Our Captaine presently caused some of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durst tast of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to tast and proue it; the other

A perfect remedy against the French Pocks.

seeing that did the like, and presently recovered their health, and were deliuered of that sickenes, and what other disease soeuer, in such sorte, that there were some had bene diseased and troubled with the French Pockes foure or fiue yeres, and with this drinke were cleane healed. After this medicine was found and proued to be true, there was such strife about it, who should be first to take it, that they were ready to kill one another, so that a tree as big as any Oake in France was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in fiue or sixe daies, and it wrought so wel, that if all the phisicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not haue done so much in [135] one yere, as that tree did in sixe dayes, for it did so preuail, that as many as vsed of it, by the grace of God recouered their health.

Chap. 16. How the Lord Donnacona accompanied with Taignoagny and diuers others, faining that they would goe to hunt Stags, and Deere, taried out two moneths, and at their returne brought a great multitude of people with them, that we were not wont to see before.

While that disease lasted in our ships the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, faining that they would goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their tongue called Aiounesta, and Asquenoudo, because the yce and snow was not so broken along the riuer that they could sayle: it was told vs of Domagaia and others, that they would stay out but a fortnight, and we beleeued it, but they stayed aboue two moneths, which made vs mistrust that they had bene gone to raise the countrey to come against vs, and do vs some displeasure, we seeing our selues so weake and faint. Albeit we had vsed such diligence and policie in our Fort, that if all the power of

A long winter.

the countrey had bene about it, they could haue done nothing but looke vpon vs: and whilest they were foorth, many of the people came dayly to our ships, and brought vs fresh meat, as Stags, Deere, fishes, with diuers other things, but held them at such an excessiue price, that rather then they would sell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, because that yere the Winter was very long, and they had some scarcity and neede of them.

Chap. 17. How Donnacona came to Stadacona againe with a great number of people, and because he would not come to visit our Captaine, fained himselfe to be sore sicke, which he did only to haue the Captaine come see him.

On the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the
[136] shore side, accompanied with diuers lusty and strong men, such as we were not wont to see, and tolde vs that their lord Donnacona would the next day come and see vs, and bring great store of Deeres flesh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cause wee knew not, but (as the prouerb sayth) hee that takes heede and shields himselfe from all men, may hap to scape from some: for we had need to looke about vs, considering how in number we were diminished, and in strength greatly weakned, both by reason of our sicknesse and also of the number that were dead, so that we were constrained to leaue one of our ships in the Port of the Holy Crosse. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it vs, and durst not passe the riuer that was betwixt Stadacona and vs, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we mistrusted some treason. Our Captaine seeing this sent one of his seruants to them, accompanied with

Iohn Poulet being best beloued of those people, to see who were there, and what they did. The sayd Poulet and the other fained themselues onely to be come to visit Donnacona, and bring him certaine presents, because they had beene together a good while in the sayd Donnaconas Towne. So soone as he heard of their comming, he got himselfe to bed, faining to bee very sicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his house to see him, and wheresoeuer they went, they saw so many people, that in a maner one could not stirre for another, and such men as they were neuer wont to see. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houses, but still kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ships, and tolde them that if it would please our captaine to shew him so much fauour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whose name was Agonna, of whom hee had receiued some displeasure, and carie him with him into France, he should therefore for euer be bound vnto him, and would doe for him whatsoeuer hee would command him, and bade the seruant come againe the next day, and bring an answere. Our Captaine being aduertised of so many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purposed to play a prettie prancke, that is to say, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and some more of the chiefest of them prisoners, in so much as before hee had purposed, to bring them into France, to shew vnto our King what he had seene in those Westerne parts, and maruels of the world, for that Donnacona had told vs, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themselues with woollen cloth euen as we doe in France. Moreover he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Piquemians, and other strange people. The sayd Lord was an olde man, and euen from his childehood had neuer left off nor ceased from trauailing into strange Countreys, as well by water and riuers, as by lande. The sayd Poulet and the other hauing tolde our Captaine their Embassage, and shewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the

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Rubies, Gold, and wollen cloth with other riches in Saguenay.

A people called Picquemians.

next day he sent his seruant againe to bid Taignoagny come and see him, and shewe what hee should, for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished. Taignoagny sent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had so offended him, which hee did not, but stayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to our shippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from vs, as if we would have slaine them, so that then wee plainely perceiued their knauery.

The towne of Sidatin.

But because they vnderstood, that those of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forsaken the bottome of a ship which we would leaue, to haue the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and most of them without difficulty did passe from one side of the riuer to the other with small Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come ouer: Taignoagny and Domagaia stood talking together about an houre before they would come ouer, at last they came to speake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cause the foresayd man to be taken and caried into France. Our Captaine refused to doe it, saying that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly cary him to Newfoundland, and there leave him in an Island. Our Captaine spake this, onely to assure them, that they should bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other side; which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee should neuer returne into France againe, and therefore promised to come the next day which was the day of the Holy Crosse, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

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Chap. 18. How that vpon Holyrood day our Captaine caused a Crosse to be set vp in our Forte: and how the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and others of their company came: and of the taking of the sayd Lord.

The third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the solemnitie of the day, caused a goodly fayre crosse of 35 foote in height to bee set vp, vnder the crosset of which hee caused a shield to be hanged, wherein were the Armes of France, and ouer them was written in antique letters, Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat. And vpon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of Stadacona, men, women and children, who told vs that their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, and being come neere our ships, our Captaine went to salute Donnacona, who also shewed him a merie countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were still bent toward the wood. Shortly after came Taignoagny, who bade Donnacona that he should not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, and kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ships to eate and drinke as hee was wont to do, and also Taignoagny, who promised, that after a while he would come, and so they did, and entred into our ships: but first it was told our Captain by Domagaia that Taignoagny had spoken ill of him, and that he had bid Donnacona hee should not come aboord our ships. Our Captaine perceiuing that, came out of the Forte, and saw that onely by Taignoagny his warning the women ran away, and none but men stayed in great number, wherefore he straight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, and two more of the chiefest whom he pointed vnto:

Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia taken.

then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Presently after, the said lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by
[139] and by Taignoagny came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call vnto them to take them, at whose crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the sayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians seeing their Lord taken, began to run away, even as sheepe before the woolfe, some crossing over the riuer, some through the woods, each one seeking for his owne aduantage. That done, we retired our selues, and laid vp the prisoners vnder good guard and safety.

Chap. 19. How the said Canadians the night following came before our ships to seeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolues: of the talke and conclusion they agreed vpon the next day: and of the gifts which they gaue our Captaine.

The night following they came before our ships, (the riuer being betwixt vs) striking their breasts, and crying and howling like woolues, still calling Agouhanna, thinking to speake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made signes vnto vs, that we had hanged or killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluster, as euer we saw, who went to hide themselues in the Forest, except some, who with a loud voice would call and crie to Donnacona to speake vnto them. Our Captaine then commanded Donnacona to be brought vp on high to speake vnto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had spoken, and shewed vnto the King of France what hee had seene in Saguenay and other countreys, after ten or twelve moneths, he should returne againe, and that the King of France would giue him great reward. Donnacona was very glad, and speaking

to the others told it them, who in token of ioy, gaue out three great cryes, and then Donaconna and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be described. Our Captaine bade Donnacona that hee should cause them to come to the other side of the riuer, to the end they might better talke together without any feare, and that he should assure them: which Donnacona did, and there came a boate full of the chiefest of them to the ships, and there anew began to talke together, giuing great praise to our captaine, and gaue him a present of foure and twenty chaines of Esurgny, for that is the greatest and preciousest riches they haue in this world, for they esteeme more of that, then of any gold or siluer. After they had long talked together, and that their Lord sawe that there was no remedy to auoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him some victuals to serue him by the way. Our Captaine gaue Donnacona, as a great present, two Frying pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other small trifles, as Kniues, and Beades, whereof hee seemed to be very glad, who sent them to his wiues and children. Likewise, he gaue to them that came to speake with Donnacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

[140] Four and twenty chains of Esurgny.

Chap. 20. How the next day, being the fift of May, the same people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and how foure women came to the shore to bring him victuals.

Vpon the fift of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the sayd people came againe to speake vnto their Lord, and sent a boate, which in their tongue they call Casnoni, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men should be retained.

These women brought great store of victuals, as great Millet, which is their come that they liue withall, flesh, fish, and other things, after their fashion.

These women being come to our shippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then Donnacona prayed our Captaine to tell these women that hee should come againe after ten or twelue moneths, and bring Donnacona to Canada with him: this hee sayd only to appease them, which our Captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as signes, seemed to be very glad, giuing our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought Donnacona with him, they would giue him many things: in signe whereof, each one gaue our Captaine a chaine of Esurgny, and then passed to the other side of the riuer againe, where stood all the people of Stadacona, who taking all leaue of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following, being the sixt of the moneth, we departed out of the sayd Port of Santa Croix, and came to the harborough a little beneath the Island of Orleans, about twelue leagues from the Port of the Holy Crosse, and vpon Sonday we came to the Island of Filberds, where we stayed vntil the sixteenth of that moneth, till the fiercenesse of the waters were past, which at that time ranne too swift a course, and were too dangerous to come downe along the riuer, and therefore we stayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of Dannaconas subiects came from the riuer of Saguenay to him, but being by Domagaia aduertised, that their Lord was taken to bee carried into France they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leaue to come to our ships, to speake to Dannacona, who told them that after twelue moneths he should come againe, and that he was very well vsed by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Mariners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gaue their Lord three bundles of Beauers, and Sea Woolues skinnes, with a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay, and other things. They gaue also to our Captaine a chaine of Esurgny, for which

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The Isle of Orleans. Isle de Coudres.

A knife of red coper brought from Saguenay.

our Captaine gaue them ten or twelue Hatchets, and they gaue him hearty thankes, and were very well contented. The next day, being the sixteenth of May, we hoysed sayle, and came from the said Island of Filberds, to another about fifteene leagues from it, which is about fiue leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take some rest the night following, we stayed that day, in hope the next day we might passe and auoide the dangers of the riuer of Saguenay, which are great. That euening we went a land and found great store of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it the Island of Hares: in the night there arose a contrary winde, with such stormes and tempest that wee were constrained to returne to the Island of Filberds againe, from whence wee were come, because there was none other passage among the sayde Islandes, and there we stayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather and good winde came againe: and then wee sayled againe, and that so prosperously, that we passed to Honguedo, which passage vntill that time had not bene discouered: wee caused our ships to course athwart Cape Prat which is the beginning of the Port of Chaleur: and because the winde was good and conuenient, we [142] sayled all day and all night without staying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brions Island, which we were not minded to doe, to the end we might shorten our way. These two lands lie Northwest, and Southeast, and are about fiftie leagues one from another. The said Island is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Vpon Thursday being the twenty sixe of the moneth, and the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, we coasted ouer to a land and shallow of lowe sandes, which are about eight leagues Southwest from Brions Island, aboue which are large Champaignes, full of trees and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see, nor perceiue any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to Brions Island againe, where we stayed till the beginning of Iune, and toward the Southeast of this

The Isle of Hares.

Island, wee sawe a lande, seeming vnto vs an Island, we coasted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had notice of three other high Islands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen these things we returned to the Cape of the sayd land, which doeth diuide it selfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in forty seuen degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a riuer, but there is no hauen of any worth. Aboue these lands we saw another cape toward the south, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Sonday following, being the fourth of Iune, and Whitsonday, wee had notice of the coast lying Eastsoutheast, distant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues; and because the wind was against vs, we went to a Hauen, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we stayed till Tewesday that we departed thence, sayling along that coast vntill we came to Saint Peters Islands. Wee found along the sayd coast many very dangerous Islands and shelues, which lye all in the Eastsoutheast and Westnorthwest, about three and twenty leagues into the sea. Whilest we were in the sayd Saint Peters Islands we met with many ships of France and of Britaine, wee stayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleuenth of the moneth, vntil the sixteenth that
[143] we departed thence and came to Cape Rase, and entred into a Port called Rognoso, where we took in fresh water, and wood to passe the sea: there wee left one of our boates. Then vpon Monday, being the nineteenth of Iune, we went from that Port, and with such good and prosperous weather we sailed along the sea, in such sorte, that vpon the sixt of Iuly 1536 we came to the Porte of S. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Nauigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant vs his grace and fauour, and in the end bring vs to the place of euerlasting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of Hochelaga and Canada, of vs called New France: But first the names of their numbers.

1 Secada
Tigneni
Hasche
Hannaion
Ouiscon
Indahir
Aiaga
8 Addigue
Madellon
10 Assem

Here follow the names the chiefest partes of men, and other words necessary to be knowen.

the Head	aggonzi
the Browe	hegueniascon
the Eyes	higata
the Eares	abontascon
the Mouth	esahe
the Teeth	esgongay
the Tongue	osnache
the Throat	agonhon
the Beard	hebelim
the Face	hegonascon
the Haires	aganiscon
the Armes	aiayascon
the Flanckes	aissonne
the Stomacke	aggruascon
the Bellie	eschehenda
the Thighes	hetnegradascon
the Knees	agochinegodascon

the Legges	agouguenehondo
the Feete	onchidascon
the Hands	aignoascon
the Fingers	agenoga
the Nailes	agedascon
a Mans member	ainoascon
a womans member	castaigne
an Eele	esgueny
a Snaile	vndeguezi
a Tortois	heuleuxima
Woods	conda
leaues of Trees	hoga
God	cudragny
giue me some drink	quazahoaquea
giue me to breakfast	quase hoa quascaboa
giue me my supper	quaza hoa quatfriam
let vs goe to bed	casigno agnydahoa
a Man	aguehum
a woman	agruaste
a Boy	addegesta
a Wench	agniaquesta
a Child	exiasta
a Gowne	cahata
a Doublet	caioza
Hosen	hemondoha
Shooes	atha
a Shirt	amgoua
a Cappe	castrua
Corne	osizi
Bread	carraconny
Water	ame
Flesh	quahottascon
Reisins	queion

Damsons	honnesta
Figges	absconda
Grapes	ozoba
Nuttes	quahoya
a Hen	sahomgahoa
a Lamprey	zisto
a Salmon	ondacon
a Whale	ainne honne
a Goose	sadeguenda
a Streete	adde
Cucumber seede	casconda
to Morrowe	achide
the Heauen	quenhia
the Earth	damga
the Sunne	ysmay
the Moone	assomaha
the Starres	stagnehoham
the Winde	cohoha
good morrow	aignag
let vs go to play	casigno caudy
come and speak with me	assigniquaddadia
looke vpon me	quagathoma
hold your peace	aista
let vs go with the boat	casigno casnouy
giue me a knife	buazahca agoheda
a Hatchet	adogne
a Bow	ahenca
a Darte	quaetan
let vs goe a hunting	Casigno donnascat
a Stagge	aionnesta
a Sheepe	asquenondo
a Hare	Sourhanda
a Dogge	agaya

a Towne	canada
the Sea	agogasy
the waues of the sea	coda
an Island	cohena
an Hill	agacha
the yce	honnesca
Snow	camsa
Colde	athau
Hotte	odazani
Fier	azista
Smoke	quea
a House	canoca
Beanes	sahe
Cinnamom	adhotathny
my Father	addathy
my Mother	adanahoe
my Brother	addagrim
my Sister	adhoasseue

[146]

They of Canada say, that it is a moneths sayling to goe a lande where Cinnamom and Cloues are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of Iames Cartiers discouery and Nauigation to the Newfoundlands, by him named New France.

XVI. The third voyage of discouery made by Captaine Iaques Cartier, 1540. vnto the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

King Francis the first hauing heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of discouery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and seene in the Westerne partes discouered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and hauing also seene and talked with the people, which the sayd Cartier had brought out of those Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whose name was Donnacona, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne desire and request, and died in the sayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Maiestie was aduertized by the sayd Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought ouer by him (which were tenne in number) sauing one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he resolued to send the sayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with Iohn Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberual,[20] whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Gouernour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the sayd Cartier Captaine Generall and leader of the shippes, that they might discover more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were possible) vnto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention vnto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King caused a certaine summe of money to be deliuered to furnish out the sayd voyage with fiue shippes: which thing was performed by the sayd Monsieur Roberual and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the sayd fiue ships at Saint Malo in Britaine, where the two former voyages had beene prepared and set forth. And the said [147] Monsieur Roberual sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said fiue ships to be built and furnished and set in good order. Monsieur Roberual came downe to S. Malo and found the ships fallen downe to the roade,

Ten Sauages brought into France. Great riches and very good soile in Saguenay, which is beyond the saults.

[20] Near Boulogne, between that town and Calais.

with their yards acrosse full ready to depart and set saile, staying for nothing else but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberual the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things necessary come downe, which he had prouided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and because the said things were very necessary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come. And that the said Cartier shoulde depart with the fiue shippes which he had furnished, and should goe before. Considering also that the said Cartier had receiued letters from the king, whereby hee did expresly charge him to depart and set sayle immediatly vpon the sight and receit thereof, on payne of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberual had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, souldiers, and mariners which were retained and chosen for the performance of the sayd voyage, hee gaue vnto Captain Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to gouerne all things as if he had bene there in person: and himselfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After these things thus dispatched, the winde comming faire, the foresayd fiue ships set sayle together well furnished and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540. And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reason of our late departure, that wee were on the sea with our sayd fiue ships full three moneths before wee could arriue at the Port and Hauen of Canada, without euer hauing in all that time 30 houres of good wind to serue vs to keepe our right course: so that our fiue shippes through those stormes lost company one of another, all saue that two kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Viscount of Beaupre, vntill at length at the end of one moneth wee met all together at the

The kings letters to Cartier.

The great mischiefe of leesing the season.

Carpont Hauen.

Hauen of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in passing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cause that we stood in great neede of water, because of the cattell, aswell Goates, Hogges, as other beastes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were constrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore because we were the space of three moneths in sayling on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monsieur Roberual, and taking in of fresh water and other things necessary, wee arriued not before the Hauen of Saincte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) vntill the 23. day of August. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our shippes, making shew of ioy for our arriuall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and gouernment of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France. And hee came to the Captaines ship with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and children. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were, the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were maried, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Gouernour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona. After which conference the said Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with Esnoguy (which is their riches and the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was vpon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of Esnoguy, and put them vpon the Captaines armes, colling him about the necke, and shewing vnto him great signes of ioy: which was all dissimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke

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Transporting of diuers sorts of cattell for breed.

The new king of Canada.

Great dissimulation of a Sauage.

the said crowne of leather and put it againe vpon his head, and gaue him and his wiues certaine smal presents, signifying vnto him that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow vpon him: for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the shore with their boates. After which things the sayd Captaine went with two of his boates vp the riuer, beyond Canada and the Port of Saincte Croix, to view a Hauen and a small riuer, which is about 4. leagues higher: which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, then the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the sayd riuer, and at a lowe water he caused his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ships in more safetie, which he meant to keep and stay in the Countrey, which were three: which hee did the day following and the rest remayned in the roade in the middest of the riuer (In which place the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of August vntill the second of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ships he sent backe Mace Iolloberte his brother in lawe, and Steuen Noel his Nephew, skilfull and excellent pilots, with letters vnto the king, and to aduertise him what had bene done and found: and how Monsieur Roberual was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occasion of contrary winds and tempests he was driven backe againe into France.

The description of the aforesayd Riuer and Hauen.

The sayd Riuer is small, not past 50. pases broad, and shippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full sea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both sides of the said Riuer there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and diuers sorts, which are aboue tenne fathoms higher

Trees aboue 3. fathoms about. Hanneda the most excellent tree of the world.

then the rest, and there is one kind of tree aboue three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the most excellent vertue of all the trees in the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreouer there are great store of Okes the most excellent that euer I saw in my life, which were so laden with Mast that they cracked againe: besides this there are fairer Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard vnto this wood on the South side the ground is all [150]
couered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies, but they be not so kind as those of France because the Vines bee not tilled, and because they grow of their owne accord. Moreouer there are many white Thornes, which beare leaues as bigge as oken leaues, and fruit like vnto Medlers. To bee short, it is as good a Countrey to plow and mannure as a man should find or desire. We sowed seedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Naueaus,[21] Lettises and others, which grew and sprung vp out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the riuer is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like vnto a snake: and at the mouth of it toward the East there is a high and steepe cliffe, where we made a way in manner of a payre of staires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the nether Fort and the ships, and all things that might passe by the great as by this small riuer. Moreouer a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, straite and handsome, and somewhat enclining toward the South, as easie to be brought to tillage as I would desire, and very well replenished with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forrests of France. Here we set twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the said ground, and sowed it part with Naueaus or small Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I said before, sprang out of the earth. And vpon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the sayd Fort: adioyning whereunto we

Abundance of Vines of grapes.

Fruit like Medlers.

Seed sprong out of the ground within 8 days.

A great Plaine of very good arable ground.

Diamants of Canada.

[21] Turnips. (French, *Navets*).

found good store of stones, which we esteemed to be Diamants. On the other side of the said mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great Riuer is all along a goodly Myne of the best yron in the world, and it reacheth euen hard vnto our Fort, and the sand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters side we found certaine leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Westward of the said Riuer there are, as hath bene sayd, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire
[151] and goodly grasse as euer I sawe in any Medowe in France: and betweene the said Medow and the Wood are great store of Vines:
Excellent and strong hempe. and beyond the said Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it selfe, which is as good as possibly may be seene, and as strong. And at the ende of the sayd Medow within an hundred pases there is a rising ground, which is of a kind of slate stone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which shewe like gold and siluer: and throughout all that stone there are great graines of the sayd Myne. And in some places we haue found stones like Diamants, the most faire, pollished and excellently cut that it is possible for a man to see, when the Sunne shineth vpon them, they glister as it were sparkles of fire.

How after the departure of the two shippes which were sent backe into Britaine, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to go vp the great Riuer to discouer the passage of the three Saults or falles of the Riuer.

The rich countrey of Saquenay situated beyond the Saults which are in 44. deg. The said Captaine hauing dispatched two ships to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preseruation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Masters, and Pilots chosen for

counsayle, to make a voyage with two boates furnished with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and vnderstand the fashion of the Saults of water, which are to be passed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the spring to passe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readinesse for their businesse. The foresaid boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Painpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the sayd place of Charlesburg Royal the seuenth day of September in the yeere aforesayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre stayed behind for the garding and gouernement of all things in the Fort. And as they went vp the riuer, the Captaine went to see the Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had giuen vnto the said Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treasons which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would haue wrought against him. In regard of which his curtesie the said Captaine would not passe by without visiting of him, and to let him vnderstand that the Captaine thought himselfe beholding vnto him, hee gaue vnto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and bestowed vpon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was set with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and small belles. And withall hee gaue him two Basons of Laton, and certaine hachet and kniues: whereat the sayde Lord seemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arriued the eleuenth day of the moneth at the first Sault of water, which is two leagues distant from the Towne of Tutonaguy. And after wee were arriued there, wee determined to goe and passe as farre vp as it was possible with one of the boates, and that the other should stay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe vp against the course or streame of the sayde Sault. And after wee

They depart from Charlesburg Royal the 7. of Septem.

[152]

They delight in red cloth.

The 11 of September.

Bad ground and a great current.

had passed some part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and so great a current, that wee could not possibly passe any further with our Boate. And the Captaine resolued to goe by land to see the nature and fashion of the Sault. And after that we were come on shore, wee founde hard by the water side a way and beaten path going toward the sayde Saultes, by which wee tooke our way. And on the sayd way, and soone after we found an habitation of people which made vs great cheere, and entertained vs very friendly. And after that he had signified vnto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee desired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with vs to shewe vs the way, and they brought vs so farre that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell ouer against the second Sault, which came and brought vs of their victuals, as Pottage and Fish, and offered vs of the same. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by signes as wordes, how many more Saults we had to passe to goe to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed vs and gaue vs to vnderstand, that wee were at the second Sault, and that there was but one more to passe, that the Riuer was not nauigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the sayd Sault was but a third part farther then we had trauailed, shewing vs the same with certaine little stickes, which they layd vpon the ground in a certaine distance, and afterward layde other small branches betweene both, representing the Saults. And by the sayde marke, if their saying be true, it can be but sixe leagues by land to passe the sayd Saults.

Another village of good people which dwell ouer against the second Sault.

[153]

400 persons about their boates.

After that we had bene aduertised by the sayde people, of the things abouementioned, both because the day was farre spent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the same day, we concluded to returne vnto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great store of people to the number of 400 persons or thereabout, which seemed to giue vs very good entertainment and to reioyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gaue eche of them

certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other smal toyes, and vnto the chiefe men euery one his litle hatchet and hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of ioy. But a man must not trust them for all their faire ceremonies and signes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too strong for vs, then would they haue done their best to haue killed vs, as we vnderstood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came vp the riuer, thinking to haue found him: But hee coulde find no body saue one of his sonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee was gone to Maisouna, as our boyes also told vs, saying that it was two dayes since he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conclude with Angona what they should doe against vs. And when we were arriued at our Fort, wee vnderstoode by our people, that the Sauages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accustomed, to bring vs fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of vs. Wherefore our Captaine, hauing bene aduertised by some of our men which had bene at Stadacona to visite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people assembled together, caused all things in our fortresse to bee set in good order: &c. The rest is wanting.

Like those of New Albion.

The sauages are great dissemblers.

The Sauages conspire together against the French.

[154]

A very great number of Sauages assembled together.

XVII. A letter written to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris, by Iaques Noel of S. Malo, the nephew of Iaques Cartier, touching the foresaid discouery.

Master Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter shewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt

an Englishman: wherein all the West Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the countreys of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the Riuer of Canada which is described in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Iaques Cartier: and that the sayd Chart doth not marke or set downe The great Lake, which is aboue the Saults, according as the Sauages haue aduertised vs, which dwell at the sayd Saults. In the foresayd Chart which you sent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North.[22] The Saults or falles of the Riuer stand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not so hard a matter to passe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the middest of the Riuer there is bad ground. It were best to build boates aboue the Saults: and it is easie to march or trauell by land to the end of the three Saults: it is not aboue fiue leagues iourney. I haue bene vpon the toppe of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I haue seene the said Riuer beyond the sayd Saultes, which shewed vnto vs to be broader then it was where we passed it. The people of the Countrey aduertised vs, that there are ten dayes iourney from the Saults vnto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes iourney. At this present I cannot write vnto you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will ende, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to giue you your hearts desire. From S. Malo in haste this 19 day of Iune. 1587.

The Saults are in 44. deg. and easie to passe.

But 5. leagues iourney to passe the 3 Saults.

Ten dayes iourney from the Saults to this great Lake.

[155]

Your louing Friend,

Iaqves Noel.

Cosin, I pray you doe me so much pleasure as to send me a booke of the discouery of New Mexico, and one of those new Mappes of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English Gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter.

[22] This may refer either to Lake St. Peter or Lake Ontario; I should think the latter.

I will not faile to informe my selfe, if there be any meane to find out those descriptions which Captain Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

XVIII. Vnderneath the aforesaid vnperfite relation that which followeth is written on another letter sent to M. Iohn Growte student in Paris from Iaques Noel of S. Malo, the grand nephew of Iaques Cartier.

I can write nothing else vnto you of any thing that I can recouer of the writings of Captaine Iaques Cartier my uncle disceased, although I haue made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne: sauing of a certaine booke made in maner of a sea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my said vncle, which is in the possession of master Cremeur: which booke is passing well marked and drawne for all the Riuer of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I myself haue knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I haue bene: The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the sayd Chart beyond the place where the Riuer is diuided in twaine in the midst of both the branches of the said riuer somewhat neerest that arme which runneth toward the Northwest, these words following written in the hand of Iaques Cartier.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, That here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.

And about an hundred leagues vnder the same I found written these two lines following in the saide Carde enclining toward

the Southwest. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloues,
[156] which they call in their language Canodeta.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I spake vnto you, it is made after the maner of a sea Chart, which I haue deliuered to my two sonnes Michael and Iohn, which at this present are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they haue learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to aduertise you thereof.

Your louing Friend,
Iaqves Noel.

XIX. Here followeth the course from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland vp the Riuer of Canada for the space of 230. leagues, obserued by Iohn Alphonse of Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberual, 1542.

Belles Isles are in 51 degrees and 2/3. Belles Isles and Carpont are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and they are ten leagues distant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Isle from the Grand Bay are Northeast and Southwest, and the distance from Bell Isle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and an halfe, and on the Northside thereof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Isle, ouer against Carpont toward the East there is a small flat Island, and on the side toward the Northeast there is a flat rocke. And when thou commest out of the harborough of Carpont thou must leaue this rocke on the starreboord side, and also on the larboord side there are two or

three small Isles: and when thou commest out on the Northeast side, ranging along the shore toward the West about two pikes length in the midway there is a shold which lyeth on thy starboord side: and saile thou by the North coast, and leaue two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; because there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the sea. And when thou art come athwart the hauen of Butes, ran along the North shore about one league or an halfe of, for the coast is without all danger; Bell Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere vnto the North shore lie Northeast, West and Southwest, and the distance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land vntill it come ouer against the Bay des Chasteaux: and from thence forward it hath not past 5 leagues in breadth. And against Blanc Sablon it is 8 leagues broad from land to land. [157] And the land on the South shore is all low land along the sea coast. The North shore is reasonable high land, Blanc Sablon is in 51 degrees 2/3. The Isles of Blanc Sablon and the Isles de la Damoiselle are Northeast, Westsouthwest, and take a little of the Westsouthwest, and they are distant 36 leagues: these Isles are in 50 deg. 3/4. And there is a good hauen: and you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeast and within the distance of a pike and an halfe, because of a rocke which lieth on your larrebord side, and you may ancre in 10 fathome water ouer against a little nooke: and from the great headland vnto the place where thou doest ancre there is not aboue the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldest go out by the West side, thou must saile neere the Isle by the starrebord, and giue roome vnto the Isle on the larbord at the comming forth: and when thou art not past a cables length out thou must saile hard by the Isles on the larbord side, by reason of a suncken flatte which lieth on the starrebord, and thou shalt saile so on to the Southsouthwest, vntill thou come in sight of a rocke which shineth, which is about halfe a league in the sea distant from the Isles, and thou shalt leaue it on the

The Isle of Blanc Sablon or white sand.

larrebord: (and from the Isles of Damoiselle vnto Newfoundland the sea is not in bredth aboue 36. leagues, because that Newfoundland euen vnto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnortheast and Southsouthwest.) Between the Isles de la Damoiselle and the Isles of Blanck Sablon there be many Isles and good harbours: and on this coast, there are faulcons and haukes, and certaine foules which seeme to be feasants. The Isles de la Damoiselle and Cape Tienot are Northeast and Westsouthwest and take a little of the Northeast and southwest, and they are distant 18. leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50. deg and 1/4. And there the sea is broadest. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greatest bredth of the sea. And there are 6 or 7 Isles between the Isles de la Damoiselle and Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in the sea 5 or 6 leagues distant from it a suncken Iland dangerous for ships. The Cape Tienot and the midst of the Isle of Ascension are Northeast and southsouthwest, and they are 22. leagues distant, the midst of the Isle of Ascension is in 49. deg and 1/2. The said Isle lieth Northwest and Southeast, the Northwest end is in 50. degrees of latitude and the Southeast end is in 48. degrees and a halfe and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues broad: and from the Northwest end of the Isle vnto the firme land of the North side the Sea is not aboue seven leagues broad, but vnto the firme land on the South side are about 15. leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of the Isle of Ascention toward the Southeast are Northeast and Southwest, and are distant 30. leagues. The said Cape of Tienot and the Northwest end of the Isle of Ascension are East and West, and take a little of the Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 34. leagues.

The Isle Ascention, Assumption or Naliscotec.

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The commendation of the Isle of Ascension.

The Isle of Ascension is a goodly Isle, and a goodly champion land without any hilles, standing all vpon white rocks and Alablaster, all couered with trees vnto the Sea shore, and there are al sorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beasts,

as beares, Luserns, Porkespicks.[23] And from the Southeast end of the Isle of Ascension vnto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues. The Northwest end of the Isle and the Cape des Monts nostre Dame,[24] which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeast and Westsouthwest, and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues. The Cape is in 49. degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Isle of Ascension toward the Southeast are East and West and there is 15. leagues distance betweene them. The Bay of Molues or Gaspay[25] is in 48. degrees, and the coast lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeast and Southwest vnto the Bay of Heate[26] and there are 3. Isles, one great one and two smal: from the Bay of Heate vntill you passe the Monts nostre Dame al the land is high and good ground al couered with trees. Ognedoc is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast, and it is a good Harbour: and you must saile along the shore on the Northside by reason of the low point at the entrance therof: and when you are passed the poynt bring your selfe to an ancre in 15. or 20. fathoms of water toward the South shore, and here within this Hauen are two riuers, one which goeth toward the Northwest, and the other to the South west. [159]

Greater store and better fish then in Newfoundland.

And on this coast there is great fishing for Coddes and other fish, where there is more store then is in Newfoundland, and better fish. And here is great store of riuer foule, as Malards, wild Geese, and others: And here are all sorts of trees, Rose trees, Raspesses, Filbrid[27] trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is better here in Sommer then in France. The Isle of Ascension and the 7. Isles which lie on the North shore lie Southeast and Westnorthwest, and are distant 24. leagues. The Cape of

The mouth of the riuer of Canada twenty fiue leagues broad.

[23] Hedgehogs.
[24] Query, Mount Logan.
[25] Cape Gaspe.
[26] Chaleur Bay.
[27] Filbert.

Ognedoc and the 7. Isles are Northnorthwest and Southsoutheast; and are distant 35. leagues.

The riuer is here but 10 leagues broad.

The Cape of Monts nostre Dame and the 7. Isles are North and South, and the cut ouer from the one to the other is 25. leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence vpward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7. Isles are in 50. degrees and 1/2. The 7. Isles and the poynt of Ongear lie Northeast and Southwest and the distance betweene them is 15. leagues, and betweene them are certaine small Islands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Nostre Dame, which are on the South side of the entrance of the riuer, are North and South:

The riuer 8 leagues broad.

and the cut ouer from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the abredth of the Sea. The poynt of Ongear and the riuer of Caen lie East and West, and they are distant 12. leagues. And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherin growe all sorts of trees that are in France and some fruits. The poynt of Ongear is in 49. degrees and 1/4. And the riuer of Caen and the Isle of Raquelle lye Northeast and Southwest, and they are distant 12. leagues. The Isle of Raquelle is in 48. degrees and 1/2. In this riuer of Caen there is great store of fish.

And here the Sea is not past 8. leagues broad. The Isle of Raquelle is a very low Isle, which is neere vnto the South shore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ships may passe. And there is not from the Isle to the South shore aboue one league, and from the Isle vnto the North

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shore about foure leagues. The Isle of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are Northeast Westsouthwest, and are distant 14. leagues, and there are betweene them two small Islandes neere the North shore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48. degrees and 1/2, and the entrance hath not past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the Southwest: and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to waxe wider and

wider: and it seemeth to bee as it were an arme of the Sea: And I thinke that the same runneth into the Sea of Cathay,[28] for it sendeth foorth there a great current, and there doth runne in that place a terrible rase or tyde. And here the riuer from the North shore to the South shore is not past foure leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous passage betweene both the lands, because there lie bankes of rockes in the riuer. The Isle of Raquelle and the Isle of Hares lye Northeast and Southwest, and take 1/2 of the East and the West, and they are distant 18. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Liepueres or Hares lie Northnortheast and Southsouthwest, and are distant 5. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Raquelle are Northnorthwest, and Southsouthwest, and are distant three leagues. The Isle of Hares is in 48 and 1/16 of a degree. From the Mountaines of Nostre Dame vnto Canada[29] and vnto Hochelaga, all the land on the South coast is faire, a lowe land and goodly champaigne, all couered with trees vnto the brink of the riuer. And the land on the North side is higher, and in some places there are high mountaines. And from the Isle of Hares vnto the Isle of Orleans the riuer is not past 4 or 5 leagues broad. Betweene the Isle of Hares and the highland on the North side the sea is not past a league and a halfe broad, and it is very deepe, for it is aboue 100. fathoms deepe in the middest. To the East of the Isle of Hares there are 2 or 3 small Isles and rockes. And from hence to the Isle des Coudres or of Filbeards, all is nothing but Isles and rockes on the South shore: and towards the North the sea is fayre and deepe. The Isle of Hares and the Isle of Filbeards lie northeast, West and Southwest, and they are distant 12 leagues. And you must alwayes run along the high land on the north shore; for on the other shore there is nothing but rocks. And you must passe [161] by the side of the Isle of Filbeards, and the riuer there is not past

The riuer not past 4 leagues ouer.

[28] Saguenay River really rises in Lake St. John.

[29] The word *Canada* in the native tongue meant, as we have seen above, a town, and is probably the modern Rimouski.

a quarter of a league broad, and you must sayle in the middest of the Chanel: and in the middest runneth the best passage either at an hie or a low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable. The isle of Filbeards is a small isle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad, but they are all banks of sand. The isle of Filberds stands in 47. deg and 3/4. The isle of Filberds and the isle of Orleans lie northeast and southwest, and they are distant 10 leagues, and thou must passe by the high land on the north-side about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the riuer there is nothing but sholds and rocks. And when thou shall bee ouer against a round Cape, thou must take ouer to the South shore southwest, and a quarter toward the south; and thou shalt sayle in 5. 6 and 7 fathoms: and there the riuer of Canada beginneth to bee fresh, and the salt water endeth. And when thou shall be athwart the point of the isle of Orleans, where the riuer beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sayle in the midst of the riuer, and thou shalt leaue the isle on the starreboord, which is on the right hand: and here the riuer is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South shore there is a ledge of Isles all couered with trees, and they end ouer against the point of the Isle of Orleans. And the poynt of the Isle of Orleans toward the Northeast is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Isle of Orleans is a fayre Isle, all couered with trees even vnto the riuers side: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broade. And on the North shore there is another Riuer, which falleth into the mayne Riuer at the ende of the Island: and Shippes may very well passe there. From the middest of the Isle vnto Canada the Riuer runneth West; and from the place of Canada vnto France-Roy the riuer turneth West Southwest: and from the West ende of the Isle to Canada is but one league; and vnto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Isle thou shalt see a great Riuer which falleth fifteene or twenty fathoms downe from

The beginning of the fresh water.

The riuer but a quarter of a league broad.

a rocke, and maketh a terrible noyse. The Fort of France-roy stands in 47 degrees, and one sixt part of a degree.

The extension of all these lands, vpon iust occasion is called New France. For it is as good and as temperate as France, and [162] in the same latitude. And the reason wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, because the fresh Riuer is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is also broad and deepe: and in some places it is halfe a league and aboue in breadth. And also because the land is not tylled nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cause of colde, because there is not store of fire nor cattel. And the sunne hath his Meridian as high as the Meridian at Rochel: and it is noone here when the Sunne is at South Southwest at Rochel. And here the north starre by the compasse standeth North northeast. And when at Rochel it is noone, it is but halfe an houre past nine at France-Roy. From the sayde place vnto the Ocean sea and the coast of New France, is not aboue 50 leagues distance. And from the entrance of Norumbega[30] vnto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues: and vnto the Isle of Rasus 30 leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entereth into the riuer of Canada, and vnto the Sea of Saguenay. And from the Fort of France-Roy vntill a man come foorth of the Grand Bay is not aboue 230 leagues. And the course is Northeast and West Southwest not aboue 5 degrees and 1/3 difference: and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree. By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hocheslaga are still better and better, and more fruitfull. And this land is fitte for Figges and Peares. And I thinke that gold and siluer will be found here, according as the people of the countrey

Why the countrey is colder in the Winter then France.

A second reason.

The variation of the compasse.

Gold and siluer like to be found in Canada.

[30] The name *Norumbega* had a different meaning at different periods. First, there was the fabulous city of Norumbega, situated on the Penobucot. Secondly, there was the country of Norumbega, embracing Nova Scotia and New England, and at one time reaching from Cape Breton to 30 deg. in Florida. Subsequently it receded to narrower limits and embraced only the region on both sides of the river above named. (Woods, Introduction to Western Planting, p. lii.)

say. These landes lye ouer against Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundnesse of the world. And therefore it were good to haue a small Shippe of 70 tunnes to discouer the coast of New France on the backe side of Florida: for I haue bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betweene Norambega and Florida, and I haue not searched the ende thereof, and I knowe not whether it passe through.[31] And in all these Countreys there are okes, and bortz, ashes, elmes, arables, trees of life, pines, prussetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, hasel-trees, wilde peare trees, wilde grapes, and there haue bene found redde plummes. And very faire corne groweth there and peason grow of their owne accord, gooseberries and strawberries. And there are goodly Forrests, wherein men may hunt. And there are great store of stagges, deere, porkepicks, and the Sauages say there bee Vnicornes. Fowle there are in abundance, as bustards, wilde geese, cranes, turtle doues, rauens, crowes, and many other birds. All things which are sowen there, are not past two or three dayes in coming vp out of the ground. I haue tolde in one eare of corne an hundred and twenty graines, like the corne of France. And ye neede not to sowe your Wheate vntill March, and it will be ripe in the middest of August. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and replenished with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reason why it snoweth there oftener then in France is, because it raineth there but seldome: for the raine is conuerted into snowes.

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A Bay in 42 degrees giuing some hope of a passage.

The cause of the often snowing in Canada.

All things aboue mentioned, are true.

Iohn Alphonse made this Voyage with Monsieur Roberual.

There is a pardon to be seene for the pardoning of Monsieur de Saine terre, Lieutenant of the sayd Monsieur de Roberual, giuen in Canada in the presence of the sayde Iohn Alphonse.

[31] The Bay of Fundy is probably here alluded to.

XX. The Voyage of Iohn Francis de la Roche, knight, Lord of Roberual, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenai, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred persons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. In which parts he remayned the same summer, and all the next winter.

Sir Iohn Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberual, appointed [164] by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreis of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furnished 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings cost: And hauing in his fleete 200. persons, aswel men as women, accompanied with diuers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monsieur Saineterre his lieutenant, l'Espiney his Ensigne, captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noire Fontaine, Dieu Lamont, Frote, la Brosse, Francis de Mìre, la Salle, and Roieze, and Iohn Alfonse of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, set sayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The same day about noone we came athwart of Chefe de boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Monday the seuenteenth of the sayde Moneth wee departed from Chefe de boys. The winde serued vs notably for a time: but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary, which hindered our iourney for a long space: For wee were suddenly enforced to turne backe, and to seeke Harborough in Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretaigne, where wee stayed so long, and had such contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, vntill the seuenth of Iune. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint Iohn, where wee founde seuenteene Shippes of fishers. While wee made

somewhat long abode heere, Iaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was sent with fiue sayles the yeere before, arriued in the very same Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his small company withstand the Sauages, which went about dayly to annoy him: and that this was the cause of his returne into France. Neuerthelesse, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furnished with sufficient forces, commanded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooued as it seemeth with ambition, because they would haue all the glory of the discouerie of those partes themselues, stole priuily away the next night from vs, and without taking their leaues departed home for Bretaigne.

Iaques Cartier stole away.

Wee spent the greatest part of Iune in this Harbour of Saint Iohn, partly in furnishing our selues with fresh water, whereof wee stoode in very great neede by the way, and partly in composing and taking vp of a quarell betweene some of our Countreymen and certaine Portugals. At length, about the last of the aforesayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and passed by the Isle of Ascension: and finally arriued foure leagues Westward of the Isle of Orleans. In this place wee found a conuenient Harbour for our shipping, where wee cast anchor, went a shoare with our people, and chose out a conuenient place to fortifie ourselues in, fitte to command the mayne Riuer, and of strong situation against all inuasion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of Iuly, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and prouisions on shore, and began to trauaile in fortyfying of our selues.

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Of the Fort of France Roy, and that which was done there.

Hauing described the beginning, the middest, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monsieur Roberual in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the West partes: He sayled so farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arriued in the sayde Countrey, accompanyed with two hundred persons, souldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a fleete. The sayde Generall at his first arriuall built a fayre Fort, neere and somewhat Westward aboue Canada, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, situated vpon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were diuers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houses of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere vnto it were an Ouen and Milles, and a stooue to warme men in, and a Well before the house. And the buylding was situated vpon the great Riuer of Canada, commonly called France prime, by Monsieur Roberual. There was also at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towne of two stories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoeuer was brought with vs was sent to be kept: and neere vnto that Towre there is another small riuer. In these two places aboue and beneath, all the meaner sort was lodged.

August 1542. September 14.

And in the moneth of August, and in the beginning of September euery man was occupied in such woorke as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of September, our aforesayde Generall sent backe into France two Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appointed for Admirall Monsieur de Saineterre, and the other captaine was Monsieur Guinecourt, to carie newes vnto the King, and to come backe againe vnto him the yeere next ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring newes out of France

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how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were sent him, and were found in this countrey.

The proportion of their victuals.

After these two Shippes were departed, consideration was had how they should doe, and how they might passe out the Winter in this place. First they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short: and they were scantled so, that in eche messe they had but two loaues weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at Dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at supper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without Butter.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and sometimes they did eate it greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porposes and beanes at supper.

About that time the Sauages brought vs great store of Aloses, which is a fish somewhat redde like a Salmon, to get kniues and other small trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell sicke of a certaine disease in their legges, reynes, and stomacke, so that they seemed to bee depriued of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

The length of the Winter.

Note that the yce began to breake up in April.

Monsieur Roberual vsed very good iustice, and punished euery man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. Iohn of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in yrons, and diuers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they liued in quiet.

The maners of the Sauages.

To declare vnto you the state of the Sauages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they [167] would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themselues for feare of heat and sunne burning.

In stead of apparell, they weare skinnes vpon them like mantles; and they haue a smal payre of breeches, wherewith they couer their priuities, as well men as women. They haue hosen and shooes of lether excellently made. And they haue no shirts: neither couer they their heads, but their hayre is trussed vp aboue the crowne of their heads, and playted or broyded. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all vnsalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, as well fish as flesh. They haue no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they must best finde foode, as Aloses in one place, and other fish, Salmons, Sturgions, Mullets, Surmullets, Barz, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux, and other fresh water fish, and store of Porposes. They feede also of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkespynes, and store of other wilde beastes. And there is as great store of Fowle as they can desire.

So haue they of Ceuola, and Quiuira, and Meta Incognita.

Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they liue very well; for they take care for nothing else.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feasts.

They haue a King in euery Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient vnto him: and they doe him honour according vnto their maner and fashion. And when they trauayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

Their gouernment.

The women nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skinnes of furre.

XXI. The voyage of Monsieur Roberual from his Fort in Canada vnto Saguenay, the fifth of Iune, 1543.

Monsieur Roberual the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the said prouince of Saguenay on the Tuesday the 5. day of Iune 1543. after supper: and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the sayd voyage. But vpon a certaine occasion they lay in the Rode ouer against the place before mentioned: but on
[168] the Wednesday about sixe of the clocke in the morning they set sayle, and sayled against the streame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, as well great as small, and to the number of threescore and ten persons, with the aforesayd Generall.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforesayde place and Fort thirtie persons to remayne there vntill his returne from Saguenay, which he appoynted to be the first of Iuly, or else they should returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the sayde thirtie persons, and the furniture which was there, while hee stayed still in the Countrey.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gaue commission, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the sayde Lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance vntill the sayd first day of Iuly, were receiued by the sayd Lieutenant Royeze.

On Thursday the 14. of Iune Monsieur de l'Espiney, la Brosse, Monsieur Frete, Monsieur Longeual, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and lost, among whom was Monsieur de Noire Fontaine, and one named la Vasseur of Constance.

On Tuesday the 19. of Iune aforesayd, there came from the Generall, Monsieur de Villeneufe, Talebot, and three others, which brought sixescore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to stay yet vntill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of Iuly.

The rest of this Voyage is wanting.

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XXII. A Discourse of Western Planting, written by M. Richard Hakluyt, 1584.

Introductory Note.

[The following Discourse, one of the most curious and valuable contributions to the History of early discovery in the New World, has remained practically unknown from the date of its composition to the present time. Written, as appears from the title page, of which I give a copy on page 173, by Hakluyt at the request of Mr. Walter Raleigh,[32] it must, according to the same authority, have been composed between the 17th of April and the middle of September 1584, the former being the date of sailing of Raleigh's two ships there mentioned and the latter the date of their return. The title-page itself must have been added afterwards, as it speaks of "Mr. Walter Raghly, nowe knight," and the 21st chapter of the Discourse seemes to have been added at the same time. Its object was evidently to urge Elizabeth to support Raleigh's adventure, in which he was then embarked under a patent granted him on 25th March 1584. It is not, therefore, surprising to find from a letter written by Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham on the 7th April 1585,[33] and from another paper in the Rolls Office, indicated in Mr. Lemon's Calendar of State Papers of the reign of Elizabeth, 1581-90, Vol. cxcv., art. 127, [170]

[32] He was only knighted some time between December 1584 and February 1585.

[33] Public Record Office. Dom. Eliz. Addenda, Vol. xxix., No. 9. This letter was printed in full in the Maine Historical Society's *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Vol. ii.

that this Discourse was presented to the Queen by Hakluyt in the early autumn of 1584.[34] Four copies were certainly made of this Discourse—the original, which Hakluyt would probably keep; one for the Queen; one for Walsingham (as appears from the paper in the Record Office mentioned above); and the copy from which the present text is taken, and which alone seems to have contained the 21st Chapter. Perhaps this last copy was made for the Earl of Leicester, as the paper above alluded to states that the Earl "hath very earnestly often times writ for it." However this may be, no copy of the Discourse was known to exist till the sale of Lord Valentia's collection, when Mr. Henry Stevens bought the manuscript here published. Its value seems to have been properly appreciated by him, owing perhaps to the following memoranda written in pencil on the second blank leaf, in the handwriting, it is believed, of Lord Valentia:—

"This unpublished manuscript of Hakluyt's is extremely curious.

"I procured it from the family of Sir Peter Thomson.[35]

"The editors of the last edition would have given any money for it, had it been known to have existed."[36]

After fruitless endeavours "to find for it a resting place in some public or private library in America, and subsequently in the British Museum,"[37] Mr. Stevens sent it to Puttick & Simpson's Auction Rooms, where it was knocked down to Sir Henry Phillipps for £44. (May, 1854.)

In the library, then, of Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, did our manuscript lie till 1867, when Dr. Leonard Woods, late President

[34] See the Introduction by Leonard Woods to the Reprint of Hakluyt's Discourse for the Maine Historical Society.

[35] A great collector of Rare Books, who died in 1770, and whose library was sold in 1815.

[36] This "last edition" is evidently the limited one of Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages of 1809-12, 5 vols. 4to, edited by R. H. Evans and printed by Woodfall.

[37] Stevens's Historical and Geographical Notes, p. 20.

of Bowdoin College, was commissioned by the Governor of Maine, in pursuance of the Resolves of the Legislature in aid of the Maine Historical Society, to procure, during his travels in England, materials for the early History of the State. An application made by Dr. Woods to Sir Thomas Phillipps revealed the existence of Hakluyt's Discourse. Dr. Woods set to work to edit this valuable document, but a fire destroyed most of his materials, and was followed by physical infirmity which forbade literary labour. Dr. Charles Deane's familiarity with the topics suggested by the matter in hand, and his position as a "Collaborateur" of Dr. Woods for some months, at once pointed him out as the right man to do the work to the Standing Committee of the Maine Historical Society. Dr. Deane undertook the task, and an excellent octavo edition of Hakluyt's Discourse appeared in due course, entitled:—

"Documentary History of the State of Maine. Vol II., containing A Discourse on Western Planting, written in the year 1584, by Richard Hakluyt. Published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriation from the State. Cambridge (Mass.): Press of John Wilson and Son. 1877." [171]

The text of the MS. has been preserved in every essential particular, but, following Dr. Deane's example, some capital letters have had liberties taken with them, and some few abbreviated words have been printed in full. A few corrections have also been made in the quotations from English and foreign writers, where a comparison with the originals has shown such corrections to be necessary. Dr. Deane's notes have been necessarily much shortened, and are distinguished from my own by the initials C.D.

This "extremely curious" manuscript, which by some extraordinary oversight was not included in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages of 1598-1600, so appropriately called by Froude "the great prose Epic of the modern English nation," and which Evans would, according to Lord Valentia, "have given any money for,"

for his edition of 1809-12, is now at length inserted in its proper position. This I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Deane to whom I was a perfect stranger, save perhaps in my character of corresponding member of the Nova Scotia Historical Society and of the Oneida Historical Society. To Dr. Deane, therefore, I venture to tender
[173] my warmest thanks.—E.G.]

A particuler discourse concerning the greate necessitie and manifolde comodyties that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoueries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584. by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde, at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr. Walter Raghly, nowe Knight, before the comynge home of his twoo barkes, and is devided into XXI chapiters, the titles whereof followe in the
[174] nexte leafe.

[The heads of Chapters are omitted as they are inserted in their
[175] proper places before each Chapter.]

Chap. I. The Western Planting.

That this Westerne discoverie will be greately for thinlargemente of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the princes of the Refourmed Religion are chefely bounde, amongeste whome her Majestie ys principall.

Seinge that the people of that parte of AMERICA from 30. degrees in Florida northewarde unto 63. degrees (which ys yet in no Christian princes actuall possession) are idolaters; and that those which Stephen Gomes broughte from the coaste of NORUMBEGA in the yere 1524.[38] worshipped the sonne, the moone, and the starres, and used other idolatrie, as it ys recorded in the historie

[38] Estavan Gomes, a Portuguese pilot, sailed with Magellan on his famous voyage in 1519, but deserted with his ship and crew. In 1525 (*not* 1524) he sailed from Corunna. He coasted Newfoundland as far south as 40 deg. Here he took on board certain Indians and carried them to Spain. (C.D.)

of Gonsaluo de Ouiedo,[39] in Italian, fol. 52. of the third volume of Ramusius; and that those of Canada and Hochelaga in 48. and 50. degrees worshippe a spirite which they call Cudruaigny, as we reade in the tenthe chapiter of the seconde relation of Jaques Cartier, whoe saieth: This people beleve not at all in God, but in one whome they call Cudruaigny; they say that often he speaketh with them, and telleth them what weather shall followe, whether goodd or badd, &c.,[40] and yet notwithstandinge they are very easie to be perswaded, and doe all that they sawe the Christians doe in their devine service, with like imitation and devotion, and were very desirous to become Christians, and woulde faine have been baptized, as Verarsanus witnesseth in the laste wordes of his relation, and Jaques Cartier in the tenthe chapiter before recited—it remayneth to be thoroughly weyed and considered by what meanes and by whome this moste godly and Christian work [176] may be perfourmed of inlarginge the glorious gospell of Christe, and reducinge of infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in errour into the righte and perfecte way of their saluation. The blessed Apostle Paule, the converter of the Gentiles, Rom: 10. writeth in this manner: Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lorde shall be saved. But howe shall they call on him in whom they have not beleved? and how shall they beleve in him of whom they have not hearde? and howe shall they heare withoute a preacher? and howe shall they preache excepte they be sente? Then it is necessary for the salvation of those poore people which have sitten so longe in darkenes and in the shadowe of deathe, that preachers should be sent unto them. But by whome shoulde these preachers be sente? By them no doubte which have taken upon them the protection and defence of the

[39] Born 1478. His *Historia general de los Indias* was not published in its entirety until 1851-55. (C.D.)

[40] It appears from a passage in Chapter xvii. of this Discourse that Hakluyt had seen an original manuscript account of Cartier's second voyage in the Royal Library at Paris.

The Prynces of England called the defenders of the faithe.

Christian faithe. Nowe the Kinges and Queenes of England have the name of Defendours of the Faithe.[41] By which title I thinke they are not onely chardged to mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to inlarge and advaunce the same. Neither oughte this to be their laste worke, but rather the principall and chefe of all others, accordinge to the comaundemente of our Saviour, Christe, Mathewe 6, Ffirste seeke the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thereof, and all other thinges shalbe mynistred unto you.

Plantings fyrste necessarye.

Nowe the meanes to sende suche as shall labour effectually in this busines ys, by plantinge one or twoo colonies of our nation upon that fyrme, where they may remaine in safetie, and firste learne the language of the people nere adjoyninge (the gifte of tongues beinge nowe taken awaye), and by little and little acquainte themselves with their manner, and so with discretion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospel. Otherwise, for preachers to come unto them rashly with oute some suche preparation for their safetie, yt were nothinge els but to ronne to their apparaunte and certaine destruction, as yt happened onto those Spanishe ffryers, that, before any plantinge, withoute strengthe and company, landed in Fflorida, [177] where they were miserablye massacred by the savages.[42] On the other side, by meane of plantinge firste, the small nation of the Portingales towardes the Southe and Easte have planted the Christian faithe accordinge to their manner, and have erected many bisshoprickes and colledges to traine upp the youthe of the infidels in the same, of which acte they more vaunte in all their histories and chronicles, then of anythinge els that ever they

[41] This title was conferred on Henry VIII. by Leo X. by a bull dated the fifth of the Ides of October 1521, for his book "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martin Lutherum," etc., printed by Pynson, 1521.

[42] Friar Luys Cancel of Balvastro was, with other friars, sent to Florida by Philip II. in 1549, where they were massacred and eaten. (See Eden's version of Gomara's Historia general, cap. xiv. Woods.)

atchieved. And surely if they had planted the gospell of Christe purely, as they did not, they mighte justly have more rejoyced in that deede of theirs, then in the conqueste of the whole contrie, or in any other thinge whatsoever. The like may be saied of the Spaniardes, whoe (as yt is in the preface of the last edition of Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis) have established in the West Indies three archebisshopricks, to witt, Mexico, Luna, and Onsco, and thirtene other bisshoprickes there named, and have builte above CC. houses of relligion in the space of fyftie yeres or thereaboutes. Now yf they, in their superstition, by meanes of their plantinge in those partes, have don so greate thinges in so shorte space, what may wee hope for in our true and syncere relligion, proposinge unto ourselves in this action not filthie lucre nor vaine ostentation, as they in deede did, but principally the gayninge of the soules of millions of those wretched people, the reducinge of them from darkenes to lighte, from falsehoode to truthe, from dombe idolls to the lyvinge God, from the depe pitt of hell to the highest heauens. In the 16. of the Actes of the Apostles, when Paule soughte to preache in Asia and to goe into Bithinia, the Holy Ghoste suffered him not. But at Troas a vision appered unto him by night. There stoode a man of Macedonia and prayed hym, sayenge: Come into Macedonia and helpe us. And after he had seene the vysion, ymmediatly he prepared to goe into Macedonia, beinge assured that the Lorde had called him to preache the gospell unto them. Even so wee, whiles wee have soughte to goe into other countries (I woulde I might say to preache the gospell), God by the frustratinge of our actions semeth to forbydd us to followe those courses, and the people of AMERICA crye oute unto us, their nexte neighboures, to come and helpe them, and bringe unto them the gladd tidinges of the gospell. Unto the prince and people that shalbe the occasion of [178]
this worthie worke, and shall open their cofers to the furtheraunce of this most godly enterprise, God shall open the bottomles treasures of his riches, and fill them with aboundance of his hidden

blessinges; as he did to the goodd Queene Isabella, which beinge in extreme necessitie, laied her owne jewells to gage for money to furnishe out Columbus for the firste discovery of the West Indies.

A question of the adversary.

And this enterprise the princes of the relligion (among whome her Majestie ys principall) oughte the rather to take in hande, because the papistes confirme themselves and drawe other to theire side, shewinge that they are the true Catholicke churche because they have bene the onely converters of many millions of infidells to Christianitie. Yea, I myselfe have bene demaunded of them, how many infidells have been by us converted? Whereunto, albeit I alleaged the example of the mynisters which were sente from Geneva with Villegagnon into Bresill,[43] and those that wente with Iohn Ribault into Florida,[44] as also those of our nation that went with Ffrobisher Sir Fraunces Drake, and Ffenton;[45] yet in very deede I was not able to name any one infidell by them converted. But God, quoth I, hath his tyme for all men, whoe calleth some at the nynthe, and some at the eleventh houer. And if it please him to move the harte of her Majestie to put her helpinge hande to this godly action, she shall finde as willinge subjectes of all sortes as any other prince in all Christendome. And as for the boastinge of your conversion of such multitudes of infidells, yt may justly be compted, rather a perversion, seeinge you have drawen them as it were oute of Sylla into Charibdis, that is to say, from one error into another. Nowe therefore I

[43] For an account of this earliest colony of Protestantism in America, consult Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, Art. *Villegagnon* and *Ricker*; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, Book I., Southey's History of Brazil; De Thou, Maimbourg, etc.

[44] Dr. Woods thinks Hakluyt is mistaken in saying ministers went out with Ribault to Florida. It is indeed hardly likely that Coligny would have thus alienated the sympathy of Charles IX.

[45] Master Wolfall was the name of the minister who accompanied Frobisher, (see vol. xii. of this edition, p. 81), and Master Francis Fletcher was with Drake in his voyage round the world in 1577-80. His notes of the voyage were republished by the Hakluyt Society in 1854.

truste the time ys at hande when by her Majesties forwardnes in this enterprise, not only this obiection and suche like shalbe aunswered by our frutefull labor in Godds harvest amonge the infidells, but also many inconveniences and strifes amongest [179] ourselves at home, in matters of ceremonies, shalbe ended. For those of the clergye which by reason of idlenes here at home are nowe alwayes coyninge of newe opynions, havinge by this voyadge to set themselves on worke in reducinge the savages to the chefe principles of our faith, will become lesse contentious, and be contented with the truthe in relligion alreadie established by authoritie. So they that shall beare the name of Christians shall shewe themselves worthye of their vocation, so shall the mouthe of the adversarie be stopped, so shall contention amongest brethren be avoyded, so shal the gospell amonge infidells be published.

Chap. II. That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially daungerous in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forsweare and renounce their relligion and conscience, and consequently their obedience to her Majesty.

Wee are nowe to consider the qualitie and condition of all the trades which at this day are frequented by our nation. And firste, to begynne southwarde, and so come to the northe; leavinge Bresill and Guynea where wee have little to doe, let us firste speake of our trade in Barbarie. If any of our shippes tradinge thither be Barbary dryven upon the coaste of Spaine, and that proofe may be made that wee have bene there, they make it a very sufficient cause of confiscation of shippe and goodds, and so they thruste our men

into the Inquisition, chardging them that they bringe armour, munition, and forbidden merchandize to strengthen the infidells againste these partes of Christendome; which thinge is comitted to printe and confessed by all our marchants tradinge thither. And thoughe our men escape the Spaniardes tyrannie, yet at the deathe of the prince in Barbary, all our mennes goodds there are subjecte to the spoile, the custome of the contrie permitting the people to robbe and rifle until another kinge be chosen, withoute making any kinde of restitution. Besides that inconvenience, the traficque groweth daily to worse termes then heretofore. I omytt to shewe here howe divers have bene undon by their servauntes which have become renegadoes, of whome by the custome of the contrie their masters can have no manner of recovery, neither call them into justice.[46]

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The Domynions of the Kinge of Spayne.

In all the Kinge of Spaines domynions our men are either inforced with wounded consciences to playe the dissemblinge hipocrites, or be drawen to mislike with the state of relligion mainteyned at home, or cruelly made away in the Inquisition. Moreouer, he being our mortall enemye, and his empire of late beinge increased so mightely, and our necessitie of oiles and colours for our clothinge trade being so greate, he may arreste almoste the one halfe of our navye, our traficque and recourse being so greate to his domynions.

For the new trade in Turky, besides the greate expences in mayneteyninge a kind of embassador at Constantinople, and in sendinge of presentes to Selym the Graunde Segnior, and to divers of his insatiable bassoes, our marchantes are faine with large rewardes to gratifie the Knightes of Malta, in whose daunger their shippes must often passe. Moreover that trade is so moche to the detrymente of the State of Venice, and all the other States of Italie, that they are dayly occupied in seekinge howe they may overthrow the same. Neither is it the leaste incomoditie that our

[46] See the accounts of Voyages to Barbary given in Vol. xi. of this Edition.

shippes are contynually assaulted by the corsaries and pirates and gallies of Algiers, by which they had a rich shippe, called the Mary Martin, soncke this yere; and the last yere another was taken at Trypoly in Barbary, and the master with another hanged, and the reste made slaves. Besides, the barke Reynoldes was arrested at Malta, and at lengthe with moche adoe delivered.[47]

France.

To leave the Levant and to come to France, the traficque there of myne owne knowledge[48] is growen to such decaye, partely by the impositions and taxes which are daily devised by the kinges partely by their subtil sleights and devices to confiscate our clothes for insufficient workemanshippe, and partely by their owne labour in makinge more and better clothe then heretofore they were accustomed, that our men for the moste parte are wearye of the contrie, and some of them utterly undone by [181] their subtill and unconcionable wranglinge. As for all Flaunders Flaunders. and the Lowe Contries, these eightene yeres moste cruell civill warres have so spoiled the traficque there, that there is nothinge but povertie and perill, and that which is worse, there is no hope of any spedy amendemente.

Estlande.

To come to the Esterlinges and the trades with the cities within the Sounde of Denmarke, they beinge deprived of the olde priviledges of the Stilliarde here in London, have not only offred our men at home many injuries in their cities, but seeke all the meanes they can devise wholy to cutt of all our occupienge that way; and to the same purpose have lately cleane debarred our men of their accustomed and auncient priviledges in all their greate townes. Also the exactions of the Kinge of Denmarke Denmarke. at our passage in and oute by the Sounde to Lubecke, Danske, Elvinge, Rye, Revell, and the Narve, besides the power that he hath to arreste all our shippes within the Sounde at his pleasure, are twoo no small inconveniences and myschefes.

[47] See Vol xi. of this Edition.

[48] Hakluyt was chaplain to the English Ambassador in Paris for five years.

[49] Our trade into Muscovye ys the laste, which was so chardgeable in the begynnynge, what with the coste of the discoverie, what with presentes to the Emperour, together with the disorderly dealinge of their factors, that it stoode them in fourscore thousande poundes before they broughte it to any goodd passe. And nowe after longe hope of gayne, the Hollanders, as also the men of Diepe, are entred into their trade by the Emperours permission; yea, whereas at the firste our men paid no custome, of late yeres, contrarie to their firste priviledge, they have bene urged to pay yt. Also the chardges of bringinge the Emperours embassador hither, and mayneteyninge him here, and the settinge furthe of her Majesties embassadour thither with presentes to the Emperour, lyenge all upon the poore marchantes neckes, is no easie burden unto their shoulders. And to encrease the some, the Kinge of Denmarke requireth a tribute of them, thoughe they touche not upon any of his domynions. And nowe the Emperour of Russia beinge late deade,[50] yt is greately feared that the voyadge wilbe utterly ouerthrowen, or els become not worthe the contynuaunce.

Thus hauinge regarde unto the premisses, yt behoveth us to
[182] seeke some newe and better trade, of lesse daunger and more securitie, of lesse dammage, and of more advauntage; the rather to avoide the wilfull perjurie of suche of our Englishe nation as trade to Spaine and other of Kinge Phillipps domynions, where this oathe followinge ys usually ministred unto the master of our shippes. Firste, he willeth the master to make a crosse with his fore finger and his thombe, layenge one ouer the other crosswise. This beinge don, he saieth these wordes followinge: You shall sweare to speake the truthe of all thinges that shalbe asked of you, and yf you doe not, that God demaunde yt of you: and the Englishe master muste saye, Amen. You shall sweare by that

[49] Russye.

[50] This is Ivan III., surnamed *the Great*; he asked Queen Elizabeth in marriage in 1579.

crosse that you bringe no man in your shippe but suche as are goodd christians, and doe beleue as our Catholicke Churche of Rome dothe beleve. Nexte, that you bringe no manner of bookes but suche as are allowed by our Catholicke Churche of Rome; and that you use no manner of prayers but suche as are allowed by our Churche of Rome. What marchandize bringe you; suche and suche. We will and commaunde you and your companie to come on land to masse every Sonday and holy day, upon paine of discommunication. Then they open their chestes, and looke if the master and maryners bringe any bookes with them in their chests. This don, the officers that come with the preestes aske of the master and maryners chese, butter, befe, bacon, and candles, as beggers, and they give it to them for feare they have of them, and so they goe from the shippes with their walletts full of victualls. The master doth pay four ryalls of plate for the barke that bringeth them aboorde to visite them. Thus is wilfull perjurye permitted by the governours if they knowe it. Thus the covetous marchante wilfully sendeth headlonge to hell from day to day the poore subjectes of this realme. The marchant in England cometh here devoutly to the communyon, and sendeth his sonne into Spaine to here masse. These thinges are kepte secrete by the marchantes, and suche as depende upon the trade of marchandize are lothe to utter the same.

Chap. III. That this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica and Asia, as far as wee were wonte to travell, and supplye the wantes of all our decayed trades.

The nexte thinge ys that nowe I declare unto you the comodities of this newe westerne discoverie, and what marchandize are there to be had, and from thence to be expected; wherein firste you are to have regarde unto the scituation of the places which are left for [183]

In the first volume of Ramusius, fol. 374, pag. 2.

us to be possessed. The contries therefore of AMERICA where unto we have just title, as being firste discovered by Sebastian Gabote, at the coste of that prudente prince Kinge Henry the Seaventh, from Florida northewarde to 67. degrees,[51] (and not yet in any Christian princes actuall possession,) beinge aunswerable in clymate to Barbary, Egipte, Siria, Persia, Turky, Greece, all the islandes of the Levant sea, Italie, Spaine, Portingale, Fraunce, Flaunders, Highe Almayne, Denmarke, Estland, Poland, and Muscovye, may presently or within a shorte space afforde unto us, for little or nothinge, and with moche more safetie, eyther all or a greate parte of the comodities which the aforesaid contries do yelde us at a very dere hande and with manifolde daungers.

Firste, therefore, to begyn at the southe from 30. degrees, and to quote unto you the leafe and page of the printed voyadges of those which personally have with diligence searched and viewed these contries. John Ribault writeth thus, in the firste leafe of his discourse, extant in printe bothe in Frenche and Englishe:[52] Wee entred (saieth he) and viewed the contrie which is the fairest, frutefullest, and pleasauntest of all the worlde, aboundinge in honye, waxe, venison, wilde fowle, fforrestes, woodes of all sortes, palme trees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, the highest and greatest, with also the fairest vines in all the worlde, with grapes accordinge, which naturally withoute arte or mans helpe or trymmynge will growe to toppes of oakes and other trees that be of wonderfull greatness and heighte. And the sighte of the faire meadowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue, full of herons, curlues, bitters, mallardes, egriphts, woodcockes, and

[51] When Hakluyt speaks of Florida, he means not only the peninsula so called now, but as far north as 36 degrees. The most northerly European colony in 1584 was situated south of the present town of Savannah. It was probably St. Augustine.

[52] The work alluded to is Ribault's "The whole and true discoverye of Terra Florida.... Prynted at London by Rouland Hall for Thomas Hacket. 1563." A copy is in the British Museum. The French version is one of the lost books of the world.

all other kinde of small birdes, with hartes, hinds, bucks, wilde swyne, and all other kind of wilde beastes, as wee perceaved well bothe by their footinge there, and also afterwardes in other places by their crye and roaringe in the nighte. Also there be conies and hares, silkewormes in marvelous nomber, a great deale fairer and better then be our silkewormes. Againe, in the sixte leafe and seconde page; They shewed unto us by signes that they had in the lande golde and silver and copper, whereof wee have broughte some home. Also leade like unto ours, which wee shewed them. Also turqueses and greate aboundance of perles, which as they declared unto us they tooke oute of oysters, whereof there is taken ever alonge the rivers side and amongest the reedes and in the marishes, in so marvelous aboundance as it is scante credible. And wee have perceaved that there be as many and as greate perles found there as in any contrie in the worlde. In the seaventh leafe it followeth thus: The scituation is under 30. degrees, a good clymate, healthfull, and of goodd temperature, marvelous pleasaunte, the people goodd and of a gentle and amyable nature, which willingly will obey, yea be contented to serve those that shall with gentlenes and humanitie goe aboute to allure them, as yt is necessarie for those that be sente thither hereafter so to doe. In the eighth leafe: It is a place wonderful, fertile and of stronge scituation, the grounde fatt, so that it is like that it would bringe forthe wheate and all other come twise a yere. In the ninth leafe yt followeth: Wee founde there a greate nomber of pepper trees, the pepper beinge yet greene and not ready to be gathered. In the tenth leafe: There wee sawe the fairest and the greatest vines with grapes accordinge, and younge trees and small wooddes very well smellinge, that ever weare sene. Thus have you brefely the some of the comodities which were founde by John Ribault and his companye on the coaste of America from 30. to 34. degrees.

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Sylke wormes exceedinge faire.

The gentleness of the people.

Harvest twise yn the yere.

Pepper groweth here; yt is longe pepper.

Moreouer, Doctor Monardus, that excellent phisition of Civill, writinge of the trees of the West Indies in his booke called Joyfull

[185] Newes out of the New founde worlde,[53] maketh mention of a tree called Sassafras, which the Frenchmen founde in Florida, fol. 46 of his booke, in manner followinge: From the Florida they bringe a woodde and roote of a tree that groweth in those partes, of greate vertues and excellencies, healinge therewith grevous and variable deseases. It may be three yeres paste that I had knowledge of this tree, and a Frenche man that had bene in those partes shewed me a pece of yt, and tolde me marvells of the vertues thereof, and howe many and variable diseases were healed with the water which was made of it, and I judged that, which nowe I doe finde to be true and have seene by experience. He tolde me that the Frenchemen which had bene in the Florida, at the time when they came into those partes had bene sicke the moste of them of grevous and variable diseases, and that the Indians did shewe them this tree, and the manner howe they shoulde vse yt, &c; so they did, and were healed of many evills; which surely bringeth admiration that one onely remedy shoulde worke so variable and marvelous effectes. The name of this tree, as the Indyans terme yt, is called Pauame, and the Frenchemen called it Sassafras. To be brefe, the Doctor Monardus bestoweth eleven leaves in describinge the sovereinties and excellent properties thereof.

The nature and comodities of the reste of the coaste unto Cape Briton I will shewe unto you oute of the printed testymonies of John Verarsanus and Stephen Gomes, bothe which in one yere, 1524, discovered the said contries, and broughte home of the people; Verarsana into Ffraunce, and Gomes into Spaine.

Verarsana, fallinge in the latitude of 34. degrees, describeth the scituation and commodities in this manner: Beyonde this wee sawe the open contrie risinge in heighte above the sandie shoare,

[53] This "Joyfull Newes" was a translation by Frampton of the "Historia Medicinal ... de nuestras Indias," (1574), of Nicholas Monardes, a learned Spaniard, who died in 1578. The English version was published in 1577. (C.D.) A copy is in my library.

with many faire feeldes and plaines full of mightie greate woodes, some very thicke and some very thynne, replenished with divers sortes of trees, and plesaunte and delectable to beholde as ys possible to ymagine. And your Majestie may not thinke that these are like the wooddes of Hyrcinia, or the wilde desertes of Tartaria, and the northerne coastes, full of fruteles trees; but full of palme, date trees, bayes, and highe cypresses, and many other sortes of trees to us unknowen in Europe, which yelde moste swete savours fair from the shoare; neyther doe wee thincke that they, partakinge of the easte worlde rounde aboute them, are altogether voyde of drugs and spicerye, and other riches of golde, seinge the colour of the lande dothe altogether argue yt. And the lande is full of many beastes, as redd dere, fallowe [186] dere and hares, and likewise of lakes and pooles of freshe water, with greate plentie of fowles convenient for all plesaunte game. This lande is in latitude of 34. degrees with goodd and holesome ayre, temperate, betwene hote and colde; no vehement winds doe blowe in these regions, &c. Againe, in the fourth leafe as it is in Englishe, speakinge of the nexte contrie, he saieth: Wee sawe in this contrie many vines growinge naturally, which springinge upp tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lumbardye, which, if by husbandmen they were dressed in goodd order, withoute all double they woulde yelde excellent wynes; for havinge oftentymes seene the frute thereof dryed, which was swete and pleasaunte and not differinge from oures, wee thinke they doe esteme of the same, because that in every place where they growe, they take away the under braunches growinge rounde aboute, that the frute thereof may ripen the better. Wee founde also roses, violetts, lyllies, and many sortes of herbes and swete and odoriferous flowers. And after, in the sixte leafe, he saithe: Wee were oftentimes within the lande v. or vj. leagues, which wee founde as pleasaunte as is possible to declare, apte for any kinde of husbandrye of corne, wine, and oile. For therein there are plaines 25. or 30. leagues broade, open and withoute

any impedymente of trees, of suche frutefulnes that any seede beinge sowen therein will bringe furthe moste excellente frule. Wee entred afterwardes into the wooddes, which wee founde so greate and thicke, that an armye (were it never so greate) mighte have hydd it selfe therein, the trees whereof were oakes, cypresses, and other sortes unknowen in Europe. Wee founde pomi appij, plommes, and nuttes, and many other sortes of frutes to us unknowen. There are beastes in greate aboundaunce, as redd dere and fallowe dere, leopardes and other kindes, which they take with their bowes and arrowes, which are their chefeste weapons. This lande is scituate in the parallele of Rome in 41. degrees and 2. terces. And towardes the ende he saieth: Wee sawe many of the people weare earinges of copper hangings at their eares. Thus farr oute of the relation of Verarsana.

These apples growe in Italy, and are yellowe like a pipen.

Nowe to come to Stephen Gomes, which by the commandemente of the Emperor Charles the Fyfte discovered the coaste of Norumbega. These are the wordes of Gonsaluo de Ouiedo in his summarye of the Weste Indies, translated into Italian, concerninge him, fo. 52: Dapoi ehe vostra Maestà è in questa città di Toledo, arriuò qui nel mese di Nouembre il piloto Stephano Gomez, ilquale nel' anno passato del 1524. per comandamento di vostra Maestà, nauigò alla parte di Tramontana, e trouò gran parte di terra continouata a quella che si chiama dellos Bachallaos, dòscorrendo à Occidente, e giace in 40. e 41. grado, e cosi poco piu e meno; del qual luogo menò alcuni Indiani, e ne sono al presente in questa città, li quali sono di maggior grandezza di quelli di terra ferma, secondo che communemente sono, perche anchora il detto piloto disse hauer visto molti, che sono tutti di quella medesima grandezza, il color veramente è come quelli di terra ferma; sono grandi arcieri, e vanno coperti di pelle d'animali saluatichi, e d' altri animali. Sono in questa terra eccellenti martori, e zibellini, e altre ricche fodere, delle quali ne portò alcune pelle il detto pilotto. Harmo argento e rame, e secondo che dicono questi Indiani, et con segni fanno intendere,

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adorano il Sole e la Luna, anche hanno altre idolatrie ed errori, come quelli di terra ferma.

Another Frenche capitaine of Diepe,[54] which had bene alongeste this coaste, geveth this testymonie of the people and contrie from 46. to 47. degrees, as it is in the thirde volume of viages gathered by Ramusius, fol. 423, pag. secunda: Gli habitatori di questa terra sono genti trattabili, amicheuoli, e piaceuoli. La terra è abbondantissima d'ogni frutto; vi nascono aranci, mandorle, vua saluatica e molte altre sorti d'arbori odoriferi; la terra è detta da paesani suoi Norumbega.

This coaste, from Cape Briton CC. (200) leagues to the south west, was again discovered at the chardges of the cardinall of Bourbon by my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, the laste yere, 1583, whoe founde a towne of fourscore houses, covered with the barkes of trees, upon a rivers side, about C. leagues from the aforesaid Cape Briton. He reporteth that the contrie is of the temperature of the coaste of Gascoigne and Guyann. He broughte home a kinde of mynerall matter supposed to holde silver, whereof he gaue me some; a kynde of muske called castor; divers beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, scales, buffs, dere skynnes, all dressed, and painted on the innerside with divers excellent colours, as redd, tawnye, yellowe, and vermillyon,—all which thinges I sawe; and divers other marchandize he hath which I saw not. But he told me that he had CCCC. and xl. crownes for that in Roan, which, in trifles bestowed upon the savages, stoode him not in fortie crownes. And this yere, 1584. the Marques de la Roche wente with three hundreth men to inhabte, in those partes, whose voyadge was overthrowen by occasion that his greatest shippe of CCC. tonnes was caste away over againste Burwage, and so the enterprize for this yere ceseth.[55]

Excellent colours for dyenge.

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[54] Probably Jean Parmentier, of Dieppe.

[55] Not improbably the old seaport of *Brouage*, near La Rochelle, now deserted. This appears to be the only notice extant of an expedition by de La Roche in

The nature and qualitie of thother parte of America from Cape Briton, beinge in 46 degrees unto the latitude of 52. for iij. C. leagues within the lande even to Hochelaga, is notably described in the twoo voyadges of Jacques Cartier. In the fifte chapiter of his seconde relation thus he writeth: From the 19 till the 28 of September wee sailed upp the ryver, neuer loosinge one houre of tyme, all which space wee sawe as goodly a contrie as possibly coulde be wisshed for, full of all sortes of goodly trees, that is to say, oakes, elmes, walnut trees, cedars, fyrres, asshes, boxe, willoughes, and greate store of vynes, all as full of grapes as coulde be, that if any of our fellowes wente on shoare, they came home laden with them. There are likewise many cranes, swannes, geese, mallardes, fesauntes, partridges, thrusshes, black birdes, turtles, finches, redd brestes, nightingales, sparrowes, with other sortes of birdes even as in Fraunce, and greate plentie and store. Againe in the xi'th chapiter of the said relation there ys mention of silver and golde to be upon a ryver that is three monethes saylinge, navigable southwarde from Hochelaga; and that redd copper is yn Saguynay. All that contrie is full of sondrie sortes of woodde and many vines. There is greate store of stagges, redd dere, fallowe dere, beares, and other suche like sorts of bestes, as conies, hares, marterns, foxes, otters, bevers, squirrells, badgers, and rattes excedinge greate, and divers other sortes of beastes for huntinge. There are also many sortes of fowles, as cranes, swannes, outardes, wilde geese, white and graye, duckes, thrusshes, black birdes, turtles, wilde pigeons, lynnetts, finches, redd brestes, stares, nightingales, sparrowes, and other birdes even as in Fraunce. Also, as wee have said before, the said ryver is the plentifullest of fyshe that ever hath bene seene or hearde of,
[189] because that from the heade to the mouthe of yt you shall finde all kinde of freshe and salt water fyshe accordinge to their season. There are also many whales, porposes, sea horses, and adhothuis,

1584. For an account of his later expedition, consult Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, pp. 210-212.—C.D.

which is a kinde of fishe which wee have neuer seene nor hearde of before. And in the xii'th chapiter thus: We understoode of Donnacona and others that ... there are people cladd with clothe as wee are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of gold and redde copper; and that within the land beyonde the said ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguynay, ys an iland envyroned rounde aboute with that and other ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, and, as they have hearde say of those of Saguynay, there was never man hearde of that founde oute the begynnynge and ende thereof. Finally, in the postscripte of the seconde relation, wee reade these wordes: They of Canada saye, that it is a moones sailinge to goe to a land where cynamonde and cloves are gathered.

And nowe, because hitherto I have spoken of the outwarde coaste, I will also alledge the comodities of the inland, in the latitude of 37. degrees, about the citie of Ceuola, usinge the very wordes of Vasques de Coronado, in the thirde chapter of his Relation, written to Don Antonio di Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, which sente him thither with many Spaniardes and iiij. C. horses and a thousande Indians to discover those contries.[56] He, speakinge there of the citie of Ceuola, procedeth in this manner: In questo doue io sto hora alloggiato possono esserui qualche dugento case tutte circondate di muro, e parmi che con l'altre che non sono cosi possono arriuare a cinquecento fuochi. V' è un' altra terra vicina, che è una delle sette, ed è alqoanto maggior di questa, e un altra della medesima grandezza di questa, e l'altre quattro sono alquanto minori, e tutte io le mando dipinte a vostra Signoria con il viaggio, e pergamino doue va la pittura si trouo qui con altri pergamini ... hanno mantelli dipinti della maniera che io mando a vostra Signoria, non raccolgono bombaso ... pero ne portano mantelli, come ella vedrà per la

[56] The full account in English of de Coronado's travels is given by Hakluyt in this collection. Hakluyt probably was ignorant of Spanish, as be always quotes the French or Italian versions.

mostra; ed è vero che si ritrouo nelle lor case certo bombaso filato: ... et hanno delle turchine penso in quantità ... si trouaron in una carta due punte di smeraldi, e certe picciole pierte rotte,
[190] che tirano al color di granate, ... ed altre pietre di cristallo ... si trouaron galline ... son buonissime e maggiori che quelle di Messico. ... Si trouo buonissima herba ad un quarto di legha di quà. ... Mangiano le migliori tortelle che io habbia veduto in alcuna parte. ... Hanno buonissimo sale in grano, che leuano da un lagune che è lunghe una giornata di quà. ... Vi sono di molti animali, orsi, tigri, leoni, porci spinosi, lepri, conigli, e certi castrati della grandezza d' un cauallo, con corni molto grandi e code picciole. ... Vi sono delle capre saluatiche, delle quali ho veduto le teste, ... e le pelli de i cingiali. Vi sono cacciagioni di cerui, pardi, caurioli molto grandi ... fanno otto giornate verso le champagne al mare di settentrione. Quiui sono certe pelli ben concie, e la concia e pittura gli dan doue uccidon le vacche. In the last chapiter he addeth: Mando a vostra Signoria una pelle di vacca, certe turchine e duoi pendenti d'orecchie delle medesime, e quindici pettini de gl'Indiani, e alcune tauolette guarnite di queste turchine, &c. And for a conclusion he endethe sayenge: In questo luogo s'è trouato alquanto oro ed argento, che quei che s'intendon di miniera non l' han reputato per cattiuo.

And Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in his Generall Historie of the Indies, fol. 297. and 298. in treatinge of the seconde voyadge of Franciscus Vasques de Coronado from Ceuola to Tigues, from Tigues to Cicuic, and from Cicuic to Quiuira, saieth firste of the contrye about Tigues: Ci sono in quel paese melloni, e cottone bianco e rosso, del quale fanno piu larghi mantelli, che in altre bande delle Indie. And of Quiuira he saieth: è Quiuira in quaranta gradi, è paese temperato di bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, prugne, more, noci, melloni ed vue che maturanno benissimo; e vestono pelle di vacche e caprioli; uiddero per la costa navi che portavano arcatrarzes di oro ed argento per le proe, con mercantie, e credettero ch'erano del Cataio e China: per chè

accennavano, che havevano nauigato trenta dì.

Touchinge Newefounde lande, because no man hath better searched it oute, and all the comodities thereof, then those that were there the laste yere, 1583, the space of eightene daies on lande, with Sir Humfry Gilbert,[57] I will make rehersall thereof, as I finde it comitted to printe in a learned discourse, intituled A Trve Reporte of the late Discoueries and Possessyon taken [191] in the Righte of the Crowne of England, of the Newfounde Landes, &c.[58] The wordes are these in the firste leafe: Then Sir Humfry wente to viewe the contrye, beinge well accompanied with moste of his capitaines and souldiers. They founde the same very temperate, but somwhat warmer then England at that time of the yere, replenished with beastes and greate store of fowle of divers kyndes, and fisshes of sondrye sortes, bothe in the salte water and in the freshe, in so greate plentie as mighte suffice to victuall an armye, and they are very easely taken. And in the fifte chapter of the said discourse I reade in this manner: But let us omitte all presumtions, howe vehemente soeuer, and dwell upon the certentie of suche comodities as were discovered and founde by Sir Humfry Gilbert and his assistantes in Newfoundelande, in Auguste laste; ffor there may very easely be made pitche, tarr, rosen, sope asshes, in greate plentie, yea, as it is thoughte, ynoughe to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes; and of trayne oyle suche quantitie as if I shoulde set downe the value that they doe esteme it at, which have bene there, it woulde seme incredible.

Letters the last yere, in Latin, out of Newfoundelande.

To this in effecte agreeth that which one Stephanus Parmenius, a learned Hungarian, borne in Buda, and lately, my bedfelowe in Oxforde,[59] wrote unto me oute of Newfounde lande, beinge of

[57] Captain Richard Whitbourne, of Exmouth, in his Preface to "A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland," London, 1620, says he was an eye-witness to Sir H. Gilbert's taking possession of the countrey—C.D.

[58] This work was reprinted in full by Hakluyt in this collection. *See ante.*

[59] Also reprinted in full in the collection. *See ante.*

Sir Humfryes companye: Piscium (saieth he, writinge in Latin) inexhausta copia, inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra universa montana et syluestris; arbores ut plurimùm pinus et abietes. Herbæ omnes proceræ, sed rarò à nostris diuersae. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina et spicas in similitudinem secalis. Et facilè culutra et satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in siluis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent et conficiuntur. ... Ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus, ... etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes prae se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionem spatium pateret; nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, exacerbata maris vnda ex terebinthina, quae conflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Coelum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est vt nisi pisces qui arefiunt solem assidui, inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. . . . Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est. Ad orientem supra mare perpetuae nebulae, &c.

Afterwardes they sett the woodds on fire, which burnt three weekes together.

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Greate heate in Newfoundelande in sommer.

Nowe, to passe from Newfoundelande to 60. degrees, I finde it beste described by Jasper Corterealis,[60] in the thirde volume of the voyadges gathered by Ramusius, fol. 417. There I reade as followeth: Nella parte del mondo nuouo che corre verso Tramontana e maestro all' incontro del nostro habitabile dell' Europa, v' hanno nauigato molti capitani, ed il primo (per quel' che si sa) fù Gasparo Cortereale Portoghese, che del 1500. v' andò con due carauelle, pensando di trouar qualche stretto di mare, donde per viaggio piu breue, che non è l' andare attorno l'Affrica, potesse passare all' Isole delle Spicerie. Esso nauigò tanto auanti, che

[60] This voyage of Cortereale took place in 1500.

venne in luogo, doue erano grandissimi freddi, et in gradi 60. di latitudine trouò vn fiume carico di neue, dalla quale gli dette il nome, chiamandolo Rio Neuado, nè gli bastò l'animo di passar piu auanti. Tutta questa costa, che corre dal detto Rio Neuado infin' al porto di Maluas leghe 200. ilqual è in gradi 56. la vidde piena di genti, e molto habitato: sopra laqual dismontato prese alcuni per menargli seco, scoperse ancho molte Isole per mezo la detta costa tutte populate, a ciascuna delle quali diede il nome. Gli habitanti sono huomini grandi, ben proportionati, ma alquanto berrettini, e si dipingono la faccia, e tutto il corpo con diuersi colori per galanteria. Portano manigli d' argento e di rame, e si cuoprono con pelli cucite insieme di martori e d' altri animali diversi; il verno le portono col pelo di dentro, e la state di fuori. Il cibo loro per la maggior parte è di pesce piu che d'alcuna altra cosa, massimamente di salmoni, che n'hanno grandissima copia: ed anchora che vi siano diuersi sorti d'vccelli, e di frutti, nondimeno non fanno conto se non del pesce. Le loro habitationi sono fatte di legname, delquale hanno abondantia per esserui grandissimi, ed infiniti boschi, ed in luogo di tegole le cuoprono di pelli di pesci, che ne pigliano grandissimi, e gli [193] scorticano. Vidde molti vccelli, e altri animali, massimamente orsi tutti bianchi.[61]

The reste of this coaste from 60. to 63. is described by Frobisher,[62] and in freshe memorye, so that I shall not nede to make repetition thereof.

A singuler commoditie for dyenge of Englishe clothe. Thinges incident to a navy.

Thus, havinge alleaged many printed testymonies of these credible persons, which were personally betwene 30. and 63. degrees in America, as well on the coaste as within the lande, which affirmed unto the princes and kinges which sett them oute,

[61] In all these Italian quotations, the edition by Dr. Deane has the word *e* or *ed* spelled *et*, a curious blunder.

[62] In a "True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie," written by George Best, who accompanied Frobisher, London, 1578, and reprinted by the Hakluyt Society.

that they founde there golde, silver, copper, leade, and perles in aboundaunce; precious stones, as turqueses and emrauldes; spices and druggs, as pepper, cynamon, cloves, rubarb, muske called castor, turpentine; silke wormes, fairer then ours of Europe; white and redd cotten; infinite multitudes of all kinde of beastes, with their tallowe and hides dressed and undressed; cochenilio, founde last yere by the men of St. John de Luze, and many other kindes of coulours for clothinge; millions of all kindes of fowles for foode and fethers; salte for fisshinge; excellent vines in many places for wines; the soile apte to beare olyves for oile; all kindes of frutes, as oranges, almondes, filberdes, figges, plomes, mulberies, raspis, pomi appij, melons; all kinde of odoriferous trees and date trees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, sapines, hony and waxe; and in New founde lande aboundaunce of pynes and firr trees, asshes, and other like, to make mastes and deale boordes, pitche, tarr, rosen; and hempe for cables and cordage; and, upp within the Graunde Baye, exceedinge quantitie of all kynde of precious furres (whereof I sawe twentie thousande French crownes worthe the laste yere broughte to Paris to Valeron Perosse and Mathewe Grainer, the kinges skynners); also, suche aboundaunce of trayne oile to make sope, and of fishe as a third part of Europe ys furnished therewith,—I may well and truly conclude with reason and authoritie, that all the comodities of all our olde decayed and daungerous trades in all Europe, Africa, and Asia haunted by us, may in shorte space for little or nothinge, and many for the very workemanshippe, in a manner be had in that part of America which lieth betwene 30. and 60. degrees of northerly latitude, if by our slackness we suffer not the Frenche or others to prevente us.

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Prevention to be taken hede of.

Chap. IV. That this enterprise will be for the manifolde ymployment of nombers of idle men, and for bredinge of many sufficient, and for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the comodities of our realme.

It is well worthe the observation to see and consider what the like voyadges of discoverye and planting in the Easte and Weste Indies hath wroughte in the kingdomes of Portingale and Spayne; bothe which realmes, beinge of themselves poore and barren and hardly able to susteine their inhabitaunts, by their discoveries have founde suche occasion of employmente, that these many yeres we have not herde scarcely of any pirate of those twoo nations; whereas wee and the Frenche are moste infamous for our outeragious, common, and daily piracies. Againe, when hearde wee almoste of one theefe amongest them? The reason is, that by these, their new discoveries, they have so many honest wayes to set them on worke, as they rather wante men than meanes to ymploy them. But wee, for all the statutes that hitherto can be devised, and the sharpe execution of the same in poonishinge idle lazye persons, for wante of sufficient occasion of honest employmente cannot deliver our commonwealthe from the multitudes of loyterers and idle vagabondes. Truthe it is, that throughe our longe peace and seldome sicknes (twoo singuler blessinges of Almightie God) wee are growen more populous than ever heretofore; so that nowe there are of every arte and science so many, that they can hardly lyve one by another, nay rather they are readie to eate upp one another; yea many thousandths of idle persons are within this realme, which, havinge no way to be sett on worke, be either mutinous and seeke alteration in the state, or at leaste very burdensome to the commonwealthe, and often fall to pilferinge and thevinge and other lewdnes, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pyne awaye, or els at lengthe

Idle persons mutynous and desire alteration in the state.

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are miserably hanged, even xx'ti. at a clappe oute of some one jayle. Whereas yf this voyadge were put in execution, these pety theves mighte be condempned for certen yeres in the westerne partes, especially in Newfounde lande, in sawinge and fellinge of tymber for mastes shippes, and deale boordes; in burninge of the firres and pine trees to make pitche, tarr, rosen, and sope ashes; in beatinge and workinge of hempe for cordage; and, in the more southerne partes, in settinge them to worke in mynes of golde, silver, copper, leade, and yron; in dragginge for perles and currall; in plantinge of suger canes, as the Portingales have done in Madera; in mayneteynaunce and increasinge of silke wormes for silke, and in dressinge the same; in gatheringe of cotten whereof there is plentie; in tillinge of the soile there for graine; in dressinge of vines whereof there is greate aboundaunce for wyne; olyves, whereof the soile is capable, for oyle; trees for oranges, lymons, almondes, figges, and other frutes, all which are founde to growe there already; in sowinge of woade and madder for diers, as the Portingales have don in the Azores; in dressinge of raw hides of divers kindes of beastes; in makinge and gatheringe of salte, as in Rochel and Bayon, which may serve for the newe lande fisshinge; in killinge the whale, seale, porpose, and whirlepoole for trayne oile; in fisshinge, saltinge, and dryenge of linge, codde, salmon, herringe; in makinge and gatheringe of hony, wax, turpentine; in hewinge and shapinge of stone, as marble, jeate, christall, freestone, which will be goodd balaste for our shippes homewardes, and after serve for noble buildinges; in makinge of caske, oares, and all other manner of staves; in buildinge of fortes, townes, churches; in powderinge and barrelling of fishe, fowles, and fleshe, which will be notable provision for sea and lande; in dryinge, sortinge and packinge of fethers, whereof may be had there marvelous greate quantitie.

Besides this, such as by any kinde of infirmitie cannot passe the seas thither, and now are chardgeable to the realme at home, by this voyadge shal be made profitable members, by employinge

them in England in makinge of a thousande triflinge thinges, which will be very goodd marchandize for those contries where wee shall have moste ample vente thereof.

And seinge the savages of the Graunde Baye, and all alonge the mightie ryver that ronneth upp to Canada and Hochelaga, are greately delighted with any cappe or garment made of course [196] wollen clothe, their contrie beinge colde and sharpe in the winter, this is manifeste wee shall finde greate utteraunce of our clothes, especially of our coursest and basest northerne doosens, and our Irishe and Welshe frizes and rugges; whereby all occupations belonginge to clothinge and knittinge shalbe freshly sett on worke, as cappers, knitters, clothiers, wollmen, carders, spyners, weavers, fullers, sheremen, dyers, drapers, hatters and such like, whereby many decayed townes may be repaired.

In somme, this enterprice will mynister matter for all sortes and states for men to worke upon; namely, all severall kindes of artificer: husbandmen, seamen, marchauntes, souldiers, capitaines, phisitions, lawyers, devines, cosmographers, hidrographers, astronomers, historiographers; yea olde folkes, lame persons, women, and younge children, by many meanes which hereby shall still be mynistred unto them, shalbe kepte from idlenes and be made able by their owne honest and easie labour to finde themselves, withoute surchardginge others. For proofe of the last part of my allegation I will use but onely this one example followinge.

In the yere of our Lorde 1564. at what tyme the Flemishe nation were growen, as they were, to the fulnes of their wealthe and to the heighte of their pride, and not remembringe what wonderfull gaine they had yerely by the wolles, clothes, and comodities of England, beganne to contempne our nation and to rejecte our clothes and comodities, a subjecte of the then twoo Erles of Emden, a man of greate observation, wrote a notable discourse to the younge erles, to take occasion of that present tyme by offer

of large priviledges in Emden to the Englishe men.[63] In which discourse, the said subjecte, for the better inducemente of the said twoo younge erles, dothe write of his owne knowledge, as he in his discourse affirmeth, and as also by his reporte appereth in the 22d booke of Sleydans Comentaries,[64] that, anno 1550. Charles the Fifte, then Emperour, would have had the Spanishe Inquisition broughte into Andwerpe and into the Netherlandes; whereaboute there was moche adoe, and that neither the sute
[197] of the towne of Andwerpe, nor the requeste of their frendes, could perswade the Emperour from it, till at the laste they tolde him playnely, that if the Inquisition came into Andwerpe and the Netherlandes that the Englishe marchantes woulde departe oute of the towne and out of his contries; and upon declaration of this suggestion, searche was made what profile there came and comoditie grewe by the haunte of the Englishe marchantes. Then was it founde by searche and enquirie, that within the towne of Andwerpe alone, there were fourtene thousande persons fedde and mayneteyned onely by the workinge of Englishe commodities, besides the gaines that marchantes and shippers with other in the sayd towne did gett, which was the greatest parte of their lyvinge, which were thoughte to be in nombre half as many more; and in all other places of his Netherlandes by the indrapinge of Englishe woll into clothe, and by the workinge of other Englishe comodities, there were thirtie thousande persons more mayneteyned and fedd; which in all amounteth to the nomber of lj.M. persons. And this was the reporte that was geven to this mightie Emperour, whereby the towne of Andwerpe and the Netherlandes were saved from the Inquisition. And in the

[63] This is a lost book. Emden was the capital of East Friseland. With reference to the removal of the English merchants at Antwerp to Emden, consult Strype's Life of Grindall, Oxford, cap, ix.

[64] No less than seven editions of Sleidan's *De quatuor monarchiis* were printed by the Elzeviers alone, a proof of the popularity of the work. An English translation by John Daus was published in London in 1560.

ende of the 45th article of the same discourse, also, he setteth down by particuler accompte howe the subjectes of the same Emperour in the Netherlandes dyd gaine yerely onely by the woll and wollen clothe that came eche yere oute of England, almoste vi.C.M. I say almoste sixe hundreth thousande poundes sterling, besides the gaines they had for sondry other thinges, that were of marvelous somes.

Six hundred thousand pounde gayned yerely by Englishe wolles.

Nowe if her Majestie take these westerne discoveries in hande, and plante there, yt is like that in shorte time wee shall vente as greate a masse of clothe yn those partes as ever wee did in the Netherlandes, and in tyme moche more; which was the opinion of that excellent man, Mr Roberte Thorne, extante in printe in the laste leafe savinge one of his discourse to Doctor Lea,[65] ambassador for King Henry the Eighte, in Spaine, with Charles the Emperour, whose wordes are these: And althoughe (saieth he) wee wente not into the said ilandes of spicerye, for that they are the Emperours or Kinges of Portingale, wee shoulde by the way, and comynge once to the lyne equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and spicerie, as all other landes are under [198] the said lyne equinoctiall; and also shoulde, yf wee may passe under the northe, enjoye the navigation of all Tartarye, which should be no lesse profitable to our comodities of clothe, then those spiceries to the Emperour and Kinge of Portingale.

This beinge soe, yt commeth to passe, that whatsoever clothe wee shall vente on the tracte of that firme, or in the ilandes of the same, or in other landes, ilandes, and territories beyonde, be they within the circle articke or withoute, all these clothes, I say, are to passe oute of this realme full wroughte by our naturall subjectes in all degrees of labour. And if it come aboute in tyme that wee shall vente that masse there that wee vented in the Base Countries, which is hoped by greate reason, then shall alt that clothe passe oute of this realme in all degrees of labour full wroughte

[65] Reprinted in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," 1582.

by the poore natural subjectes of this realme, like as the quantitie of our clothe dothe passe that goeth hence to Russia, Barbarie, Turkye, Persia, &c. And then consequently it followeth, that the like nomber of people alleaged to the Emperour shal be sett on worke in England of our poore sujectes more then hath bene; and so her Majestie shall not be troubled with the pitefull outecryes of cappers, knytters, spynners, &c.

And on the other side wee are to note, that all the comodities wee shall bringe thence wee shall not bringe them wroughte, as wee bringe now the comodities of Fraunce and Flaunders, &c. but shall receave them all substaunces unwroughte, to the ymployemente of a wonderfull multitude of the poore subjectes of this realme in returne. And so to conclude, what in the nomber of thinges to goe oute wroughte, and to come in unwroughte, there nede not one poore creature to steale, to starve, or to begge as they doe.

Objection. Aunswer.

And to answer objections; where fooles for the swarminge of beggars alleage that the realme is too populous, Solomon saieth, that the honour and strengthe of a prince consisteth in the multitude of the people. And if this come aboute, that worke may be had for the multitude, where the realme hath nowe one thousande for the defence thereof, the same may have fyve thousande. For when people knowe howe to live, and howe to maynetayne and feede their wyves and children, they will not abstaine from mariage as nowe they doe. And the soile thus aboundinge with come, fleshe, mylke, butter, cheese, herbes, rootes, and frutes, &c., and the seas that envyron the same so infynitely aboundinge in fishe, I dare truly affirme, that if the nomber in this realme were as greate as all Spaine and Ffraunce have, the people beinge industrious, I say, there shoulde be founde victualls ynoughe at the full in all bounty to suffice them all. And takinge order to cary hence thither our clothes made in hose, coates, clokes, whoodes, &c., and to returne thither hides of their owne beastes, tanned and turned into shoes and bootes, and other skynnes of goates,

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whereof they have store, into gloves, &c., no doubte but wee shall sett on worke in this realme, besides sailers and suche as shalbe seated there in those westerne discovered contries, at the leaste C.M. subjectes, to the greate abatinge of the goodd estate of subjectes of forreine princes, enemies, or doubtfull friends, and this *absque injuria*, as the lawyers say, albeit not *sine damno*. And having a vente of lynnen, as the Spaniardes have in the rest of that firme, wee may sett our people, in making the same, infinitely on worke, and in many other thinges besides; which time will bringe aboute, thoughe nowe, for wante of knowledge and full experience of this trade, wee cannot enter into juste accompte of all particulers.

Chap. V. That this voyage will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine, and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weeks or three monethes every yere one or twoo C. saile of his subjectes shippes at the fyshinge in Newfounde Land.

The cause why the Kinge of Spaine, these three or foure yeres last paste, was at suche intollerable chardges in furnishinge oute so many navies to wynne Tercera, and the other small ilandes of the Azores adjacent to the same, was the opportunitie of the places in interceptinge his West India flete at their returne homewarde, as a matter that toucheth him indeede to the quicke. But the plantinge of twoo or three strong fortes upon some goodd havens (whereof there is greate store) betweene Florida and Cape Briton, woulde be a matter in shorte space of greater domage as well to his flete as to his westerne Indies; for wee shoulde not onely often tymes indaunger his flete in the returne thereof, but also [200]

in fewe yeres put him in hazarde in loosinge some parte of Nova Hispania.

Touchinge the fleete, no man (that knoweth the course thereof, comynge oute betwene Cuba and the Cape of Florida, alonge the gulfe or straite of Bahama) can denye that it is caried by the currant northe and northeaste towardes the coaste which wee purpose, God willinge to inhabite; which hapned to them not twoo yeres past, as Mr. Jenynges and Mr. Smithe, the master and masters mate of the shippe called the Toby, belonginge to Bristowe, infourmed me, and many of the chefest merchauntes of that citie, whereof they had particuler advertisement at Cadiz in Spaine a little before by them that were in the same flete the selfe same yere, and were in person driven upon the same coaste, and sawe the people, which they reported to be bigge men, somewhat in makinge like the Hollanders, and lighted on a towne upon a ryvers side, which they affirmed to be above a quarter of a mile in lengthe. Besides the current, it is also a thinge withoute controversie, that all southerne and south easterne windes inforce the Spanish flete returninge home nere or upon the aforesaide coaste, and consequently will bringe them into our daunger, after wee shallbe there strongly setled and fortified.

Wee are moreover to understande that the savages of Florida are the Spaniardes mortall enemyes, and wilbe ready to joyne with us againste them, as they joyned with Capitaine Gourgues, a Gascoigne, whoe beinge but a private man, and goinge thither at his owne chardges, by their aide wonne and rased the three small fortes, which the Spaniardes aboute xx'ti. yeres agoe had planted in Florida after their traiterous slaughter of John Ribault; which Gourgues slewe, and hanged upp divers of them on the same trees whereon the yere before they had hanged the Frenche. Yea, one Holocotera, brother to one of the kinges of the savages, leapinge upp on an highe place, with his owne handes slewe a Spanishe canonier as he was puttinge fire to a pece of ordynaunce; which storye is at large in printe sett furthe by Monsieur Poplynier in

his book intituled Trois Mondes.

Also, within the lande on the northe side of Nova Hispania, there is a people called Chichimici, which are bigg and stronge men and valiaunte archers, which have contynuall warres with the Spaniardes, and doe greately annoye them. The Spanishe histories which I have reade, and other late discourses, make greate mention of them. Yea, Myles Phillipps, who was xiiij. yeres in those partes, and presented his whole travell in writinge to her Majestie, confesseth this to be moste certaine.[66] [201]

Nowe if wee (being thereto provoked by Spanishe injuries) woulde either joyne with these savages, or sende or give them armor, as the Spaniardes arme our Irishe rebells, wee shoulde trouble the Kinge of Spaine more in those partes, then he hath or can trouble us in Ireland, and holde him at suche a bay as he was never yet helde at. For if (as the aforesaide Miles Phillipps writeth) yt be true, that one negro which fledd from his cruel Spanishe master is receaved and made capitaine of multitudes of the Chichimici, and daily dothe grevously afflicte them, and hath almoste enforced them to leave and abandon their silver mynes in those quarters, what domage mighte divers hundreds of Englishe men doe them, being growen once into familiaritie with that valiaunte nation.

And this is the greatest feare that the Spaniardes have, to witt, our plantinge in those partes and joyning with those savages, their neighbours, in Florida, and on the northe side of Nova Hispania. Which thinge an Englishe gentleman, Capitaine Muffett, whoe is nowe in Fraunce, tolde divers tymes this laste winter in my hearinge and others of credite, namely, that when he was in Spaine, prisoner, not longe since, he hearde the threasurer of the West Indies say, that there was no suche way to hinder his master, as to plante upon the coaste nere unto Florida, from whence by greate ryvers any man mighte easely passe farre upp

[66] See Myles Phillip's Voyage, *post*. Also consult Nicholas, *Pleasaunt Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India*, 1578, pp. 378-9.

into the lande, and joyne with his enemyes, whereof he stoode in contynuall feare; and said moreover, that that was the occasion why suche crueltie was used towardes John Ribaulte and his companie upon his seekinge to settle there.

The benefits of plantings aboute Cape Bryton or Newfounde lande.

Fynally, if wee liste not to come so nere Florida, this is a matter of no small momente, that if we fortifie ourselves about Cape Briton, nere Newfounde land, partely by the strengthe of our fortification, and partely by the aide of our navye of fishermen, which are already comaunders of others there, havinge our double forces thus joyned together, wee shalbe able upon every sooden to cease upon one or twoo hundreth Spanishe and Portingale shipps, which for tenne weekes or three monethes ate there on fisshinge every yere. This I say will be suche a bridle to him and suche an advantage vnto us, as wee cannot possibly ymagine a greater. And thus the Frenche served them in the time of Mounsieurs being in Flaunders, caryenge awaye oute of some harborowes three or foure Spanishe and Portingale shippes at ones; and more they woulde have taken, if our Englishmen, and, namely, one of myne acquaintaunce of Ratclife, had not defended them. And hither of necessitie they must yerely repaire, beinge not able to make their provision for land and sea of fishe in any place els, excepte on the coaste of Ireland, and at Cape Blancke in Africa, which twoo are nothinge worth in comparison to this thirde place.

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So shall wee be able to crye quittance with the King of Spaine if he shoulde goe aboute to make any generall arreste of our navye, or rather terrifie him from any such enterpryse, when he shall bethincke himself that his navye in Newfounde lande is no lesse in our daunger, then ours is in his domynions wheresoever.

Chap. VI. That the mischiefe that the Indian treasure wroughte in time of Charles the late Emperor, father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideration of the Queens most excellent Majestie, leaste the contynuall comynge of the like treasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this realme, whereof already we have had very daungerous experience.

It is written in the xxxth. article of the discourse before specified, dedicated to the twoo younge Erles of Emden, as followeth, verbatim: With this greate treasure did not the Emperour Charles gett from the French Kinge the Kingdome of Naples, the Dukedome of Myllaine, and all other his domynions in Italy, Lombardy, Pyemont, and Savoye? With this treasure did he not take the Pope prisoner, and sack the sea of Rome? With this treasure did he not take the Frenche Kinge prisoner, and mayneteyne all the greate warres with Fraunce, since the yere of our Lorde 1540. to the yere of our Lord 1560. as is declared in the 12. and 13. article of his booke? With this treasure hath he not mayneteyned many cities in Italie, as well againste the Pope as againste the Frenche Kinge, as Parma, Florence, and such other? With this treasure did he not overthrowe the Duke of Cleave, and take Gilderland, [203] Groyningelande, and other domynions from him, which oughte to be a goode warninge to you all, as it shall be most plainly and truly declared hereafter? With this treasure did he not gett into his handes the Erledome of Lingen in Westfalia? With this treasure did he not cause the Erie of Esones, your subject, to rebell againste your Graces father and againste you? The cause you knowe beste. And what works this treasure made amongest the princes and townes in Germany, when the Duke of Saxony and the Launtzgrave Van Hessen were taken, Sleydan, our owne

countryman, by his Chronicle declareth at large. And did not this treasure, named the Burgundishe asse, walke and ronne in all places to make bothe warr and peace at pleasure? And tooke he nothinge from the Empire then? Yes, truly, to moche, as you shall heare. When the Emperor Charles was firste made Emperour, what were the townes and contries in the Netherlandes that justly or properly came to him by birthe or inheritaunce? There was Brabant, Flaunders, Holland, Zeland, Artoys, and Henego. And yet there is a greate question concerninge Holland, howe the Emperour Charles and his progenitors came by yt, and what homage and duetie they oughte to doe for the same; because thereby the house of Burgundy hath the mouthe of the River Rhene at their commaundemente, which is to the greate losse, domage, and daunger of Germanye, as hereafter shalbe declared. Here be all the contries that belonged to the house of Burgundie when the Emperour Charles was made Emperour. But howe moche hath bene added to the Netherlandes since by him, contrary to his oathe made? That are these townes and contries, as yt appereth in Sleydans Chronicle; viz. Lutzenburge, Lymeburge, Gelderlande, the Erldome of Sutphen, the Citie and Straite of Vtright,[67] with all the landes in Over Isel, West Frizeland, the Citie of Groninge, and Groininge land. And, as before it is saied, he hath by pollicie gotten into his handes the Erldome of Lingen, standinge in Westfalia; and by the like pollicie, with money, he is become the defender of the Erledome of Esons, which is parcell of your Graces contrie of East Frizeland. All these contries and townes, with the treasure of the Netherlandes, hath he taken from the Empire.

Thus farr procedeth this excellent man in describinge howe
[204] Charles the Emperour employed his treasure to the afflictinge and oppressinge of moste of the greatest estates of Christendome. The effecte of these treasures which he had oute of the West

[67] Utrecht.

Indies, Peter Martir of Angleria, in the epistle dedicatory of his Decades to the said Emperour Charles, truly prognosticated in the begynnynge, before hand, where he writeth thus unto him: Come therefore and embrace this newe worlde, and suffer us no longer to consume in desire of your presence. From hence, from hence (I say), moste noble younge Prince, shall instrumentes be prepared for you whereby all the worlde shalbe under your obeysaunce.

And in very deede it is moste apparaunte that riches are the fittest instrumentes of conqveste, and that the Emperour turned them to that use.

Kinge Phillipps injuries offred by his treasures.

To leave the father and come to the sonne, hath not Kinge Phillippe employed his treasure as injuriously to all princes and potentates of Europe? Is it not he that with his Indian treasure corrupted the *Quinqueviri* in Portingale, that in the interregnum were appointed overseers of the comon wealthe, and so hath joyned that kingdome to his, with all the ilandes, townes, domynions belonginge to that crowne? Is it not he that with his treasure hath gon aboute to hier some ungodlye murderer to make away with Don Antonio, one while by open proclamation, and another while *sotto capo*, under hande? Is it not he that by his treasure hathe hired at sondry times the sonnes of Beliall to bereve the Prince of Orange of his life?[68] And hath he not suborned by hope of rewarde other moste ungodly persons to lay violent handes upon other Christian princes? Hath not he these many yeres geven large pensions to nombers of English unnaturall rebelles? Doth he not support the semynaries of Rome and Rhemes to be thornes in the sides of their owne comon wealthes? Hath not he divers tymes sente forren forces into Ireland, furnished with money, armor, munition, and victualls?

[68] These baseless assertions of complicity on the part of Phillip in the attempts on the life of William of Nassau, only prove the bitter prejudices of the Protestant party. I am surprised to find Dr. Deane, in a note on this passage, endorsing Hakluyt's unfounded charges.

Hath not he sente rounde somes of money into Scotland, both to the Kinge and those that are aboute him, to alter the estate there and to trouble oures? And is it not knowen that this Spanishe
[205] asse rometh upp and downe laden throughe all Fraunce, and, when it coulde not enter into the papistes gates, yt hath soughte to enter into the courtes of the princes of the Relligion, to renewe the late intermitted civile warres? What it hath done and nowe dothe in all the Empire and the Lowe Contries, and is like to worke in other places unlesse speedy order be taken to hinder it, is described at large by Mounsieur de Aldegonde, a Germaine gentleman, in a pithie and moste earnest exhortation (extant in Latine, Italian, Frenche, Englishe, and Duche) concerninge the estate of Christendome, together with the meanes to defend and preserve the same, dedicated to all Christian kings, princes, and potentates.[69]

Chap. VII. What speciall meanes may bringe Kinge Phillippe from his highe throne, and make him equall to the princes his neighboures; wherewithall is shewed his weakenes in the West Indies.

Firste, it is to be considered that his domynions and territories oute of Spaine lye farr distant from Spaine, his chefest force; and fair distante one from another; and are kepte by greate tyrannie; and *quos metuunt oderunt*. And the people kepte in subjection desire nothinge more then freedome. And like as a little passage given to water, it maketh his owne way; so give but a small menne to suche kepte in tyranie, they will make their owne way to libertie; which way may easely be made. And entringe into the consideration of the way how this Phillippe may be abased, I

[69] Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde was born at Brussels in 1538. Died 1598. He was at one time Ambassador to England.—See Motley's United Netherlands, I. 145.—C.D.

meane firste to begynne with the West Indies, as there to laye a chefe foundation for his overthrowe. And like as the foundation of the strongest holde undermyned and removed, the mightiest and strongest walles fall flatt to the earthe; so this prince, spoiled or intercepted for a while of his treasure, occasion by lacke of the same is geven that all his territories in Europe oute of Spaine slide from him, and the Moores enter into Spaine it selfe, and the people revolte in every forrein territorie of his, and cutt the throates of the proude hatefull Spaniardes, their governours. For this Phillippe already owinge many millions, and of late yeres [206] empaired in credite, bothe by lacke of abilitie of longe tyme to pay the same, and by his shameful losse of his Spaniardes and dishonors in the Lowe Contries, and by lacke of the yerely renewe of his revenewe, he shall not be able to wage his severall garrisons kepte in his severall frontiers, territories, and places, nor to corrupte in princes courtes, nor to doe many feates. And this weyed, wee are to knowe what Phillip ys in the West Indies; and that wee be not abused with Spanish braggs, and made to beleve what he is not; and so, drawen into vain feare, suffer fondly and childishly our owne utter spoile. And therefore wee are to understande that Phillippe rather governeth in the West Indies by opinion, then by mighte; ffor the small manred of Spaine, of itself being alwayes at the best slenderly peopled, was never able to rule so many regions, or to kepe in subjection such worldes of people as be there, were it not for the error of the Indian people, that thincke he is that he is not, and that doe ymagine that Phillippe hath a thousande Spaniardes for every single naturall subjecte that he hath there. And like as the Romaynes, allured hither into Britaine, perced the Iland, and planted here and there in the mouthes of rivers and upon straites, and kepte colonies, as at Westchester upon the River of Dee, at York upon the River of Owse, and upon the Rivers of Thames and Severne, and yet in truthe never enioyed more of the contries rounde aboute then the Englishe, planted at Bulloine and Calice, did of the Frenche soile

adjoyninge, nor in effecte had the Brittishe nation at comaundement; even so hath the Spaniarde perced the Indies, and planted here and there very thinlye and slenderlye, withoute havinge the Indian multitude in subjection, or in their townes and fortes any nomber to holde any of them againste the meanest force of a prince; so as in truthe the Spaniarde ys very weake there. And it is knowen to Sir Fraunces Drake, and to Mr. Hawkins, and Miles Phillipps (which Miles lyved xiiij. yeres in Nova Spania), and to dyvers others of her Majesties subjectes besides that have been there, that the ilandes there abounde with people and nations that rejecte the proude and bluddy government of the Spaniarde, and that doe mortally hate the Spaniarde. And they also knowe that the Moores, and suche as the Spaniardes have broughte thither for the mynes and for slavery, have fledd from them into the inlandes, and of them selves maineteine in many places frontier warres againste the Spaniarde, and many tymes so prevaile, and especially of late, that the Spaniardes have bene inforced to sende the Spanishe marchauntes them selves into the warres, althoughe yt be againste the speciall priviledges graunted by Charles, the late Emperour, to the marchauntes, as may plainely appere by Spanishe marchauntes letters taken by Sir Fraunces Drake passinge in the sea of Sur towarde Panama, to be conveyed into Spaine. And it is thoughte that Sir Fraunces Drake and some other Englishe are of so greate credite with the Symerons and with those that mayneteyne those frontier warrs, that he mighte, bringinge thither a fewe capitaines and some of our meaner souldiers late trayned in the Base Contries, with archers and lighte furniture, &c., bringe to passe that, joyninge with those inland people, Kinge Phillippe mighte either be deprived of his governmente there, or at the leaste of the takinge of his yerely benefite of the mynes. Thus with small chardge and fewe men, nowe and then renewinge this matter by a few sailes to be sent thither for the comforte of suche as shalbe there resident, and for the incouragemente of the Symerons, greater

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effecte may followe then by meetinge with his golden flete, or by takinge of his treasures once or twise at the sea; for by this meanes, or by a platforme well to be sett downe, England may enjoye the benefite of the Indian mynes, or at the leaste kepe Phillippe from possessinge the same.

Hereunto yf wee adde our purposed westerne discoueries, and there plante and people ryally, and fortifie strongly, and there builde shippes and maineteine a navy in special porte or portes, wee may by the same either encounter the Indian fleete, or be at hande as it were to yelde freshe supplye, courage, and comforte, by men or munition, to the Chichimici and the Symerons, and suche other as shalbe incited to the spoile of the mynes; which in tyme will, if it be not looked to, bringe all princes to weake estate, that Phillippe, either for religion or other cause, dothe hate; as the aforesaide Monsieur de Aldegond, in his pithie and moste earneste exhortation to all Christian kinges, princes, and potentates to beware of Kinge Phillipps ambitious growinge, dothe wisely and moste providently forwarne.

To this may be added (the realme swarming with lustie youthes that be turned to no profitable use), there may be sente bandes of them into the Base Contries in more rounde nombers then are sente as yet. For if he presently prevaile there, at our doores, [208] farewell the traficque that els wee have there (whereof wise men can say moche). And if he settle there, then let the realme saye adewe to her quiet state and safetie.

If these enter into the due consideration of wise men, and if platformes of these thinges be sett downe and executed duelye and with spede and effecte, no doubte but the Spanishe empire falles to the grounde, and the Spanishe kinge shall be lefte bare as Aesops proude crowe, the peacocke, the perot, the pye, and the popingey, and every other birde havinge taken home from him his gorgeous fethers, he will, in shorte space, become a laughinge stocke for all the worlde; with such a mayme to the Pope and to that side, as never hapned to the sea of Rome by

the practise of the late Kinge of famous memory, her Majesties father, or by all the former practises of all the Protestant princes of Germanie, or by any other advise layde downe by Monsieur de Aldegond, here after by them to be put in execution. If you touche him in the Indies, you touche the apple of his eye; for take away his treasure, which is *neruus belli*, and which he hath almoste oute of his West Indies, his olde bandes of souldiers will soone be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strengthe diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed.

Chap. VIII. That the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the West Indies be nothinge so large as is generally ymagined and surmised, neither those partes which he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsly geven oute by the Popishe clergie and others his fautors, to terrifie the princes of the relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

As the Secretary of Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale, called Custodio Etan, tolde me lately at Paris, that the Portingales never had in Guinea, Bresill, and all the Easte Indies above twelve thousande Portingale souldiers whensoever they had moste, which was confirmed by one of the Kinges capitaines borne in Goa, then presente; and that they governed rather by gevinge oute of greate rumors of power and by secrecie, then by any greate force which they had in deede; so the like is to be proved of the Kinge
[209] of Spaine in his West Indies; ffor he beinge in those partes exceedinge weake hath nothinge such nombers of people there as is geven oute, neither doe his domynions stretche so far as by the ignoraunte ys ymagined; which hereby easely may appere, seinge he hath no one towne or forte in actuall possession in all

Nova Hispania to the northe of the Tropick of Cancer, which standeth in 23. degrees and an halfe, excepte the towne of St. Helen and one or twoo small fortes in Florida; ffor as it is in the mappe of Culiacan, sett oute twoo yeres paste with all diligence by Ortelius, Saincte Michael ys the furthest towne nothwarde on the backside of America; and Panuco and Villa Sancti Jacobi are the moste northerly colonies upon the Bay of Mexico that the Spaniardes inhabite; as the aforesaide Ortelius witnesseth in his mapp of those partes sett oute this presente yere, 1584; which three townes above named are under or within the Tropicke of Cancer. And so the Kinge of Spaine hath no footinge beyonde the said tropicke; which is contrary to the opinion of the vulgar sorte, which ymagine, and by some are borne in hande, that all is his from the equinoctiall as farr as the lande stretcheth towardes the pooles.

Againe, that parte from the equinoctiall to the southe ys not inhabited by the Spaniarde any further then unto the Tropicke of Capricorne, as ys to be seene by the mappe of Peru this presente yere, 1584. published by Ortelius; neither is it peopled by the Spaniardes to any purpose savinge onely alonge the sea coaste. And howe weake they are there, and what simple shippinge they have, and howe dayly they be afflicted by the inhabitauntes, Sir Fraunces Drake can tell, and the letters by him intercepted doe declare. One Peter Benzo de Millano, which was fourtene yeres in those partes, writeth, that they holde greate townes, some with tenne, some with sixe, some with foure, and some with twoo souldiers, and that they commaunded that all the Italians, whome they called Levantines in contempte, shoulde departe those contries, fearinge they shoulde reveale their nakednes to the worlde, and encourage others to sett in footinge there.

Seinge then they suffer no people of Europe to inhabite there savinge onely Spaniardes, any reasonable man that knoweth the barenes, desolation, and wante of men in Spaine, together with these eightene yeres civill warres that hath wasted so many thou-

sandes of them in the Lowe Contries, must nedes confesse that
[210] they have very simple forces there. The provinces which he holdeth are indeede many, yet more denuded than ever was any empire since the creation of the worlde. Some of his contries are dispeopled, some barren, some so far asonder, also held by tyrannie, that in deed upon the due consideration of the matter, his mighte and greatenes is not suche as *prima facie* yt may seme to be. And weare yt not that he doth possesse suche at masse of treasure oute of the Indies, the Frenche kinge, of one onely kingdome, with his onely people of Fraunce, were able to drive him oute of all his domynions that he hath in the worlde.

The example of Antigonus.

It is written that Antigonus, beinge to fighte againste certaine of his enemyes, they appered a farr of to be so huge and mightie, that his souldiers were halfe afraied to encounter them; but, beinge incouraged by his valour, they easely overthrewe them in a conflicte; whereof he stripped one or twoo, which, beinge turned oute of their bombasted and large apparell, were in deede but very weakelinges and shrimpes; which, when he had shewed unto his souldiers, they were ashamed of themselves that ever they had bene afraied of suche wretches. So when wee shall have looked and narrowly pried into the Spanishe forces in America, wee shalbe doubtles ashamed of ourselves, that wee have all this while bene afraied of those dissemblinge and feble scarr crowes.

This which I say concerninge the weakenes of the Spaniardes in America may more easelie appere by this note followinge, gathered by an excellent Frenche capitaine moste experte and privie to the state and force of the islandes, havens, townes, and fortes of all that parte of America which lieth upon our ocean; which excedinge large coaste beinge so rarely and simply manned and fortified, wee may well assure ourselves that the inlande is mocha more weake and unmanned.

Chap. IX. The names of the riche townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the north side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of AMERICA, under the Kinge of Spaine.

1. Ouer againest the ilande of Margarita there is a towne called Cumana, wherein is great store of perle. There be divers boates belonginge to the towne, which onely dragge perles. This towne is the farthest eastwarde which the kinge hath on the north side [211] of India. It is environed with their enemyes, viz., the Indyans and Caribes. The victualls come from this towne to Margarita.

2. The next towne westwarde is Carakas, which is very riche of golde. This towne standeth upon the sea, and hath some victualls, but not plentie, and is environed likewise with the Indians, their mortall enemyes.

3. The towne Burborowate was destroyed by 50. Frenchemen, and the treasure taken awaye.

4. The nexte towne to the westwarde is called Coro, which hath greate plentie of golde and victualls. This standeth upon the sea. This is a civill contrie, and some of the Indians broughte to a civill governemente.

5. At Rio de Hacha there is a towne called Hacha, where is greate store of perle and silver, but no golde; and not farr from thence there is a perle house. There is plentie of victualls, the contrie civill, and some of the Indians at the Spaniardes comaundement. Mr. John Hawkins told me he won this towne, and was master of yt three daies, in his laste voyadge.

6. Further westwarde is a towne called Santa Maren, alias Marta, where is greate store of golde, but little victualls. This is envyroned with Indians, enemies to the Spaniardes.

7. The nexte towne is Carthagena, where is greate store of silver, golde, and precious stone. This towne hath a nomber of

Indians and Symerons to their enemyes. There is also greate store of victualls.

8. The nexte towne thereunto is Nombro di Dios. To this towne cometh all the golde, perle, stone, and jewells that cometh from Chile, Peru, and Panama oute of the Southe Sea. To this towne cometh halfe the fleete, which taketh in halfe their treasure, and goeth to Havana, and so throughe the Gulfe of Bahama unto the Ilandes of Corvo, Flores, and the Azores, and from thence into Spaine. This towne hath no victualls but such as cometh from Panama and the ilandes by sea. By this towne is a gulfe called Gulnata, where the Symerons and Indians have certaine townes, and kepe warres dayly with the Spaniardes as well as the Indians. At the southende of the gulfe there is not paste five legues over lande into the South Sea.

9. The nexte towne is called Vraga, alias Var, where is moche golde and small store of victualls. This is a civill contrie nere to
[212] the towne; the nexte is Nicaragua.

10. At Nicaragua is moche golde that cometh out of the Southe Sea, and there is a place where they make their frigotts. There ys little victualls; the people are civill.

11. In the Bay of Hondoras is a towne called Hondoras, alias Tres Islas, where is golde and hides and greate store of victualls. This towne standeth upon an hill very strongly, and is but simply manned. This towne hath within a mile great plentie of Indians, which are at warr with the Spaniardes.

12. Then there is a towne called Porto de Cavallos, where is store of silver, stones, perles, jewells made and sett with precious stones and perles. To this towne come yerely twoo shippes, that goe from thence to the Havana, and so into Spaine with all their riches. This towne is full of victualls. This porte of Cavallos adjoyneth to the Gulfe Dowse.[70]

13. All the Bay of Mexico is full of Indian townes and full of

[70] Golfo Dulce.

victualls. There is one towne named Vera Crux, to which towne cometh all their treasure, from the citie of Mexico, and from thence to the porte of St. John de Vlloa, from thence to Havana, and so into Spayne.

14. In Florida the Spaniardes have one towne, called Sancta Helena, where they have perles, silver, and greate store of victualls. The Floridians be a gentle sorte of people, and used somtymes to heade their arrowes with silver.

15. There is one principall place called Rio de Jordan, alias Rio de Maio, where, in an iland, standeth a forte which was Ribaults; which river ronneth throughe the lande into the Southe Sea, from whence greate plentie of treasure is brought thither. There are small pynnesses that use the same river. It is also thoughte that shippes come from Cathaio to the southwest ende of the said river. This is very full of victualls. There was note by Peter Melanda of a river cutt from the Citie of Mexico to Rio de Maio,[71] so that moche treasure is broughte from thence to this forte with small pynnesses.

A speciall note of a passage.

All that parte of America eastwarde from Cumana unto the River of St Augustine in Bresill, conteyneth in lengthe alongest to the sea side xxj. C. miles, in whiche compasse and track there is neither Spaniarde, Portingale, nor any Christian man, but onely the Caribes, Indians, and sauages. In which places is greate plentie of golde, perle, and precious stones.

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On the coaste of Bresill is one goodly ile called Trinidada, conteyninge C. xx'ti. miles in lengthe, and lxxv. miles in bredthe, and is onely inhabited by gentle Indians and sauages borne in the said ilande. In this ilande is greate plentie of maiz, venison, fishe, wooddes, and grasse, with divers faire frutes and other comodities. Yt hath also divers goodly havens to harborowe yn, and greate stoare of tymber for buildinge of shippes. With the kinge of this ilande wee are in league.

The Frenche.

[71] No such river was ever cut.—C.D.

Chap. X. A brefe declaration of the chefe ilandes in the Baye of Mexico, beinge under the Kinge of Spaine, with their havens and fortes, and what comodities they yelde.

There ys one ilande, as the fleete cometh into the baye, named Margarita,[72] wherein is greate store of perle; a riche ilande full of maiz (which is their corne), oxen, shepe, goates, fowle and fishe, greate store of frutes, grasse and woods.

Ouer againste the said islande, northewarde, there is one other iland named St. John de Porto Ricco, which hath store of all manner of victualls and suger.

The nexte is a faire iland called Hispaniola, in some parte well inhabited; havinge one citie called Sancto Domingo, which hath a faire hauen[73] whereunto many of the shippes of the kinges fleete come, and there devide themselves. Some goe to St. John de Leu, and some to Nombro di Dios and other partes of the mayne lande. This is a frutefull iland for all manner of victuall, hides and suger.

The nexte ilande is called Jamaica, and hath in it great store of victualls.

The nexte is a faire, greate, and longe iland, called Cuba. This iland hath a forte and haven in it called the Havana, which is
[214] the key of all India. It is called the key of India, for that the Spaniardes cannot well returne into Spaine but that they muste touche there for victualls, water, woodde, and other necessaries. It lieth at the mouthe and entraunce into the Gulfe of Bahama. This ilande hath great plentie of victualls, but it is not greately inhabited.

[72] Off the cost of Venezuela.
[73] Port-au-Prince.

There be divers other ilandes, riche for victualls, as Aeriaba, Corsal, Marigalante,[74] &c., havinge not in them some xx. some x. Spaniardes a pece.

Thus you see that in all those infinite ilandes in the Gulfe of Mexico, whereof Cuba and Hispaniola are thoughte to be very nere as bigge as England and Ireland, wee reade not of past twoo or three places well fortified, as Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola, and Havana in Cuba. I may therefore conclude this matter with comparinge the Spaniardes unto a drone, or an emptie vessell, which when it is smitten upon yeldeth a greate and terrible sound, and that afarr of; but come nere and looke into them, there ys nothinge in them; or rather like unto the asse which wrapte himselfe in a lyons skynne, and marched farr of to strike terror in the hartes of the other beastes, but when the foxe drewe nere he perceaved his longe eares, and made him a jeste unto all the beastes of the forrest. In like manner wee (upon perill of my life) shall make the Spaniarde ridiculous to all Europe, if with pierceinge eyes wee see into his contemptible weakenes in the West Indies, and with true stile painte hym oute *ad vivum* unto the worlde in his fainte colours.

And if any man woulde objecte, that if by his weakenes he had loste the treasure of the West Indies, yet the riches of the Easte Indies woulde holde upp his heade; I answer, that those contries beinge so farr of, and suche naturall malice beinge betweene the Portingale and the Spaniarde, as greater cannot be, that it is not possible for him to holde those partes no more than the other, wantinge the treasure of the West Indies to supporte his garrisons both there and in Christendome againste his manifolde and mightie enemyes.

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[74] It is strange the Hakluyt should omit St. Vincent, Dominica, Guadeloupe, etc., and mention such small islands as Marigalante. The other two islands named are probably Urala and Curasoa.

Chap. XI. That the Spaniardes have exercised moste outragious and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the West Indies, whereby they are every where there become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne with us or any other moste willinglye to shake of their moste intolerable yoke, and have begonne to doe yt already in divers places where they were lordes heretofore.

So many and so monstrous have bene the Spanishe cruelties, suche straunge slaughters and murders of those peaceable, lowly, milde, and gentle people, together with the spoiles of townes, provinces, and kingdomes, which have bene moste ungodly perpetrated in the West Indies, as also divers others no lesse terrible matters, that to describe the leaste parte of them woulde require more than one chapiter, especiall where there are whole bookes extant, in printe, not onely of straungers, but also even of their owne contreymen (as of Bartholmewe de las Casas, a bisshoppe in Nova Spania); yea such and so passinge straunge and excedinge all humanitie and moderation have they bene, that the very rehersall of them drave divers of the cruel Spanishe, which had not bene in the West Indies, into a kinde of extasye and maze, so that the sayenge of the poet mighte therein well be verified:—

Quis talia fando,
Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlissis,
Temperet a lachrimis?

Nevertheless I will repeate oute of that mightie masse and huge heape of massacres some fewe, that of them you may make an estymate of the rest, and consider what small remainder of those moste afflicted Indians have to revolte from the obedience of the Spaniardes, and to shake of from their shoulders the moste intollerable and insupportable yoke of Spaine, which in many places they have already begonne to do of themselves, withoute the helpe of any Christian prynce.

Nowe because these moste outeragious and infinite massacres are put downe by Don Bartholmewe de las Casas, the bisshoppe above mentioned, and dedicated to Kinge Phillippe that nowe ys, which author testifieth that to his inspeakable grefe he was an eye witnesse of many of them, therefore it seemeth best unto me to bringe him in, which in his firste chapiter describeth the same [216] in manner followinge:—

Upon these lambes (meaninge the Indians), so meke, so qualified and endewed of their Maker and Creator, as hath bene said, entred the Spanishe, incontinent as they knew them, as wolves, as lyons, and as tigres moste cruell, of longe tyme famished; and have not don in those quarters these forty yeres be paste, neither yet doe at this presente, oughte els then teare them in peces, kill them, martir them, afflicte them, tormente them, and destroye them by straunge sortes of cruelties, never either seene or reade or hearde of the like (of the which some shalbe sett downe hereafter); so farr forthe as of above three millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that wee have seene there, there are not nowe twoo hundreth natives of the contrie. The Ile of Cuba, which is as farr in lengthe as from Valladolid untill Rome, ys at this day, as it were, all waste. St John's Ile, and that of Jammaica, bothe of them very greate, very fertile, and very faire, are desolate. Likewise the Iles of Lucayos nere to the Ile of Hispaniola, and of the north side unto that of Cuba, in nomber beinge above three score ilandes, together with those which they call the Iles of Geant, one with another greate and little, whereof

the very worste is fertiler then the kinges garden at Civill, and the contrie the helthsomest in the worlde. There were in some of these isles more then five hundred thousande soules, and at this day there is not one only creature; for they have bene all of them slaine, after that they had drawen them oute to labor in their myneralls in the Ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more lefte of the inborne natives of that iland. A shippe ridinge for the space of three yeres betwixte these ilandes, to the ende that after the wyninge of this kinde of vintage to gleane and cull the remainder of these folke (for there was a goodd Christian moved with pitie and compassion to converte and wynne unto Christe suche as mighte be founde), there were not founde but eleven persons, which I sawe. Other iles, more than thirtie, nere to the Ile of St. John, have likewise bene dispeopled and massacred. All those iles conteyne above twoo thousande leagues of lande, and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

As touchinge the mayne firme lande, wee are certaine that our Spaniardes, by their cruelties and cursed doinges, have dispeopled and made desolate more then tenne realmes greater then
[217] all Spaine, comprisinge therein also Arragon and Portingale; and twise as moche or more lande than there is from Civill to Jerusalem, which are above a thousand leagues; which realmes yet, up to this presente day, remain in a wildernes and utter desolation, havinge bene before time as well peopled as was possible.

We are able to yelde a goodd and perfecte accompte, that here is, within the space of forty yeres, by these said tyranies and devilishe doinges of the Spaniardes, don to deathe unjustly and tyranously more then twelve million soules, men, women, and children. And I verely doe believe, and thinke I doe not mistake therein, there are deade more then fiftene millions of soules.

Thus havinge hearde of the multitudes of soules slayne, you shall heare the manner of their slaughter.

In the chapiter of Hispaniola it thus followeth:

Nowe after sondry other forces, violences, and tormentes which they wroughte againste them, the Indians perceaved that those were no men descended from heaven. Some of them, therefore, hidd their victualls, others hidd their wives and their children. Some other fledd into the mountaines to seperate themselves afarr of from a nation of so harde natured and ghastly conversation. The Spaniardes buffeted them with their fistes and bastianadoes, pressinge also to lay their handes on the lordes of the townes. And these cases ended in so greate an hazarde and desperatnes, that a Spanishe capitaine durste adventure to ravishe forcibly the wife of the greatest kinge and lorde of this ile. Since which time the Indians began to searche meanes to caste the Spaniardes oute of their landes, and sett themselves in arms. But what kinde of armes! Very weake and feble to withstande or resiste, and of lesse defence. Wherefore all their warres are no more warres, then the playenge of children when as they playe at *jogo de cane* or reedes. The Spaniardes with their horses, speares, and launces, began to comitt murders and straunge cruelties. They entred into townes, burroughes, and villages, sparinge neither children nor olde men, neyther women with childe, neither them that laye in; but they ripped their bellies and cutt them in peces, as if they had bene openinge of lambes shutt upp in their folde. They laied wagers with suche as with one thruste of a sworde, woulde paunche or bowell a man in the middest, or with one blowe of a sworde most readily and moste deliverly cut of his heade, or that woulde best perce [218] his entralls at one stroke. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, rampinge them from their mothers brestes, and crusshed their heades against the cliftes. Others they caste into the rivers, laughinge and mockinge; and when they tombled into the water, they saied: Nowe shifte for thy selfe suche a one's corps. They put others, together with their mothers, and all that they mett, to the edge of the sworde. They made certaine gibbetts longe and loughe, in such sorte that the feete of the hanged one touched

in a manner the grounde; every one enoughe for thirtene, in the honour and worshippe of our Saviour and his twelve apostles (as they used to speake), and setting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Unto all others, whome they used to take and reserve alive, cuttinge of their twoo handes as nere as mighte be, and so lettinge them hange, they saied: Go you with those letters to cary tydinges to those which are fled by the mountaines. They murdred commonly the lordes and nobilitie on this fashion: they made certen grates of perches laid on pitchforkes, and made a little fire underneathe, to the intente that by little and little, yellinge and despairinge in these tormentes, they mighte give up the ghoste. One time I sawe foure or five of the principall lordes roasted and broyled upon these gredyrons; also I thinke that there were twoo or three of the said gredyrons garnished with the like furniture. And for that they cried oute piteously, whiche thinge troubled the capitaine that he coulde not then slepe, he comaunded to strangle them. The serjeant, which was worse then the hangman, that burned them, (I knowe his name and frendes in Civill,) woulde not have them strangled, but hymselfe puttinge bulletts in their mouthes, to the ende they shoulde not crye, put to the fire, until they were softly roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaide thinges and others infinite. And forasmuche as all the people that coulde flee, hidd themselves in the mountaines and, mounted on the toppes of them, fledd from the men, so, withoute all manhodde, emptie of all pietie, behavinge themselves as savage beastes, the slaughterers and murderers of mankinde, they taughte their houndes, fierce doggs, to tear them in peces at the first viewe; and, in the space that one might say a *credo,* assailed and devoured an Indian as if it had bene a swine. These doggs wroughte greate destructions and slaughters. And forasmoche as somtymes (thougbe seldome) the Indian put to death some Spaniardes upon goodd righte and lawe
[219] of due justice, they made a lawe betwene them, that for one Spaniarde they had to slaye an hundred Indians.

Bishop Bartholomewe de las Casas an eye wytnes of these cruelties.

And thus farr oute of the large volume of Don Bartholomewe de las Casas, bisshoppe of the citie of Chiape in the West Indies, where he lyved many yeres.[75]

Johannes Metellus Sequanus.

Will you nowe heare one testymonie of Johannes Metellus Sequanus, whoe was a Papiste and favoured the Spanishe superstition; yet he writes as followeth in the preface of the Historie of Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis, fol. 16: At vero vt semel intelligatur quid Indos toties ad res nouas contra Hispanos moliendas, et seditiones tanta pertinacia fouendas impulerit, et quid causæ fuerit cur duo illa Christianæ Reipublicæ summa capita Indicæ nationis libertatem, frementibus quibusdam et inuitis dubio procul militibus Hispanis, sanctissimo suo calculo comprobarint, paucis nouorum dominorum in miseros immanitatem, deinde quorundam inexplebilem auaritiam, et ex his grauiores quosque tumultus, vnde noui orbis pene totius nunquam satis deploranda vastitas est sequuta, perstringam.

Principio quidem illud apud plerosque milites Hispanos, pessimo sane exemplo, in more positum fuit, vti ab oculatis et fide dignis testibus perscriptum est, vt seruos suos grauissime punirent, si mercedem diurnam aut non attulissent, aut pensum in auro argentoue effodiendo non absoluissent, aut si quid leuioris denique delicti perpetrassent. Etenim vesperi reduces, coenæ loco, primùm vestimentis exuebant, manibus dein pedibusque in transuerso palo reuinciebant: mox chorda bubaloue neruo dirissime verberabant. Sic tractatos, pice oleoue feruenti guttatim perfundebant; salita post aqua corpus abluebant, et in mensa tamdiu relinquebant, quamdiu dolorem ferre posse putarentur. Qui mos animaduertendi ipsis etiam in Christianos seruos domi familiaris esse dicitur. Post carnificinam huiusmodo, si durior dominus illis contigerat, viuos in totam noctem collo tenus defodiebant, presentissimum illud ad plagas remedium esse ludibrio dictitantes. Si quis ex illis præ dolore moreretur, id quod non

[75] This quotation is from the English translation, “The Spanish Colonie,” London, 1583.

raro accidit, dominus singula seruorum capita regi in occisorum
[220] locum sufficiens, ab homicidij poena liberabatur.

Hanc crudelitatem lege Baionæ, quam dicunt, quidem excusant; sed omnibus impia merito videtur, tanquam omnis pietatis expers. Quamobrem diabolicæ nomen inter Indos iure quidem obtinuit. Ad hanc autem immanitatem in miseros Indos excercendam nonnullos ingenita quædam naturæ sæuities, multis iam bellis exasperata, plerosque habendi sitis, impulit. Hinc Hispanus miles, quasi ad aucupium aut venationem, sic ad prædas hominum agendas, iam inde ab inuento nouo orbe ferri coepit. Aut igitur bello captos in seruitutem abripiebat, aut ex eorum mancipio magnam sibi pecuniæ vim conflabat, aut eos ad diurnas operas mittebat, quarum mercedem ab ijs quotidie perquam importunus exigebat. Fuere qui seruos fodinis manciparint, in quibus insolito labore fractæ, multæ seruorum myriades periere. Alij mercibus illos permutare soliti sunt, alioue modo distrabere. Idque tam inclementer et auare nonnulli fecerunt, vt Christianæ omnis humanitatis prorsus obliti, e continente abreptos vtriusque sexus hominis, nulla nec ætatis nec valetudinis habita ratione, nauibus in vicinas insulas transportarent. Eorum non pauci qui mari non assueuerant, et in sentinam abdebantur, et fame, foetore, et squallore crudeliter absorpti sunt. Quid? quod fæminæ complures ex Hispanis grauidæ, vna cum innoxio foetu pro ancillis sunt venditæ: Atque his quidem modis, militum aliqui ad summas opes peruenerunt. Alij magnas dignitates domi forisque sunt consequuti. Alij rem pecuniariam plurimorum damnis sic auxerunt, vt inuenti sint, qui octo pecudum millia possiderent. Hanc tam insignem nostrum hominum iniustitiam atque tyrannidem fieri non potuit, quin magni statim motus et bella, tam ab ipsis inter se, quam ab incolis in illos excitata sequerentur. After a longe beade roll of moste monstrous cruelties of the Spanishe nation in every place of the West Indies moste heynously committed, he concludeth yt thus: Tanta ergo fuit Hispani militis in India tyrannis, vt ea non solum Indos, verum etiam seruorum

Maurorum animos ad rebellionem impulerit. Dicuntur enim in exigua quadam insula ad septem millia defecisse. Quos Hispani initio securos et incautos facilime trucidassent, nisi suo malo vigilantiores factos precibus et pacifica legatione expugnare potius quam armis frustra tentassent. Multa denique fugitiui Mauri in Nominis Dei provinciæ siluis habitant; qui inita cum incolis amicitia, ferro, flammaque Hispanos vbicunque persequuntur, et inuentos frustatim dilacerant.

This, therefore, I gather of the premisses, that those contries whereof the Spaniarde ys lorde are partely ruinated, dispeopled, and laid waste by their incredible, and more then barbarous, and savage, endeles cruelties, and partely grevously infested by the Indians, Symerons, Moores, Chichimici revolted; and consequently he is easie to be driven thence, and turned out of all with moche lesser force then is commonly ymagined: for, Nullum violentum est diuturnum; et malus diuturnitatis custos est metus. [221]

The Spanishe monarchy is like unto the monarchy of Alexander the Greate.

And surely the more I thinke of the Spanishe monarchie, the more me thinketh it is like the empire of Alexander the Greate, which grewe upp sooddenly, and sooddenly vpon his deathe was rente and dissolved for faulte of lawfull yssue. In like manner the the Kinge of Spaine, nowe 59. yeres of age, as beinge borne in the yere of our Lorde 1526. in the moneth of May, and beinge subjecte to the fallinge sicknes, in common reason can be of no longe life; and leavinge no fitt yssue to wealde so greate a governemente, and a question risinge, whether his younge weake sonne, by his sister's daughter, be lawfull heire, they are like upon his deathe to fall together by the eares amongest themselves; and then, as men moste odious, not onely to the people of the West Indies, but also to all Christendome, and all the worlde beside, ys it not likely that euery province wil seke their libertie? And, to say the truthe, what nation, I pray you, of all Christendome loveth the Spaniarde, the scourge of the worlde, but from the teethe forwarde, and for advauntage? The Italians, which sometime were lordes of the earthe, in greate parte nowe broughte under

his vile yoke, doe many wayes shewe the utter mislike of their satanicall arrogancie and insollencies, and in all their playes and comedies bringe in the Spanishe souldier as a ravisher of virgins and wives, and as the boastinge Thraso and *miles gloriosus*; notinge to the worlde their insupportable luxuriousnes, excessive pride, and shamefull vaine glorie. The citie of Rome, beinge sackt by Charles the Emperour, the Pope and Cardinalls taken and ymprisoned, cannot brooke their doinges in their hartes. The Venecians stande daily in feare of them, almoste as moche as of the Turke, and doubte that, if they be not with spede restrained, they will inclose them and use them at their pleasure, beinge on bothe sides become almoste lordes of the mouthe of the Straites of Giberaulter. The Frenche, remembringe the takinge of their kinge prisoner, their crueltie in Florida, the late overthrowe of Strozzi and their fleete, their takinge of Tercera,
[222] and other disgraces, hate them for the moste parte worse then scorpions. The Princes of Germanie, the Duke of Saxonie, the Lantsgrave of Hassia, the Duke of Cleve, the Duke Cassimere, have susteyned wronges sufficient to make them his mortall enemies. His innumerable outrages in the Netherlandes have inforced the Flemynges to those termes which nowe they stande at. Their manifolde practises to supplant us of England give us moste occasion to bethincke ourselves, howe wee may abate and pull downe their highe myndes. The poore oppressed prince and people of Portingale doe watche nighte and day when to finde a conuenient occasion of defection. In fine, there is almoste no nation of Europe that may not say againste the Spaniarde with the poet: Distuleratque graues in idonea tempora poenas; and so, Eum multos metuere necesse est quem multi metuunt; and, Multorum odijs nulla respublica stare diu potest.

Chap. XII. That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie princes, or nere their contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde; that Ireland, beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and weste side, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, which by this trade shalbe in more securitie, and the sooner drawen to more civilitie.

In this voyadge wee may see by the globe that wee are not to passe throughe the frozen seas, but in a temperate climate unto a contrie muche like to those partes of Gascoigne and Guyen, where heretofore our nation for a longe tyme have inhabited. And it requireth not, as longe voyadges doe, the takinge in of freshe water by the way in divers places, by reason it may be sailed in five or sixe weekes. Whereby the marchante nede [not] to expecte twoo or three yeres for one returne, as in the voyadge of Sir Fraunces Drake, of Fenton and William Hawkins; but may receave twoo returnes every yere in the selfe same shippes, I saye, and well repose themselves at their arryvalls; which thinge I myselfe have seene and understoode in Ffraunce this presente yere don by the Frenchemen; whoe, settinge furthe in January, broughte their bancke fishe which they tooke on the Bancke, [223] forty or three-score leagues from Newefoundelande, to Roan, in greate quantitie, by the ende of May, and afterwarde retained this yere againe to the fisshinge, and are looked for at home towardes the fifte of November. To the spedy perfourmaunce of which voyadge this is a speciall furtheraunce: that whereas moste of our other voyadges of like lengthe require twoo or three sortes of windes at the leaste, one onely winde suffiseth to make this; which was no doubte the cause of the quicke returne of my frende

Stephen Bellinger of Roan, whoe departed from Newhaven in January was twelve moneths, arryved at Cape Briton in xxii daies space, and from thence discouered very diligently CC. leagues towardes Norumbega, and had traficque with the people in tenne or twelue places; founde a towne conteyninge fourescore houses, and returned home, with a diligent description of the coaste, in the space of foure monethes, with many comodities of the contrie, which he shewed me.

Moreover this passage is neither by the Straites of Giberaulter, nor on the coastes of Spaine, Portingall, Fraunce nor Flaunders, neither by the Sounde of Denmarke, nor Wardhouse in Norwey: so as in takinge our course on the highe seas wee shall not be in daunger of the corsaries in the Levant, nor of the gallies of Barbarie, nor of the Turke, nor of any state of Italie, neither of the Spaniarde, the Frenche, nor the Dane, nor of any other prince nor potentate within the Sounde in the northe, or in the northeaste partes of the worlde.

Wee may also trauell thither and perfourme the same at all tymes of the yere, with the like facilitie as our marchantes of Bristowe, Weymouthe, and other partes of the West Contries travell for woade to the iles of St. Mighell and Tercera (which are halfe the way thither) all the yere longe. For this coaste is never subjecte to the ise, which is never lightly seene to the southe of Cape Razo in Newfounde lande.

Besides this, in our way as wee passe to and froe, wee shall have in tempestes and other necessities the portes of Ireland to our aide, and no nerer coaste of any enemye. Moreover by the ordinary entercourse wee may annoye the enemyes to Ireland, and succour the Queens Majesties faithfull subjects, and drawe the Irishe by little and little to more civilitie, and in shorte tyme wee may yelde them from the coastes of America whatsoever comodities they nowe receave at the handes of the Spaniardes. So
[224] the Spaniardes shall wante the ordinarye victualls they receave every yere from thence, whereby they cannot contynue traficque,

nor fall so aptly to practize againste our governmente there as heretofore by their trade thither they have don and doe daily, to the greate expences of her Majestie, and no small indaungeringe and troublinge of our state.

And to conclude: in tradinge to these contries wee shall not nede, for feare of the Spanishe bloudy Inquisition, to throwe our bibles and prayer bookes over boorde into the sea before our arryvall at their portes, as these many yeres wee have don and yet doe, nor take suche horrible oathes as are exacted of our men by the Spanishe searchers, to suche dayly wilfull and highe offence of Almightie God, as we are driven to continually in followinge our ordinary trafficque into the Kinge of Spaines dominyons; whereof at large wee have spoken before in the seconde chapiter.

Chap. XIII. That hereby the revenewes and customes of Her Majestie, bothe outewarde and inwarde, shall mightily be inlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties which withoute expression may be raysed.

The manifolde testimonies, verbatim alleaged by me in the thirde chapiter, of John Ribault, John Verarsanus, Stephen Gomes, Vasques de Coronado, Jaques Cartier, Gasper Corterialis, and others, which all were the discoverers of the coaste and inlande of America betwene 30 and 63 degrees, prove infallibly unto us that golde, silver, copper, perles, pretious stones, and turqueses, and emraldes, and many other commodities, have bene by them founde in those regions. To which testimonies I shoulde have added many more yf I had not feared to be tedious. Nowe the fyfte parte of all these aforenamed comodities cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter, beinge yerely reserved unto her Majestie, accordinge to the tenor of the patent graunted by King Henry the Seaventh in the xj'th. yere of his raigne to John Gabote and his three sonnes, Lewes, Sebastian, and Sancius; the wordes

whereof it shoulde not be amisse here to sett downe, as they are printed in my booke of voyadges. These are the wordes: Ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis commodis, lucris, et
[225] obuentionibus ex huiusmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, prefatus Joannes et filij ac heredes et eorum deputati teneantur, et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti), deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, siue in mercibus, siue in pecuniis, persoluere.[76]

What gaines this imposition may turne unto the Crowne of England in shorte tyme wee may more then gesse, havinge but an eye to the Kinge of Spaines revenewes, which he nowe hath out of all his domynions in all the West Indies.

The like in all respectes may be saied of the revenewes of the Crowne of Portingale, which, beinge of itselfe one of the smallest and poorest kingdomes of all Christendome, became in shorte space so riche and honourable soone after their entringe into their southesterne discoveries, traficques, and conquestes, that, before the deathe of their late younge kinge Sebastian, their embassadors woulde strive and chalenge for the chefest place with the embassadores of the greatest kinges of Christendome; as I have hearde it dyvers tymes spoken at Paris at my lordes table by men of greate honour and experience, in which citie moste princes and states of Christendome have their embassadors comonly resident.

To leave them and to come to our nation, I say that amonge other meanes to encrease her Majesties customes this shalbe one, especially that by plantinge and fortifieinge nere Cape Briton, what by the strengthe of our shipps beinge harde at hande, and bearinge the sway already amongest all nations that fishe at Newfoundelande, and what by the fortes that there may be erected and

[76] Hakluyt here refers to his "Divers Voyages," published in 1582.

helde by our people wee shall be able to inforce them, havinge no place els to repaire unto so convenient, to pay us soche a contynual custome as shall please us to lay upon them; which imposition of twoo or three hundred shippes laden yerely with sondry sortes of fish, trane oyle, and many kyndes of furres and hides, cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter, beinge all to be levied upon straungers. And this not onely wee may exacte of the Spaniardes and Portingales, but also of the Frenche men, our olde and auncient enemyes. What shoulde I speake of the customes of the greate multitudes of course clothes, Welshe [226] frise, and Irishe ruggs, that may be uttered in the more northerly partes of the lande amonge the Esquimawes of the Grande Bay, and amonge them of Canada, Saguynay, and Hochelaga, which are subjecte to sharpe and nippinge winters, albeit their somers be hotter moche then oures. Againe, the multitudes of small yron and copper workes, wherewith they are exceedingly delighted, wilt not a little encrease the customes, being transported oute of the lande. I omitt the rehersall of a thousande other trifinge wares, which, besides they may sett many women, children, and ympotent persons on worke in makinge of them, woulde also helpe to the encreasinge of the customes. Lastly, whatsoever kind of commodyties shoulde be broughte from thence by her Majesties subjectes into the realme, or be thither transported oute of the realme, cannot choose but inlarge the revenewes of the Crowne very mightely, and inriche all sortes of subjectes in generally.

Chap. XIV. That this action will be for the greate increase, mayneteynaunce, and safetie of our navie, and especially of greate shippinge, which is the strengthe of our realme, and for the supportation of all those occupations that depende upon the same.

In the Statutes moste providently ordeyned for increase and maineteynaunce of our navigation in the Raignes of Kinge Richarde the Seconde, Kinge Henry the Seaventh, Kinge Henry the Eighth, and her Majestie that nowe ys, thoughe many and sundry rewardes were proposed to encourage our people unto the sea, yet still I fynde complaintes of decaye of the navye, notwithstanding so many goodly priviledges to mayneteine fisshermen, the ordeyninge of Wendisday to be a newe fishe day for the better utteraunce of their fishe that they shoulne take at sea, yea, albeit there hath bene graunted a certene proportionable allowaunce oute of the exchequer to suche as woulde builde any shippes of burden to serve the prince in tyme of warr, yet very little hath bene done in that behalfe. For, setting the Citie of London aparte, goe your waye into the west parte of England and Wales, and search howe many shippes of CC. tonnes and upwardes those partes can afforde, and you shall finde (God
[227] wotteth) no such nomber as at firste you did ymagine. At this day I am assured there are scarce twoo of CC. tones beloninge to the whole citie of Bristowe, and very fewe or none of the like burden alonge the channell of the Severne from Glocester to the Landes Ende on the one side, and Milforde Haven on the other. Nowe, remedie this greate and unknowen wante, no enterprise possibly can be devised more fitt to increase our great shippinge then this Westerne fortifienge and planting. For in this action wee are not to cut over the narrowe seas, in a day or a nighte, betwene Flaunders, Fraunce, or Ireland, in small barkes of xx. or xxx'ti. tonnes; but wee are to passe over the breste of the maine ocean, and to lye at sea a moneth or six weekes together, whereby wee shall be constrayned of our selves, withoute chardginge of the Prince, to builde greate shippes, as well to avoide the daunger of tempest as also for the commoditie of portage, whereunto the greater shippes in longe voyadges are moste conveniente, which the Portingales and Spaniardes have founde oute by longe experience, whoe for that cause builde shippes of v. vj. vij. viij.

C. and a M. tonnes, to sende into their Easterne and Westerne Indies.

The like whereof wee shalbe the rather invited to doe, since by this voyadge wee shall have many thinges for little or nothinge, that are necessarie for the furniture of greate shippinge. For beinge possessed of Newfounde lande, which the last yere was seazed upon in her Majesties name, wee may have tarr, rosen, mastes, and cordage for the very workemanshippe of the same. All which comodities cannot choose but wonderfully invite our men to the buildinge of greate shippinge, especially havinge store of the best shipwrights of the worlde, whereof some, for wante of employmente at home, have bene driven to flye into forren partes, as into Demarke. Moreover, in the judgemente of those that are experte in sea causes, yt will breed more skillfull, connynge, and stowte pilott and maryners then other belonginge to this lande. For it is the longe voyadges (so they be not to excessive longe, nor throughe intemperate clymates, as those of the Portingales into their West Indies) that harden seamen, and open unto them the secretes of navigation; the nature of the windes; the currentes and settinge of the sea; the ebbinge and flowinge of the mayne ocean; the influence of the sonne, the moone, and of the rest of the celestiall planetts, and force which they have at sondry seasons upon that mightie body; whiche skill in sea causes the Emperour Charles the Fyfte, knowinge howe mooche yt did ymporte his state, to the intent that it mighte better encrease amongest the Spaniardes, in great providence erected a lecture of the arte of navigation in Civill, and ordeyned that no man shoulde take chardge to the West Indies that had not hearde the Reader of the same for a certaine space, and, upon due examynation, were allowed as sufficient by him, and others adjoyded unto him as assistantes to examyn matters of experience; which order, if it had bene established in England, such grosse and insufficient felowes as he that caste away the Admirall of Sir Humfreyes company, with an C. persons in her,

[228]
A lecture of the arte of navigation.

to the west of Newfounde lande, this tyme twelve moneths, had not bene admittted to take so greate a chardge.

But to returne to the increase and mayneteynaunce of our shippes and shippmen; I say that this is not as the voyadge to Muscovy, which is open not paste foure monethes, but may be passed and repassed at our pleasure at all tymes of the yere, and so our maryners may be sett on worke all the yere longe. Neither is the trade likely to prove so small as that of Muscovy, wherein not past tenne shippes at the moste are employed ones a yere. For here there is a greate hope, the contrie beinge as bigge as all Europe, and nothinge in frutefulnes inferior to yt, as I have proved before at large in the thirde chapiter, that wee shall have twoo fleetes as bigge as those of the Kinge of Spaine to his West Indies, imployed twise in the yere at the leaste, especially after our fortifienge in the contrie, the certene place of our factory beinge there established; whereby yt muste nedes come to passe that our navye shalbe mightely increased and mayneteyned, which will not onely be a chefe strengthe and suertie in tyme of warres, as well to offende as defende, but will also be the mayneteynaunce of many masters, maryners, and seamen, whereby they their wyves, and children, shall have their lyvinges, and many cities, townes, villages, havens, and creeks nere adjoyninge unto the sea coaste, and the Queenes subjectes, as brewers, bowchers, smithes, ropers, shipwrights, tailors, shoemakers, and other victuallers and handicraftes men, inhabitinge and dwellinge nere thereaboutes, shall also have by the same greate parte of their lyvinge. For proofe thereof wee nede not to seeke any further then unto oure neighbours of Spaine and Portingale; whoe, since the firste discoverie of their Indies, have not onely mightely inlarged their domynions, marvellously enriched themselves and their subjectes, but have also by juste accompte trebled the nomber of their shippes, masters, and maryners,—a matter of no small moment and importance; insomoche that nowe, of late Kinge Phillippe hath made the Marques de la Cruz, which laste

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Marques de la Cruz Admyrall of the Ocean.

yere wonne Tercera, Graunde Admirall of the Ocean Sea, and Prince d'Oria of Genoa, Admirall in the Levant. A taste of this increase wee have had in our owne selves, even by our trade of fisshinge in Newfoundelande; which, as yt is well knowen, hath bene occasion, that in sondry places of this realme divers tall shippes have bene builte and sett furthe even of late daies; and more would be if, whereas nowe havinge but twoo moneths or tenne weekes of fisshinge, by this newe plantinge they mighte be drawen more south-westerly, where the speciall fisshing places are, bothe for plentie and greateness of fishe; and beinge oute of daunger and ympedimente of yse, they mighte fishe there safely the greatest parte of the yere, and by their nereness unto our fortes there, builte aboute Cape Briton, they mighte yelde succour unto them, and likewise by their neighbourhoode be themselves in more securitie.

A meane to avoid the sodden arrests of our navy.

Fynally, their shippes, their goodds, and their persons shoulde not be subjecte to soodden arrestes of straungers, as they are in all other trades of Christendome; but shoulde enjoye as greate freedome, libertie, and securitie as they usually doe in their native contrie; the havens, townes, and villages in those partes beinge occupied and possessed by their fellowe subjects; which freedome and liberty will greatly incourage them to contynewe constantly in this newe traficque.

Chap. XV. That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these laste luckye westerne discoveries, for feare of the danger of beinge prevented by other nations which have the like intention, with the order thereof, and other reasons therewithall alleaged.

Havinge by Gods goodd guidinge and mercifull direction atchieved happily this presente westerne discoverye, after the

seekinge the advauncemente of the kingedome of Christe, the seconde chefe and principall ende of the same is traficque, which
[230] consisteth in the vent of the masse of our clothes and other comodities of England, and in receaving backe of the nedeful comodities that wee nowe receave from all other places of the worlde. But forasmoche as this is a matter of greate ymportaunce, and a thinge of so greate gaine as forren princes will stomacke at, this one thinge is to be don, withoute which it were in vaine to goe aboute this; and that is, the matter of plantinge and fortificacion, withoute due consideration whereof in vaine were it to thinck of the former. And therefore upon the firste said viewe taken by the shippes that are to be sente thither, wee are to plante upon the mouthes of the greate navigable rivers which are there, by stronge order of fortification, and there to plante our colonies. And so beinge firste setled in strengthe with men, armour, and munition, and havinge our navy within our bayes, havens, and roades, wee shall be able to lett the entraunce of all subjectes of forren princes, and so with our freshe powers to encounter their shippes at the sea, and to renewe the same with freshe men, as the soodden feightes shall require; and by our fortes shalbe able to holde faste our firste footinge, and readily to annoye suche weary power of any other that shall seke to arryve; and shalbe able with our navye to sende advertisemente into England upon every soodden whatsoever shall happen. And these fortifications shall kepe the naturall people of the contrye in obedience and goodd order. And these fortes at the mowthes of those greate portable and navigable ryvers may at all tymes sende upp their shippes, barkes, barges, and boates into the inland with all the comodities of England, and returne unto the said fortes all the comodities of the inlandes that wee shall receave in exchange, and thence at pleasure convey the same into England. And thus settled in those fortes, yf the nexte neighboures shall attempte any annoye to our people, wee are kepte safe by our fortes; and wee may, upon violence and wronge offred by them, ronne upon

the rivers with our shippes, pynnesses, barkes, and boates, and enter into league with the petite princes, their neigbboures, that have alwayes lightly warres one with an other, and so entringe league nowe with the one, and then with the other, wee shall purchase our owne safetie, and make ourselves lordes of the whole.

Contrarywise, withoute this plantinge in due tyme, wee shall never be able to have full knowledge of the language, manners, and customes of the people of those regions, neither shall wee be able thoroughly to knowe the riches and comodities of the [231] inlandes, with many other secretes whereof as yet wee have but a small taste. And althoughe by other meanes wee mighte attaine to the knowledge thereof, yet beinge not there fortified and strongly seated, the French that swarme with multitude of people, or other nations, mighte secretly fortifie themselves before us, hearinge of the benefite that is to be reaped of that voyadge; and so wee shoulde beate the bushe and other men take the birdes; wee shoulde be at the chardge and travell, and other men reape the gaine.

To make this plaine by example, in the sixte leafe of the Italian edition of the Historie of Fernando Cortes, written by Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, is lively described the folly of John Grijalua for his not inhabitinge that goodd and riche contrie of Iucaton; which ymmediatly after he had neglected, the same Fernando Cortes tooke in hande and perfourmed, and gott all the honour and comoditie from him, leaving greate wealthe and honour to his posteritie, and to himself an everlastinge name. The story is thus: Giouan di Grigalua se n'ando a Yucatan, combattete con quelli Indiani di Ciapoton, et se ne ritorne ferito; entro nel fiume di Tauasco, che per questo si chiama ora Grijalua, nel qual riscatto o cambio per cose di poca valuta molto oro, robbe di cottone, et bellissime cose di penne; stette in San Giouanni di Vilhua, piglio possessione di quel paese per il Re, in nome del Gouernatore, Diego Velasquez: et cambio la sua merciaria per

pezzi di oro, coperte di cottone et penne; et si hauesse conosciuto la uentura sua, haueria fatto populatione in paese cosi ricco, come lo pregauano li suoi compagni et lui saria stato quello che dipoi il Cortes. Ma tanta uentura non era riseruata per chi non la conosceua ancora che si scusaua che lui non andaua per populare, se non per riscattare o permutare le cose che leuaua del Gouernatore; et discoprire se quella terra di Yucatan era isola o terra ferma. And if any man liste to knowe what intertainment he had of his uncle at his returne for not inhabitinge upon the present occasion, yt followeth in the ende of the same chapiter in these wordes: Et quando arriuo non lo uolse uedere il Gouernatore suo zio, che li fece quello che lui meritaua.

The like story wee have, fol. 298. of Franciscus Lopez de Gomera his Generall Historie of the West Indies, of Vasques de Coronado, which, after excedinge greate chardges bestowed
[232] for royall furnishinge furthe upon his voyadge to Ceuola and Quiuira, for wante of courage and for other priuate respectes, neglected plantinge there, had as colde welcome, at his dastardly and unconsiderate returne, of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, as Grijalua had of his uncle above mentioned. It is written thus of him after his returne from Quiuira:—

Cascò del cauallo in Tiguez Francisco Vasquez, e con il colpo usci di ceruello et disuariaua; questo caso alcuni credettero che fusse finto, altri n'hebbero grandissimo dolore; quelli che l'intendeuano a mala parte stauano male con lui per che non si metteua a popolare. And a little afterwarde: molto dispiacque a Don Antonio di Mendoza che fusero ritornati, per che haueua speso piu di sessanta milla pesi d'oro in quella impresa ... molti uolsero restare là, ma Francesco Vasquez di Coronado, che ricco era et nuouamente maritato con vna bellissima donna, non volse, dicendo che non si poteriano sustentarsi ne difendere in cosi povero paesa et tanto lontani del soccorso; caminarono presso a tre milla miglia di longo in questa giornata.

Notwithstandinge these colourable excuses and dispraisinges

of the contrie, yt is described by relation of his owne companions in this manner in the same leafe: à Quiuira in quaranta gradi à paesa temperato, di bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, purgne, more, noci, et melloni, et vue che maturano benissimo; non c'à cottone, et vestono pelle di vacche e caprioli.

The greate inconvenience of the delaye and neglecte of plantinge with spede of goodd contries newe discoured, beinge well weyed and foreseene by John Ribault, made him to plante and fortefie at his firste voyadge, thoughe it were with but thirtie men; which, that you may the better understande, together with the wise course and choice of place which oughte to be had in plantinge and seatinge at the firste, I will alleage his owne wordes which are in the laste leafe of his firste printed voyadge: Wherefore (my lorde), saith he, I truste you will not thincke it amisse (consideringe the comodities that may be broughte thence) yf we leave a nomber of men there, which may fortifie and provide themselves of thinges necessiarie; for in all newe discoveries it is the chefest thinge that may be don, at the begynnynge to fortifie and people the contrie. I had not so soone set furthe this to our companie, but many of them offred to tary there; yea, with suche a goodd will and jolly courage, that suche a nomber did offer themselves as wee had moche to doe to stay their opportunitie; [233] and namely, of our shippe masters and pilotts, and suche as wee woulde not spare. Howebeit, wee lefte there but to the nomber of 30 men in all, gentlemen, souldiers, and maryners, and that at their owne sute and prayer, and of their owne free willes, and by the advice and deliberation of the gentlemen sent on the behalfe of the Prince and yours. And I have lefte unto them for heade and ruler, followinge therein your pleasure, Capitaine Albert de la Pierria, a souldier of longe experience, and the firste that from the begynnynge offred to tary; and further, by their advise, choice, and will, inscaled and fortified them in an iland on the northe side thereof, a place of stronge scituation and commodious, upon a river which wee named Chenonceau,

and the habitation and fortres, Charles Forte. After wee had instructed and duly admonished them of what they should doe (as well for their manner of procedinge, as for the goode and lovinge behaviour of them), the xj'th. day of the moneth of June last paste wee departed from Porte Royall, &c.

The cause why these discoveries went not forward in King Henry the Seavenths tyme.

Nowe, to leave the Spaniardes and Frenche and to come to ourselves; seinge it hath pleased Almightie God at this instant to reveale unto her Majestie and the realme that once againe afreshe which was in part discovered by Sebastian Gabote and other this lande to her moste famous grandfather, Kinge Henry the Seaventh, was then lefte of and caste aside and not sufficiently regarded by occasion of the warres of Scotland, as Sebastian himself writes, and so hath bene intermitted for the space of aboute foure score and sixe yeares—if nowe the Queene, her Counsell, and other subjectes, shall never so little delaye the throughe managinge of the cause and enteringe effectually into the action, let them assure themselves that they will come to late, and a day after the faire; ffor as the wise man saieth, *Post est occasio calva*. For, to speake nothinge of the laste yeres preparation of the Marques de la Roche to inhabite and plante in those partes nowe discovered by oure men, which preparation was luckely overthrowne in respecte of us, by reason that his greatest shippe was cast away upon the trauers of Burwage, the men of St. John de Luze sente the laste yere to solicite the Frenche Kinge and his Counsell to plante there. And nowe our neighboures, the men of St Maloe in Brytaine, in the begynnynge of Auguste laste paste of this yere 1584. are come home with five shippes from Canada and the contries upp the Bay of St. Lawrence, and have brought twoo of the people of the contrie home, and have founde suche swete in that newe trade that they are preparinge tenne shippes to returne thither in January nexte, as one John de la Marche and Mr. Pryhouse of Garnesey affirme; which Mr. Pryhouse, beinge yet in London, was at St. Malowe within these weekes, and sawe the twoo savages, the five shippes, and the riche comodities, and

(a symbol of a finger pointing)

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understoode of the greate preparation, and lieth nowe at London, in Philpott lane, at the stone house there.

And that it may be knowen that not onely the Frenche affecte this enterprise, but even the Duche longe since thoughte of yt, I can assure you that Abraham Ortelius, the great geographer, told me, at his laste beinge in England, 1577. that if the warres of Flaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Contries had meant to have discovered those partes of America, and the north west straite, before this tyme. And yt semed that the chefe cause of his comynge to England was to no other ende, but to prye and looke into the secretes of Ffrobishers voyadge; for yt was even then, when Ffrobisher was preparinge for his first returne into the north west.

To conclude: yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge (and where our men have nowe presently discovered, and founde it to be the best parte of America that is lefte, and in truthe more agreable to our natures, and more nere unto us, than Nova Hispania), the Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons, or the Duche, or some other nation, will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already, thoughe wee had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them,[77] but also will depriue us of that goodd lande which nowe wee have discovered. Which if they doe (as God defende they shoulde), then it falleth oute that wee shall have our enemyes or doubtfull frendes rounde aboute us, and shall not onely loose a singular comoditie and inestymable benefite, but also incurr greate daunger and inconvenience in sufferinge Papistes, by plantinge rounde aboute us, to take from us all succours, and to lett them enriche themselves under our noses, to be better able to supplant or overronne us.

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[77] This is not the case.

Chap. XVI. Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe, and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour.

Euery newe enterprise is in the begynnyinge burdenous, chardgeable, and heavie, and moste comonly hath many greate enemies; which is the cause that many goodd men, much affected to their contrie in wittie excellent enterprises, sincke and fainte under their burden. And because that this enterprise which wee have in hande or in purpose (besides that it is much maliced, specially by our mightie faction of the Papistes), is an enterprize that requireth, beside the favour of the Prince, no small chardge; therefore wee are to devise howe the burden may leste tyme reste on the backe of the bearer of the same, that he sincke not under the same, but that he maye stande upp in full strengthe, and goe throughe with ease, fame, and profitt, withoute shame of all the bymedlers and fauters of the same. And entred into consideration hereof, this cometh to mynde: that the firste chardge of the navye to be admitted as for the present deade chardge for the tyme, howe supply of the chardges followinge may be mayneteyned and borne; for in that standeth one greate matter that ymporteth honour, credite, profite, and the whole sequele of the enterprize.

Wee are induced by late plaine examples of the Frenche, that have traficqued in those partes with greate profite, to beleve that upon our plantinge wee shall as yt were defraye as well the firste chardges as the chardges followinge, by the comodities in trafficque that wee shall receave by passinge into the inland by river and otherwise. But admittinge the worse, that the people will neither receave our comodities nor yelde us theirs againe, then wee are to devise of ourselves howe wee may otherwise at the firste countervaile our chardges, and become greate gayners, will or nill the naturall inhabitantes of those regions or others; and that is, by enjoyinge certaine naturall comodities of the landes

infinitely aboundinge, in no accompts with them and with us of greate price, which is this way to be broughte aboute.

The soiles there upon the seacoaste, and all alonge the tracte of the greate broade mightie ryvers, all alonge many hundreth miles into the inland, are infinitely full fraughte with swete wooddes of ffyrr, cedars, cypres, and with divers other kindes of goodly trees; and settynge upp mylles to sawe them, suche as be common in Poland and in all the north easte regions, wee may with spede possesse infinite masses of boordes of these swete kindes, and these frame and make ready to be turned into goodly chestes, cupboordes, stooles, tables, deskes, &c., upon the returne. And consideringe the present wante of tymber in the realme, and howe derely the cipres chestes are solde that come from the ilandes of the Levant seas, and lately from the Azores, to Bristoll and the westerne havens, these may be bothe amply and derely vented in all the portes of the realme and of the realmes adjoyninge, consideringe that in this age every man desireth to fill his house with all manner of goodd furniture. So that were there no other peculiar comodities, this onely, I say, were ynoughe to defraye all the chardges of all the begynnynge of the enterprize, and that oute of hande; for suche mylwrightes may easely be procured from suche places where they abounde, and some suche (possible) be in England; for I have herde of a frende of myne, that one suche mill within these xxx yeres was sett upp in Worcestshere by a knighte of that contrie. And one man onely were able to directe a thousande of our common milwrightes in that trade; and carpinters and joyners, the realme may spare thousandes for a nede. [236] Sawe milles.

And with like ease and shortenes of time wee may make of the woodes there pitch and tarr, which are thinges fitt for our navie, and marchandizes of goodd vente and of comon neede.

And with like ease wee may make of the wooddes there plentie of sope asshes, a comoditie very dere and of greate and ample vente with us, and elsewhere in forren kingdomes of Europe.

Also wee may there prepare for pikes, chasinge staves, oares, halberts, and the like for cullen cleftes for sundry uses, &c. And also wee may there, withoute payeng for the same, have tymber to builde greate navies, and may bringe them into this realme, and have goodd sale of the same.

All this, I say, may be broughte to passe if wee wisely plante, upon our arryvall, aboute the mouthes of greate rivers and in the ilandes of the same; and so wee shall have the starte before the Frenche and all others; and our people, sente thither for the purposes aforesaide, shall be ready to man our shippes to give repulse at the firste to all suche as shall come thither to sett foote to our annoye.

Thus all thinges removed that mighte bringe discouragemente,
[237] the firste that tooke the enterprise in hande have wonne greate honour and highe estymation with all degrees in England, and, havinge by these former meanes wonne to defraye all the chardges of the brunte off the enterprise, they stande full able to followe the same withoute cravinge aide of the lingringe marchaunte, and have the possibilitie onely to themselves of the trades of traficque with the people, which they may bringe aboute eyther with curtesie, or by pollicie and force, as by joyninge now with this petite kinge, and nowe with that, &c.

And this once plainely founde and noted in England, what noble man, what gentleman, what marchante, what citezen or contryman, will not offer of himselfe to contribute and joyne in the action, forseeinge that the same tendeth to the ample vent of our clothes, to the purchasinge of riche comodities, to the plantinge of younger brethren, to the employment of our idle people, and to so many noble endes? And greate joyninge in contribution upon so happy begynnynges geveth abilitie to fortifie, to defende all forren force in divers comodious places even at the firste.

Chap. XVII. That by these colonies the north west passage to Cathaio and China may easely, quickly, and perfectly be searched oute as well by river and overlande as by sea; for proofe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare testymonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius, and other grave authors.

In the thirde volume of Nauigations and Voyadges, gathered and translated into Italian by Mr. John Baptista Ramusius, fol. 417. pag. 2, I reade of John Verarsanus as followeth: This unhappy ende had this valiaunte gentleman, whoe, if this misfortune had not happened unto him (with the singuler knowledge that he had in sea matters and in the arte of navigation, beinge also favoured with the greate liberalitie of Kinge Fraunces), woulde have discovered and opened unto the worlde that parte also of lande even to the poole. Neither woulde he have contented himselfe with the outeside and sea coaste onely, but woulde have passed further upp within the lande so farr as he coulde have gon. And many that have knowen him and talked with [238] him have told me, that he saied he had in mynde to perswade the Frenche Kinge to sende oute of Fraunce a goodd nomber of people to inhabite certaine places of the said coaste, which be of ayre temperate, and of soile moste fertile, with very faire ryvers, and havens able to receave any navie. The inhabitants of which places mighte be occasion to bringe to passe many goodd effectes: and, amongest other, to reduce those poore, rude, and ignoraunte people to the knowledge of God and true relligion, and to shewe them the manner of husbandrie for the grounde, transportinge of the beastes of Europe into those excedinge large and champion contries; and in time mighte discover the partes within lande, and see if, amongest so many ilandes there be any

passage to the Southe Sea, or whither the firme lande of Fflorida contynewe still even to the pole.

Upon occasion of these laste wordes I thinke it not amisse to alleage those testimonies tendinge to the proofe of this longe desired north west passage, which, with no small care these many yeres, I have observed in my readinges and conferences concerninge the same matter.

1. My firste authoritie is in the seconde volume of Ramusius, in the discourse of the discoverie of the ilandes Freseland, Iseland, Engroneland, Drogeo, and Icaria, made in the northe by Sir Nicholas Zeny, Knighte, and Mr. Anthony, his brother, in the yere 1380.[78] In which discourse, amonge many other thinges tendinge to the proofe of this passage, I finde this recorded: Scoprirono vna isola detta Estotilanda posta in ponente lontana da Frislanda piu di mille miglia; whereof I gather, that whereas still he calleth Estotiland an Ilande, and that it is distant westwarde from Frislande more then a thousande miles, that the sea is open above five hundreth miles further then Frobisher and his companie discouered. Ffor he himself confesseth that he never sailed paste five or sixe hundreth miles to the weste of Ffriselande; and here is mention made, that those fishermen that discouered the iland of Estotiland founde it to be more then a M. miles to the weste of the same.

2. The seconde testimonie to prove this north west passage is in the preface of the aforesaide Ramusius before his thirde
[239] volume, where he alleageth, in manner followinge, that which Sebastian Gabote wrote unto him concerninge this matter: Many yeres paste I was written unto by Sebastian Gabote, our contryman, a Venecian, and a man of greate experience, and very singuler in the arte of navigation and in the knowledge of cosmographie, whoe sailed alonge and beyonde Nova Francia, at the chardges of Kinge Henry the seaventh, Kinge of England; and

[78] See the translation of Zeno's Voyages, printed by the Hakluyt Society, and edited by Major.

he signified unto me, that havinge sailed a longe tyme west and by northe beyonde those ilandes unto the latitude of 67. degrees and [an half] under the north pole, on the xj'th day of June, and findinge the sea open and withoute any manner of ympedymente, he thoughte verely that he mighte have passed by that way unto Cathaia, which is in the Easte; and he woulde have done yt, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and unruly mariners had not inforced him to returne homewardes from that place. But it semeth (saith Ramusius), that God doth yet reserve to some greate prince the discoverie of this voyadge to Cathaio by this way, which, for the bringinge of the spicerie from India into Europe, woulde be the moste easie and shortest of all others hitherto founde oute. And surely this enterprise woulde be the moste glorious and of moste importaunce of all other that any coulde ymagine, to make their name moche more eternall and ymmortale amonge all ages to come, then these so greate tumultes and troubles of warres, which are to be seene contynually in Europe amonge the miserable and unhappy Christians.

3. Thirdly, the reporte which the people of Hochelaga made to Jacques Cartier, in the xiij'th. chapter of his seconde relation, of the river three monethes navigable to the southewarde, dothe not a little confirme the same.

4. Fourthly, the relation of the people of Canada in the xij'th. chapiter, followinge on this manner: Moreover they tolde us, and gave us to understande, that there are people cladde with clothe as wee are, and that there are many inhabited townes and goodd people, and that they have greate store of golde and redd copper, and that upp into the lande, beyonde the river firste above mentioned, even to Hochelaga and Saguynay, there is an ile environed aboute with that and other rivers, which beyonde Saguenay entereth into twoo or three greate lakes; also that there is founde a sea of freshe water, the heade and ende whereof there was never man founde that had throughly searched, as farr as they have hearde say of them of Saguenay, for they (as they

[240] signified unto us) had not bene there themselves.

5. Fyftly, in the ende of that seconde relation this postscripte is added as a speciall pointe, to witt: that they of Canada say that it is the space of a moone (that is to saye a moneth) to saile to a lande where cynamon and cloves are gathered; and in the Frenche originall which I sawe in the Kinges Library at Paris, in the Abbay of St Martines,[79] yt is further put downe, that Donnaconna, the Kinge of Canada, in his barke had traveled to that contrie where cynamon and cloves are had; yea, the names whereby the savages call those twoo spices in their owne language are there put downe in writinge.

6. Sixtly, this passage is likewise proved by the double reporte of Vasques de Coronado. For firste, he beinge at Ceuola, which standeth in 37. degrees and an halfe of northerly latitude within the lande, he had this informacion of the people of that place; Fanno otto giornate verso le campagne al mare di settentrione: whereby I gather that some parte of the northerne sea ys within viij. daies journey of Ceuola. Againe, when he was afterwardes at the towne of Quiuira, which is scituated by the sea side in the latitude of 40. degrees, he founde there shippes, with maryners, which had the picture of a birde, called Alcatrazzi, in silver upon their bonnetts and on the forepartes of their shippes; which signified that they were thirtie daies sailinge to that place; whence it is saied that they muste nedes be of Cathaio or China, seinge that there is none but Spanishe shippinge upon all the coaste of the backside of Noua Spania.

7. Seaventhly, the people of Florida, at the River of May, in 30. degrees, signified to John Ribault and his company, that they mighte saile in boates from thence through the contrie by ryver to Ceuola in xx'ti. These are the wordes, viz. As wee nowe demaunded of them concerninge the towne of Ceuola (whereof some have written that it is not farr from thence, and is scituated

[79] See Introductory note.

within the lande, and towardes the sea called Mare del Sur), they shewed vs by signes, which wee understoode well ynoughe, that they mighte goe thither with their boates, by rivers, in xx'ti. daies.

8. Eightly, Don Antonio di Castillo, embassador to her Majestie from Henry the Kinge of Portingale, tolde me here in London, the yere before his departure, that one Anus Corteriall, Capitaine of the Ile of Tercera, in the yere 1574. sente a shippe [241] to discover the northwest passage, which, arryvinge on the coaste of America in 57. degrees of latitude, founde a greate entraunce very depe and broade, withoute impedimente of ise, into which they passed above xx leagues, and founde it alwayes to tende towardes the southe. The lande lay lowe and plaine on either side. They woulde have gon further, but their victualls drawinge shorte, and beinge but one shippe, they returned backe, with hope at another tyme to make a full searche of the passage, whereof they sawe not small likelyhoode.

9. Nynthly, Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale,[80] shewed me in Paris this present somer, a greate olde rounde carde (out of which Postellus tooke the forme of his mappe), that had the northwest straite plainely sett downe in the latitude of 57. degrees.

10. Tenthly, there is a mightie large olde mappe in parchemente, made, as yt shoulde seme, by Verarsanus, traced all alonge the coaste from Florida to Cape Briton, with many Italian names, which laieth oute the sea, making a little necke of lande in 40. degrees of latitude, much lyke the streyte necke or istmus of Dariena. This mappe is nowe in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke.

11. Eleventhly, there is an olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallory at Westminster, which also semeth to be of Verarsanus makinge, havinge the coaste described in Italian, which laieth oute the very selfe same streite necke of lande in the latitude of 40. degrees, with the sea joynninge harde on bothe

[80] The illegitimate son of the Infant Don Luiz and Violante Gomes. Consult Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. ix.

sides, as it dothe on Panama and Nombre di Dios; which were a matter of singuler importaunce, yf it shoulde be true, as it is not unlikely.

12. Twelvethly, the judgemente of Gerardus Mercator, that excellent geographer, which his sonne, Rumolde Mercator, shewed me in a letter of his, and drewe oute for me in writinge, of wise men is not lightly to be regarded. These were his wordes: Magna tametsi pauca de noua nauigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos non fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est quin recta et breuis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium vsque. In quod regnum, si recte nauigationem instituant, nobilissimas totius mundi merces colligent, et multis gentibus adhuc idololatris Christi nomen communicabunt. You write (saieth he to his sonne) greate matters, thoughe very brefely, of the newe voyadge, whereat I wonder that it was not these many yeres heretofore attempted; ffor there is no doubte but there is a streighte and shorte waye open into the west, even to Cathaio. Into which kingdome, if they governe their voyadge well, they shall gather the moste noble marchandize of all the worlde, and shall make the name of Christe to be knowen to many idolaters and heathen people.

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13. Hereunto agreeth the relation of Monsieur de Leau, an honest gent of Morleux, in Britaine, which tolde me this springe, in the presence of divers Englishe men at Paris, that a man of St. Malowe this laste yere discovered the sea on the back side of Hochelaga.

14. Moreover, the relation of David Ingram confirmeth the same; for, as he avowcheth and hath put it downe in writinge, he traveled twoo daies in the sighte of the North Sea.

15. Againe, the prohibition which Kinge Philippe hath made, that none of his pilotts shall discover to the northe wardes of 45. degrees, may seme chefely to precede of these two causes: the one, leaste passinge further to the northe, they mighte fall upon the open passage from Mare del Sur into our Northerne Sea; the

other, because they have not people ynoughe to possesse and kepe the same, but rather in tyme shoulde open a gappe for other nations to passe that waye.

16. Lastly, I will ende with the earnest petition and constant assertion of Ramusius, in his firste volume, fol. 374. where, speakinge of the severall waies by which the spicery, bothe of olde and of late yeres, hath bene broughte into Europe, he useth these speaches in the person of another: Why doe not the princes (saieth he), which are to deale in these affaires, sende furthe twoo or three colonies to inhabite the contrie, and to reduce this savage nation to more civilitie, consideringe what a frutefull soile it is, how replenished with all kinde of graine, howe it is stored with all kinde of birdes and beastes, with such faire and mightie rivers, that Capitaine Cartier and his companie in one of them sailed upp an C. and xx'iiij. leagues, findinge the contrie peopled on bothe sides in greate aboundaunce; and, moreover, to cause the gouernours of those colonies to sende furthe men to discouer the northe landes aboute Terra de Labrador, and west north west towardes the seas, which are to saile to the contrie of Cathaio, and from thence to the ilandes of Molucka. These are enterprises to [243] purchase ymmortal praise, which the Lord Antony de Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, willinge to put in execution, sente furthe his capitaines, bothe by sea and lande, upon the northwest of Noua Spania, and discovered the kingdomes of the seaven cities aboute Ceuola; and Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passed from Mexico by lande towardes the northwest 2850. miles, in so moche as he came to the sea which lieth betwene Cathaio and America, where he mett with the Cathaian shippes; and, no doubte, if the Frenche men, in this their Nova Francia, woulde have discovered upp further into the lande towardes the west northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio.

Thus farr Ramusius.

God, which doth all thinges in his due time, and hath in his hande the hartes of all Princes, stirr upp the mynde of her

Majestie at lengthe to assiste her moste willinge and forwarde subjectes to the perfourmance of this moste godly and profitable action; which was begonne at the chardges of Kinge Henry the vij'th. her grandfather, followed by Kinge Henry the Eighte, her father, and lefte, as it semeth, to be accomplished by her (as the three yeres golden voyadge to Ophir was by Salomon), to the makinge of her realme and subjectes moste happy, and her selfe moste famous to all posteritie. Amen.

Chap. XVIII. That the Queene of Englandes title to all the West Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes.

To confute the generall claime and unlawfull title of the insatiable Spaniardes to all the West Indies, and to prove the justenes of her Majesties title and of her noble progenitours, if not to all, yet at leaste to that parte of America which is from Florida beyonde the Circle articke, wee are to sett downe in true order, accordinge to the juste observation of tyme, when the West Indyes, with the ilandes and continent of the same, were firste discouered and inhabited, and by what nation, and by whome. Then are wee to answer in generall and particulerly to the moste injurious and
[244] unreasonable donation graunted by Pope Alexander the Sixte, a Spaniarde borne, of all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine and their successors, to the greate prejudice of all other Christian Princes, but especially to the domage of the Kinges of England.

Ffor the firste pointe, wee of England have to shewe very auncient and auctenticall chronicles, written in the Welshe or Brittishe tongue, wherein wee finde that one Madock ap Owen Guyneth, a Prince of North Wales, beinge wearye of the civill warres and domesticall dissentions in his contrie, made twoo

voyadges oute of Wales, and discovered and planted large contries which he founde in the mayne ocean south westwarde of Ireland, in the yere of our Lorde 1170.[81] This historie is also to be seene in Englishe in printe, in the booke sett furthe this yere of the Prince of Wales, dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney. And this is confirmed by the language of some of those people that dwell upon the continent betwene the Bay of Mexico and the Grande Bay of Newfoundelande, whose language is said to agree with the Welshe in divers wordes and names of places, by experience of some of our nation that have bene in those partes. By this testimonie it appereth, that the West Indies were discovered and inhabited 322. yeres before Columbus made his firste voyadge, which was in the yere 1492.

Secondly, the acceptation of Columbus his offer of the West Indies by Kinge Henry the Seaventh, at the very firste, maketh moche for the title of the Kinges of England, althoughe they had no former interest; which I will here putt downe as I finde it in the eleventh chapiter of the historie of Ferdinandus Columbus of the relation of the life and doinges of his father: This practise, saieth he, of the Kinge of Portingale (which was secretly to deprive him of the honour of his enterprise), beinge come to the knowledge of the Admyrall, and havinge lately buried his wife, he conceaved so greate hatred againste the citie of Lysbone and the nation, that he determyned to goe into Castile with a younge sonne that he had by his wife, called Diego Colon, which after his fathers deathe succeded in his state. But fearinge, yf the Kinges of Castile also shoulde not consente unto his enterprise, he shoulde be constrayned to begynne againe to make some newe offer of the same to some other Prince, and so longe tyme shoulde be spente therein, he sente into England a brother of his which he had with him, named Bartholmewe Columbus. [245]
Nowe Bartholmewe Columbus beinge departed for England, his

[81] See Vol. xii of this collection of Voyages.

fortune was to fall into the handes of pyrates, which robbed him, and his other companions that were in his shippe, of all that they had. By which occasion and meanes of his povertie and sicknes, which cruelly afflicted him in a strange contrie, he deferred for a longe space his embassage, till, havinge gotten upp a little money by makinge of seacardes, he began to practize with Kinge Henry the Seaventhe, the father of Kinge Henry the viij'th which nowe reigneth; to whome he presented a general carde, wherein these verses were written, which I will rather here put downe for their antiquitie then for their elegancie:

Terrarum quicunque cupis foeliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius atque
Isidorus: non vna tamen sententia cuique
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti,
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissma multis.

And somewhat more beneath he saied:

Pro authore sive pictore

Janna cui patriæ est nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus, de terra rubra, opus edidit istud
Londonijs, Anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno
Octauo, decimáque die cùm tertia mensis
Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundæ.[82]

[82] See Lamartine's “Columbus” in my *Bibliotheca Curiosa*.

But to returne to the Kinge of England; I say that after he had sene the generall carde, and that which the Admyrall Columbus offred unto him, he accepted his offer with a cherefull countenaunce, and sente to call him into England. These thinges beinge so, wee nede not to be our owne judges, but are able to prove, as you see, by a forren testimonie of singuler greate aucthoritie, that Christopher Columbus, beinge in Portingale, before he wente into Castile, sente his brother Bartholmewe into England to practise with Kinge Henry the Seaventh aboute the discovery of the West Indies, and that his said brother made his generall seacarde of this secrete voyadge in London, in the yere of our Lorde 1488. the xiijth. of February, above foure yeres before Christopher was sett oute upon his firste voyadge by the Princes of Spaine, Ferdinando and Isabella, which was the thirde of Auguste, 1592. It appereth also, that the onely [246] cause for his slowe dispatche was his fallings into the handes of pyrates, which spoiled him and his companie of all that they had; whereby he was inforced a longe tyme to worke in London in makinge instrumentes and seacardes to get somewhat aboute him, that he mighte come in some honest furniture to the Kinges presence. Also, that there was no delaye nor wante of goodd will of the Kinges parte to sett furthe the action, whoe willingly condescended to all Columbus demaundes; as is further to be seene in the 60 chapiter of the same historie, where I reade, that Bartholmewe Columbus, havinge agreed with the Kinge of England upon all capitulations, and returninge into Spaine by Fraunce to fetche his brother, when he hearde newes at Paris that he had concluded in the meane season with the Kinge of Spaine, and was entred into the action for him, was not a little vexed for his brothers abusinge the Kinge of England, which had so curteously graunted all his requestes and accepted of his offer. But Christofer, not receavinge so spedy aunswer as he hoped for from his brother oute of England, by reason of his fallinge into pirates handes, as is aforesaide, and not by reason of any

slacknes or unwillingnes of the Kinge, in the meane season, for feare of beinge prevented by the Portingales, which once before in secrete manner had gon aboute to take the honour of the action oute of his handes, was stirred, contrary to honesty, to play on bothe handes, and to deal with the Princes of Spaine before he had receaved the Kinge of Englandes resolucion.

But leavinge this abuse offered to the Kinge of England either by Christopher Columbus or the Kinges of Spaine, in takinge that enterprise oute of his handes which was first sente to him, and never refused by him, and to put the case that Columbus firste discovered parte of the ilandes of Hispaniola and Cuba, yet wee will prove most plainely that a very greate and large parte, as well of the continent as of the ilandes, were firste discovered for the Kinge of England by Sebastian Gabote, an Englishe man, borne in Bristoll, the sonne of John Gabote, a Venesian, in the yere of our Lorde 1496; as an Italian gent, a greate philosopher and mathematitian, witnesseth, which harde the same of his owne mouthe; and there were many then also lyvinge, which wente with him in that voyadge, which coulde have proved him a liar yf it had bene otherwise. These be the very wordes of this gent, which
[247] be uttered to certen noblemen of Venice upon the disputation concerninge the voyadges of the spicerye: Know ye not (quoth he) to this effecte, to goe to finde the Easte Indies by the north west, that which one of your citie hath done, which is so skilfull in the arte of navigacion and cosmographie, that he hath not his like in Spaine at this day? And his sufficiencie hath so greately advaunced him, that the Kinge hath given him the oversighte of all the pilotts that saile to the West Indies, so that withoute his licence they cannot meddle in this arte, by reason whereof they call him the Graund Pilott. This was Segnior Sebastian Gabote, which I wente to see, beinge myselfe in Cyvill certen yeres paste, whome I founde to be a moste curteous and gentle person. After he had made very moche of me, and geven me good entertainment, he shewed me many singularities which he

had; and amonge the rest, a greate mappe of the worlde, wherein were marked and described all the particular navigations as well of the Portingales as of the Castilians. And he declared unto me, that, his father beinge departed from Venyce, he wente to dwell in England for trade of marchandize, and caried him with him to the citie of London, thoughe he were very younge; yet for all that not so younge but that he had studied [letters] of humanitie and the sphere; moreover, that his father died aboute the tyme that the newes came that Christopher Colon had discovered the coaste of the West Indies, and there was no other talke but of that in the Courte of Kinge Henry the vij'th. which reigned then in England. Whereof every man saied, that yt was rather a thinge devine then humaine, to have founde out that way never knowen before, to goe by the west into the easte. This brute of Segnior Columbus did so inflame my harte, that I determyned also to doe some notable thinge. And knowinge by the reason of the sphere, that, in directinge my course righte towarde the north weste, I shoulde shorten the way greately to goe to the Easte Indies, without delaye I gave the Kinges Majestie to understande of myne opinion, which was marveylously well pleased; and he furnished me of twoo shippes, with all thinges necessarie; and this was in the yere 1496. in the begynnynge of somer. And I began to saile towardes the north west, thinckinge to finde no lande savinge that where Cathaio is, and from thence to turne towardes the Indies. But after certaine daies, I discouered lande which ronneth towardes the northe, wherewithall I was exceedingly agreved; notwithstandinge I ceassed not to ronne alonge that coaste towardes the northe, to see yf I coulde finde any [248] gulfe which turned towardes the north weste, until I came to the heighte of 56. degrees of our pole. Beinge there, I sawe that the coaste turned towards the easte, and, beinge oute of hope to finde any straite, I turned backe againe to searche out the said coaste towarde the equinoctiall, with intention alwayes to finde some passage to the Indies; and in followinge this coaste I sailed as

The reason why the discovery was lefte of in Kinge Henry the Seaventh's tyme.

farr as that parte which at this present they call Florida; and nowe my victualls failinge and fallinge shorte, I sailed no further, but lefte the coaste there, and sailed into England, where I was no sooner arryved but I founde greate troubles of the people, that were upp in armes by reason of the warres in Scotland; whereby the voyadge to those partes was laide aside for that time, and had in no further consideration.

Upon this relation, Monsieur Popiliniere, being a Frencheman, in his seconde booke, Des Trois Mondes, inferreth these speaches: This, then, was that Gabote which firste discovered Florida for the Kinge of England, so that the Englishe men have more righte thereunto then the Spaniardes, yf to have righte unto a contrie, it sufficeth to have firste seene and discovered the same.

Howbeit, Gabota did more then see the contrie, for he wente on lande on divers places, tooke possession of the same accordinge to his patente, which was graunted to his father, John Gabot, to Lewes, himself, and Sancius, his brethren, beinge to be sene in the Rolles and extant in printe: and, moreover, he broughte home three of the savages of the Indies, as Fabian, in his ancient Chronicle, dothe write, declaringe their apparell, feedinge, and other manners, which, he saieth, he observed himselfe in the Courte at Westminster, where he sawe twoo of them, two yeres after they were broughte into England, in Englishe apparell. Nay, that which is more, Gabota discovered this longe tracte of the firme lande twoo yeres before Columbus ever sawe any parte of the continente thereof. For the firste parte of the firme land, called Paria, and Bocca di Dragone, that is to say, the Dragons Mouthe, beinge to the southe of the iland of Hispaniola, was discovered by him in his thirde voyadge; which, as Peter Martir de Angleria, which was one of the councell of the West Indies, wryteth, was in the yere 1498; which is confirmed by Ferdinandus Columbus,
[249] his owne sonne, which was with his father in the voyadge (as Oviedo confesseth, libr. 19. cap 1.), and wrote a journall of that

voyadge, shewinge, in the 67. chapiter of his historie, that his father firste sawe the firme lande the firste of Auguste in the yere 1498. But Gabote made his greate discoverie in the yere 1496. as he testifieth in his relation above mentioned. And the day of the moneth is also added in his owne mappe, which is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the copye whereof was sett oute by Mr. Clemente Adams, and is in many marchantes houses in London. In which mappe, in the chapiter of Newfoundelande, there in Latyn is put downe, besides the yere of our Lorde, even the very day, which was the day of St. John Baptiste; and the firste lande which they sawe they called Prima Visa or Prima Vista: and Mr. Roberto Thorne, in his discourse to Doctor Ley, Kinge Henry the Eights embassador to Charles the Emperour, affirmeth that his father and one Hughe Elliott, of Bristoll, were the firste persons that descried the lande. This case is so clere that the Spaniardes themselves, thoughe full sore againste their willes, are constrained to yielde unto us therein. For Franciscus Lopez de Gomera, in the 4. chapiter of his seconde booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies, confesseth that Sebastian was the firste discoverer of all the coaste of the West Indies, from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to the heighte of 38. degrees towardes the equinoctiall. He whiche broughte moste certeine newes of the contrie and people of Baccalaos, saieth Gomera, was Sebastian Gabot, a Venesian, which rigged up ij. shippes at the coste of Kinge Henry the Seaventh of England, havinge greate desire to traficque for the spices as the Portingales did. He carried with him CCC. men, and tooke the way towardes Island from beyonde the Cape of Labrador, untill he founde himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that, in the moneth of July, it was so colde and the ise so greate, that he durste not passe any further; that the daies were very longe, in a manner withoute any nighte, and for that shorte nighte that they had it was very clere. Gabot, feelinge the colde, turned towardes the west, refreshing himselfe at Baccalaos; and afterwardes he sailed

N f land discoverd.

alonge the coaste unto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England.

Moreover, this Fraunces Lopez de Gomera acknowledgeth, in his firste booke and xxjth. chapiter of the Generall Historie of
[250] the Indies, that Columbus on his thirde voyadge, sett oute from St Lucar of Barameda, in Spaine, in the ende of May, *anno* 1497. In which thirde voyadge, at lengthe, after any greate dangers by the way, he arryved in the firme lande of the Indies, towardes the province called Paria, which all the Spanishe authors confesse to have bene the firste of the continent that was discovered for the Kinges of Spaine.

So to conclude; whether wee beleve the testemonie of Peter Martir and Ferdinandus Columbus, which affirme that Christopher Columbus discovered the firme firste *in anno* 1498. a greate and large tracte of the continente of the Indies was discovered by Gabote and the Englishe above twoo yeres before, to witt, in the yere 1496, in the moneths of June and July; or whether wee be contente to yelde to Gomera, which saieth Columbus sett furthe of the discovery of the firme lande, 1497; yet wee of England are the firste discoverers of the continent above a yere and more before them, to witt, 1496. or, as Clement Adams saith, 1494. in the chapiter of Gabbotts mapp *De terra nova*, which is above three yeres before the Spaniarde, or any other for the Kinges of Spaine, had any sighte of any parte of the firme lande of the Indies. At leaste wise, by Gomera his owne confession, from 37. degrees of northerly latitude to 38. towardes the equinoctiall, we have beste righte and title of any Christian. As for the discovery of John Ponce de Leon, beinge *in anno* 1512. yt cannot be prejudiciall to our title, as beinge made sixtene yeres after Gabotes voyadge.

Chap. XIX. An aunswer to the Bull of the Donation of all the West Indies graunted to the Kinges of Spaines by Pope Alexander the VIth, whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.

Whereas Fraunces Lopez de Gomera, in the 19. chapiter of his firste booke of his Generall Historie of the Indies, putteth downe that Pope Alexander the VIth, of his proper will and of his owne mere motion, with the consents of his Cardinalls, gave of his free grace to the Kinges of Spaine all the iles and firme landes which they shoulde discover towardes the west, and therewithall alledged the Bull itselfe; I aunswer, that no Pope had any lawfull aucthoritie to give any such donation at all. For proofe whereof, [251] I say that, if he were no more than Christes vycar, as Gomera calleth him in that place, then he must needes graunte that the vicar is no greater then his Master. Nowe, our Saviour Christe, beinge requested and entreated to make a lawfull devision of inheritaunce betwene one and his brother, refused to do that, sayenge, Quis me constituit judicem inter vos? Whoe made me a judge betwene you? What meaneth, then, the Pope, not beinge spoken to nor entreated, of his owne proper will and of his owne mere motion, to meddle in those matters that Christe in no wise, no, not beinge thereunto instantly requested, woulde not have to deale in? Againe, oure Saviour Christe confessed openly to Pilate, that his kingdome was not of this worlde. Why, then, doth the Pope, that woulde be Christes servaunte, take upon him the devision of so many kingdomes of the worlde? If he had but remembred that which he hath inserted in the ende of his owne Bull, to witt, that God is the disposer and distributer of kingdomes and empires, he woulde never have taken upon him the devidinge of them with his line of partition from one ende of the heavens to the other. The historie of the poore boye whome God stirred upp to confounde and deride the Spaniardes

and Portingales, when they were devidinge the woride betwene themselves alone, is so well knowen as I nede not stand to repeate it. But it is the Popes manner alwayes to meddle, as in this matter, so in other thinges, where they have nothinge to doe, and to intrude themselves before they be called. They mighte rather call to mynde the counsell of the goodd apostle, who tolde godly Tymothe, the Bisshoppe of Ephesus, that no man that warreth intangleth himself with the affaires of this presente life, because he woulde please Him that hath chosen him to be a souldier; and then they woulde learne to kepe themselves within the lymites of that vocation and ecclesiasticall function whereunto they are called; which ecclestiasticall function hath nothinge to doe with absolute donation and devidinge of mere temporalties and earthly kingdomes. St. Chrisostome, in his dialogue De dignitate sacerdotali, saieth that the mynisterie is a chardge geven by God to teache withoute armes or force, and that the same is no power to give or to take kingdomes, nor to make lawes for the publique governemente. St. Hillary writes as moche to the Emperour Constantine againste Auxentius, Bisshoppe of Milan. Our Saviour Christe himselfe saieth to his desciples, that
[252] while they were in the worlde, they shoulde be broughte before kinges and pollitique magistrates for his names sake. So then they shoulde not be judges and magistrates themselves, especially in the devisions of kingdomes; and, to leave all spirituall men an example, he paid tribute and toll for himselfe and Peter, and submitted himselfe and his apostles under the civill magistrate and politique governemente; yet the Pope, whoe saieth that he is Peters successor, will be a disposer of civill causes and temporall domynions. The apostle saieth, Romaines the 13: Let every soule be submitted unto the higher powers. Nowe, if the Popes will not beleve the worde of God withoute the exposition of the Fathers of the Churche, at leaste let them beleve St Chrisostome, and give eare to that which he hath written upon this place: That these thinges be comaunded to all men, saieth he, bothe to prestes

and monckes, and not onely to secular or laymen, the Apostle declareth, even in the very begynnynge, when he saieth in this manner: Let every soule be subjecte unto their higher powers, thoughe thou were an apostle, thoughe thou were an evangeliste, thoughe thou were a prophet, or thoughe thou were any other whatsoever. For obedience dothe nothinge hinder godlines.

But the Popes woulde prove that they may give and bestowe kingdomes upon whome they please, by Samuels example that annoynted Hazaell Kinge of Siria insteade of Benhadad, and Jehu Kinge of Israeli insteade of Jehoram; as, also, by the example of Jehoada, the highe preste, that put the Queene Athalia to deathe, and placed Joas, the younge sonne of Ochosias in the kingdome. All those examples make nothinge at all in the worlde for them; for neither Samuell, nor Elias, nor Elizeus did any thinge in that matter withoute an expresse commaundement and all circumstances from the mouthe of God himselfe, as appereth moste evidently by their severall histories in the Bible. Samuell also did his comission full sore againste his will; and Elias and Elizeus, with greate feare of their lyves. As for Athalia, she was an usurper, and had cruelly murdered as many of the lawfull inheritours of the kingdome as she coulde possibly lay handes on; and therefore Jehoiada, the highe preste, not of his owne absolute aucthoritie, but by the helpe of the Kinges officers and joyfull consente of all the people, caused her moste justely to be deposed and put to deathe. He was also uncle to the younge Kinge, by mariage of his wife, Jebosheba, which was sister to Ahasai, the father of the younge kinge, and therefore bounde, in conscience [253] and affinitie, to helpe him to his righte and succour him in his mynoritie. Nowe, when the Popes have the like excellent spirite of prophesie and the like chardges and expresse commaundementes from Gods owne mouthe, in the behalf of some one by name againste some one which God by name woulde have deposed, then they may ymitate them in pronouncinge unto them that God will rente their kingdomes from this or that kinge for

his synnes. But none of the Prophetts made bulls or donations in their palaces, under their handes and seales and dates, to bestowe many kingdomes, which they never sawe or knewe, nor what nor howe large they were, or, to say the truthe, whether they were extant *in rerum natura*, as the Pope hath done in gevinge all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine. He shoulde firste have don as the prophetts dyd; that is, he shoulde firste have gon himselfe and preached the worde of God to those idolatrous kinges and their people; and then, if they woulde not, by any meanes, have repented, he mighte have pronounced the severe and heavie judgemente of God againste them, shewinge oute of the worde of God that one kingdome is translated from another for the sinnes of the inhabitantes of the same, and that God in his justice, woulde surely bringe some nation or other upon them, to take vengeaunce of their synnes and wickednes. And thus moche not onely Popes, but also any other godly and zealous bisshope or mynister, may doe, beinge called thereunto by God extraordinarily, or havinge the ordinarye warrante of his worde.

Yea, but the Popes can shewe goodd recordes that they have deposed Emperors, that they have translated empires from one people to another, as that of the Easte unto the Germaines, and that they have taken kingdomes from one nation and geven them to another. In deede, in some respectes, they have done so. But how? They never gave that which was in their actuall possession, yf by any meanes possible they mighte have kepte it themselves. It is an easie matter to cutt large thonges, as wee say, of other men's hides, and to be liberall of other men's goodds. Neither ys it any marvaile thoughe (as Gomera saieth) the Pope gave all the West Indies of his free grace to the Kinge of Spaine, for they never coste him a penye. But he that will be in deede and truthe liberall, he muste give of his owne, and not of other mens. For to take from one that which is his, to give it to another to whom it is not due, ys plaine injurie and no liberalitie, thoughe the gifte were bestowed upon him that were in nede. For as one

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saieth: Eripere alteri fraudulenter quod alteri des misericorditer, iniustitia quidem est et non eleemosyna—to take from one fraudulently to give to another mercifully, is no almes nor charitie, but plaine iniquitie. The Pope shoulde rather have sent into the West Indies store of godly pastors of his owne coste freely, then to have geven them and their gooddes wrongfully to be eaten upp and devoured of such insatiable and gredy wolves. He should have remembred the worde of our Saviour, whoe saieth: Beatius est dare quam accipere—it is a blessed thinge to give rather then to receave. The Popes say they gave Ireland to Kinge Henry the Seconde and his successors; and indeede they have don it in wordes. But when gave they that unto him? Forsoothe after he had faste footinge in it, and when Dermutius, the King of Leynester, had firste offred to make the Kinge his heire. And for all their donation, yf the Kinge had not by his force more then by their gifte holpe himselfe, the Popes donation had stoode him in small stede; neither did the Kinges of Ireland admitt and allowe of the Popes donation. If they had, they woulde never have rebelled so ofte againste the Crowne of England. To conclude this pointe, thoughe wee confesse that the Popes have don this or that, yet yt is no goodd argumente to say that they did it, and therefore it is lawfull, unless they coulde shewe that they did it rightfully. De facto constat, de jure non constat. And they themselves are driven to confess, that their medlinge on this sorte with kingdomes ys not directly, but indirectly. But suche indirecte dealinge is warranted neither by lawe of God nor men.

Nowe to the donation itselfe, wee are firste to consider, whoe it was that was the author thereof; secondly, unto whome it was made; thirdly, what were the causes and inducementes that moved the Pope thereunto; fourthly, the fourme and manner of donation; fyftly, the inhibition of all other Christian Princes, and the penaltie of all them that shoulde doe the contrarye; lastly, the recompence of the Kinges of Spaine to the Sea of Rome for so greate a gifte.

1. Touchinge the firste, the author hereof was Pope Alexander the vith whoe, as Platina and Onuphrius and Bale doe write, was himselfe a Spaniarde, and borne in Valencia, of the familie called Borgia, and therefore no marvell thoughe he were ledd by parcialitie to favour the Spanishe nation, thoughe yt were
[255] to the prejudice and domage of all others; whiche foule faulte of his may hereby appeare, that havinge in all the tyme of his Popedome created sixe and thirtie Cardinalles, of those xxxvj. he made xviij. to witt the one halfe, Spaniardes, as Bale dothe testifie, writinge of his life. Nowe let any man be judge, whether that were extreame parcialitie and ambition, to make Spaine equal in that pointe with all the rest of Christendome. No marvaile therefore, thoughe as in this, so in his donation, he was beyonde all reason caried away with blynde affection to his nation; which faulte of his had bene more to be borne withall, yf it had bene in a private or small matter. But in this so generall and comon cause, yt cannot choose but be altogether intollerable. If any man liste to see this man painted oute further in his colours, let him reade John Bale in his Eighte Century, where he shall finde so many of his badd partes, as a man woulde thinke he coulde not be a fitt man to make a goodd and uprighte judge in so weightie a matter as this.

2. The persons to whome he made this donation were Ferdinando and Isabella, Princes of Spaine, to whome, and to their heires and successors for ever, he confirmed the same, excludinge all other Christian princes. These princes, thoughe otherwise very vertuous and commendable, yet at the tyme of the makinge of this donation, were more unable then divers other Kinges of Christendome to accomplishe and bringe the same to effecte, as beinge greately ympoverished with the warres of Granadae, so farr furthe that they were constrained to seke for helpe of Kinge Henry the VIIth. of England, to subdue the Moores in their owne contrie. Yea, Queene Isabella was so poore and bare that she was faine to offer her owne jewells to gage, to borowe money to sett

furthe Columbus in his firste voyadge, as it is to be seene in the 14. chapiter of the Historie of Ferdinandus Columbus, his owne sonne, It is also well knowen that the Spaniardes, for wante of people of their owne contrie, have not bene able nowe, in the space of xx'iiii. and xij. yeres, to inhabite a thirde or fourthe parte of those excedinge large and waste contries, which are as greate as all Europe and Africke.

3. The inducementes that moved his Holines to graunt these unequall donations unto Spaine were, firste, (as he saieth) his singuler desire and care to have the Christian religion and Catholicque faithe exalted, and to be enlarged and spredd abroade throughoute the worlde, especially in his daies, and that the sal- [256]
vation of soules shoulde be procured of every one, and that the barbarous nations shoulde be subdued and reduced to the faithe, &c. To this I aunswer that, if he had ment as in deede he saieth, he shoulde not have restrayned this so greate and generall a worke, belonginge to the duetie of all other Christian princes, unto the Kinges of Spaine onely, as thoughe God had no servauntes but in Spaine; or as thoughe other Christian kinges then lyvinge had not as greate zeale and meanes to advaunce Gods glory as they; or howe mente he that every one shoulde put their helpinge hande to this worke, when he defended all other Christian Princes, in paine of his heavie curse and excomunication, to meddle in this action, or to employe their subjectes, thoughe yt were to the conversion of the inhabitauntes in those partes. And whereas, to colour this his donation, he addeth, that the Kinges of Spaine had bene at greate chardge in that discoverie in respect whereof he was induced to deale so franckly with them, yt is evident that the Bull was graunted in the yere 1493. the iiij. of the moneth of May, at what time Columbus had made but one voyadge, wherein he was furnished onely with one small shippe and twoo little caravells, and had, in all his companie, but foure score and tenne men, and the whole voyadge stoode the Kinge of Spaine in 2500. crownes only. So these 2500. crownes were the greate

chardges that the Pope speaketh of, that induced him to graunte so large a donation; for that was the uttermoste that Columbus desired, as is to be redd in the 14. chapiter of his owne sonnes historie.

Moreover, where the Pope confesseth he was informed, before the donation of his Bull, that the Kinges of Spaine had purposed, by the aide of God, to subdue and reduce unto the faithe all those landes and Ilandes, with their inhabitantes, whiche Columbus had founde in his firste discovery, in comendinge highly of this their intention, he semeth to confesse that they mighte have pursued that godly action very lawfully withoute makinge of him privy to their enterprice, which they did not in their firste sendinge furthe Columbus. And with what righte he builded and lefte men in Hispaniola at the firste, before the Popes donation, with the selfe same righte he mighte have subdued all that he shoulde afterwardes discover. So, then, the Popes gifte was of no more force, then of that which they mighte have chalenged by their former righte and interest of discoverie. And as for their
[257] former zeale and resolution to publishe the Christian faithe in those quarters, which the Pope confesseth to have bene in them before his donation, whoe seeth not that he stirres them uppe to nothinge, but to that which he acknowledged to have bene in them already; and so he did nothinge but *actum agere*.

Againe; in that he saieth, that in no other respecte, but moved onely by his mere and francke liberaltie, *and for certeine secrete causes*, he gave unto them all the ilandes and firme landes which already have bene founde, and which shoulde afterwardes be founde, which were then discovered or afterwardes to be discovered, towardes the West and the Southe, drawinge a straighte line from the pole articke to the pole antarticke, whether the ilandes or firme landes founde or to be founde were towardes the Indies or towardes any other quarter; intendinge, nevertheles, that this line be distant an hundred leagues towardes the West and the Southe from the iles which are comonly called the Azores, or those of

Cape Verd: to this wee aunswer, that here wee are firste to consider that yt was no marvell that his Holines, beinge a Spaniarde borne, sett aparte all other respectes of justice and equitie, and of his mere motion and francke liberalitie was ready to raise and advaunce his owne nation, with doinge secrete wronge and injurie as moche as in him laye, and more, unto all other Princes of Christendome. For what els can those wordes importe, that he did it also for certen secrete causes, but give us juste cause to suspect that there wanted uprighte, indifferent, and sincere dealinges? And surely, if he had meant uprightly, he woulde have delte more plainely; for truths seketh no secrete comers. But if you will have me to reveale those secrete causes, to say as the thinge was, they were nothinge else but the feare and jelousie that he had, that Kinge Henry the vij'th. of England, with whome Bartholmewe Columbus had bene to deale in this enterprice, and even aboute this time had concluded with the Kinge upon all pointers and articles, whoe even nowe was readie to sende him into Spaine to call his brother Christopher into England, shoulde put a foote into this action; which, if he had don, he shoulde bothe have share with the Spaniardes in the profitt, and greatly ecclips their honour and glorie. Also, he coulde not choose but be privie to the longe conference that Christopher Columbus had before time with the Kinge of Portingale, and offer which he made firste of all to the said Kinge of this discovery, whoe thoughe at the firste delte doubly with Columbus, and sent other to finde oute that thinge which Columbus offered, yet, they missinge of their purpose, [258] the Kinge of Portingale woulde have employed Columbus, and delte effectually with him to that ende; but he conceavinge a greate displeasure againste the Kinge and his nation for his secrete seekinge to defraude him of his honour, and benefite of his offer, stole prively oute of his realme into Castile. But the Pope, fearinge that either the Kinge of Portingale mighte be reconciled to Columbus, or that he mighte be drawen into England, by interposinge of his usurped aucthoritie, thoughte secretly, by his

unlawfull division, to defraude England and Portingale of that benefite. Loe, these were indeede those secrete causes, sodenly, withoute makinge the other Kinges privie, to make his generall and universall donation of all the West Indies to the Kinges of Spaine, by drawinge a lyne of partition from one pole unto another, passinge a hundred leagues westwarde of the Iies of Azores; which division, howe God caused to be deryded by the mouthe of a poor, simple childe, Fraunces Lopez de Gomera, one of the Spaniardes owne historiographers, dothe specially note in manner followinge: Before I finishe this chapiter (saieth he), I will recite, to recreate the reader, that which happened, upon this partition, to the Portingales. As Fraunces de Melo, Diego Lopes of Sequeria, and others, came to this assembly, and passed the river by Quidiana, a little infant that kepte his mothers clothes, which she had washt and honge abroade to drye, demaunded of them, whether they were those that shoulde come to devide the worlde with the Emperour; and as they answered yea, he tooke up his shirte behinde and shewed them his buttocks, sayenge unto them: Drawe your lyne throughe the middest of this place. This, saieth the author, was published in contempte all abroade, bothe in the towne of Badayos and also in the assemblye of these committies. The Portingales were greately angrie therewithall, but the rest turned yt to a jest and laughed yt oute.

But what wise man seeth not that God by that childe laughed them to scorne, and made them ridicullous and their partition in the eyes of the worlde and in their owne consciences, and caused the childe to reprove them, even as the dombe beaste, speakinge with mans voyce, reproved the foolishnes of Balam the Prophett!

4. The fourthe pointe which I purpose to touche, is the forme and manner of the stile of the donation itselfe, after a large preface and connynge preamble; and that begynneth in this manner:
[259] Wee therefore, by the aucthoritie of God Almightie, which is geven to us in the person of Saincte Peter, and which wee enjoye in this worlde as the vicar of Jhesus Christe, give unto you all the

ilandes and firme landes, with their seigniories, cities, castells, &c. In which repetition of his donation the seconde time for failinge, he woulde shewe unto the world by what aucthoritie and warrant he gave away from all the Indians their landes, contries, seigniories, cities, castells, places, villages, righte, jurisdictions, and all other appurtenances and thinges belonginge to the same, to the Kinges of Spaine onely, and to their heires and successors for ever. This usurped aucthoritie, as I have plainely confuted and denied in begynnynge, so nowe, in a worde or twoo, I will shewe, that never gave unto the Popes any suche aucthoritie. The chefest and greatest aucthoritie that ever was geven by Christe to Peter, is mentioned in the 16. chapiter of St. Mathewe, where Christe saieth unto him: I will give unto thee the keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte binde in earthe shalbe bounde in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte loose in earthe shalbe loosed in heaven. St. Hierome, expoundinge of this place, saieth, that the priestes or bisshops duetie and aucthoritie of the keyes to binde or loose, is to knowe and declare by the holy Scripture, and by the judgemente of the Catholicque Churche, where and whoe he is that hath offended againste the will of God, and whoe beinge once a Christian is fallen from the societie, or gone astraye oute of the pathe and waye of the Churche. These are the trewe keyes and twoo swordes which God hath put into prestes handes. And Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences, one of their owne doctors, is of St. Hieromes opinion. And what aucthoritie in the place above recited Christe comitted unto Peter, the same gave he also unto all the rest of his Apostles, John 20. verse 21. sayenge to them all: Whoesoever synnes yee remitte, they are remitted unto them; and whoesoever synnes yee retaine, they are retained. But that either Peter or any of the Apostles did teache or affirme, that they had aucthoritie to give awaye kingdomes of heathen Princes to those that were so farr from havinge any interest in them, that they knewe not whether there were any suche contries in the worlde or noe, I never reade nor hearde,

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nor any mane else, as I verely beleve. Which moste injuste and wrongfull dealinge of the Pope was notably confuted by Ata-
[260] balipa, beinge an infidell. For after Fryer Vincent of Valverde, of the companie and traine of Piçar, had made an oration to him, the some whereof was that he shoulde become a Christyan, and that he shoulde obey the Pope and the Emperor, to whome the Pope had geven his kingdome, Atabalipa, beinge greately insensed, replied, that, seeinge he was nowe free, he woulde not become tributarye, nor thincke that there was any greater lorde then himselfe; but that he was willinge to be the Emperor's frende and to have his acquaintaunce, for that he muste nedes be some greate lorde that sente so many armies abroade into the worlde. He aunswered, moreover, that he woulde not in any wise obey the Pope, seinge he gave away that which belonged to another, moche lesse that he woulde leave his kingdome, that came unto him by inheritaunce, to one which he had never seene in his life. And whereas Fryer Vincent, beinge displeased at his replye, was gladd to seeke any waye to wreake his anger upon him, insomoche as when Atabalipa lett his portesse fall to the grounde, he was so testye that he sett Piçar and his souldiers forwardes, cryenge, Vengeaunce, Christians, vengeaunce! give the chardge upon them; whereby many Indians, withoute resistaunce, or any stroke stricken on their partes, were moste pitefully murdred and massacred, and Atabalipa himselfe taken, and afterwardes trecherously put to deathe; this Frier himselfe, by Gods juste iudgement, was afterwardes beaten to deathe with clubbes by the inhabitantes of Puna, as he fledd from Don Diego de Almagre, as Fraunces Lopez de Gomera precisely and of purpose noteth, libro 5. cap. 85. of his Generall Historie of the Indies; and, besides him, all the reste of the chefe that were the executioners of his rashe counsell, and of the Popes Donation, came to moste wretched and unfortunate endes, as the aforesaide author there setteth downe in twoo severall chapiters of Considerations, as he calleth them.

Moreover, since the fourme of the donation ronneth not absolutely, but with this condition and chardge moste straightly enjoyned, viz., that the Kinges of Spaine shoulde sende thither sober and godly men, and cause the inhabitantes of those contries discovered or to be discovered to be instructed in the Catholique faithe, and noseled in goodd manners, and that they shoulde carefully applye themselves thereunto; wee answer, that these conditions have bene wonderfully neglected, and that neither the people have bene carefully instructed in relligion nor manners, and consequently that the conditions beinge not perfourmed the [261]
donation oughte of righte to be voide. For the Kinges of Spaine have sent suche helhoundes and wolves thither as have not converted, but almoste quite subverted them, and have rooted oute above fiftene millions of reasonable creatures, as Bartholmewe de Casas, the Bisshoppe of Chiapa in the West Indies, a Spaniarde borne, dothe write at large in a whole volume of that argumente. And Gonsalvo de Ouiedo, another of their owne historiographers, and Capitaine of the Castle of Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola, affirmeth the like: For there hath Spaniardes come into these contries, saieth he, which, havinge lefte their consciences and all feare of God and men behinde them, have plaied the partes not of men, but of dragons and infidells, and, havinge no respecte of humanitie, have bene the cause that many Indians, that peradventure mighte have bene converted and saved, are deade by divers and sondrie kindes of deathes. And althoughe those people had not bene converted, yet if they had bene lett to live, they mighte have bene profitable to your Majestie and an aide unto the Christians, and certaine partes of the lande shoulde not wholy have bene disinhabited, which by this occasion are altogether in a manner dispeopled. And they that have bene the cause of suche destruction call this contrie thus dispeopled and wasted, the contrie conquered and pacified; but I call it, quoth Gonsaluo, the contrie which is destroyed and ruyned; yea, so farr have they bene of from drawinge the Indians to the likinge of

Christianitie and true Relligion, that the sentence of the Apostle may moste truly be verified of them, whoe saieth: The name of God is blasphemed amonge the Gentiles throughe you; ffor proofe whereof you shall not nede to reade but that which Peter Benzo of Milan hath written, whoe remayned in these Indies, and served in the warres with the Spaniardes againste the Indians for the space of fourtene yeres. This Benzo saieth that the Indians, not havinge studied logicke, concluded very pertinently and categorically, that the Spaniardes, which spoiled their contrie, were more dangerous then wilde beastes, more furious then lyons, more fearefull and terrible then fire and water, or any thinge that is moste outeragious in the worlde. Some also called them the fome of the sea, others gave them names of the beastes which are moste cruell and lyvinge of praye which they have in their contrie. There were some likewise that called them Tuira, as one would say, the Devills goodd grace.

[262] Those thinges beinge thus, whoe seeth not that the Pope is frustrated of the ende which he intended in his Donation, and so the same oughte not to take effecte?

5. Ffiftly, yf yt be true and that the Pope mente goodd earnest, that all Emperours and Kinges which should sende their subjectes or others to discover withoute the Kinge of Spaines leave shoulde be excommunicated by him, why did he not first excommunicate Kinge Henry the Seaventh for sendinge furthe Sebastian Gabota with three hundred Englishemen, whoe by Gomera his owne confession, discovered from 58. degrees in the northe to 38. degrees towardes the equinoctiall? Why did he not the like to Kinge Henry the Eighte for sendinge to discover westwarde, in the xixth. yere of his reigne, while he was yet in obedience to the Churche of Rome? Why was he not offended and incensed againste Queene Mary, whoe suffered her subjectes, in the yere 1556. to seke oute, by the northeaste, the way to Cathaio and China, which are bothe within the pretended lymites of his donation, as John Gaetan and other Spaniardes doe write? Why did he not ex-

ercise his censures ecclesiasticall againste the Kinge of Ffraunce, Fraunces the Firste, for sendinge furthe Verarsanus twise or thrise, Iaques Cartier twise, and Robervall once, towardes the southwest and northwest? Why was not Henry the Seconde of Fraunce excomunicated for sendinge Villegagnon to inhabite in Brasill under the tropicke of Capricorne? Or Charles the IXth. for aidinge Ribault firste, and after Ladoniere, and a thirde tyme Ribault, to fortifie and inhabite in Florida? Or why did he not thunder againste Emanuell, Kinge of Portingale, for sufferinge Gasper Corterealis twise to seke to finde oute the northweste passage, and one of his brothers another time afterwarde? Or wherefore did he not openly rebuke the Kinge of Denmarke for sufferinge his subjecte, John Scolno, a Dane, in the yere 1500. to seke the Straighte by the northweste, of whome Gemma Frisius and Hieronymo Giraua, a Spaniarde, make mention? Or what shoulde be the reason, that all these kinges of England, Fraunce, Portingale and Denmarke, beinge otherwise all at these times in obedience of the Churche of Rome, shoulde, withoute consente as yt were, disanull and neuer make accompte of this Bull of the Pope? which thinge doubtles they woulde never have don, yf they had bene fully perswaded in their consciences, that if any Prince or Emperour, of what estate or condition soever, shoulde attempte the contrary, as it is in the conclusion of the said Bull, he shoulde be assured to incurr the indignation of Almightie God and of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Pawle. But nowe, seinge all [263] the kinges aforesaide sente all their subjectes to discover beyonde the Popes partition lyne withoute the leave or permission of the Spaniarde, they seme with one accorde to testifie unto the worlde, that they made no reconynge of the breache of that Bull, as of an acte moste unjuste, moste unreasonable, and moste prejudiciall to all other Christian princes of the worlde.

Againe; yt were small charitie in the Popes to curse those Princes that have bene or are willinge to employe their treasures and people in advauncinge the honour and glory of God, and the

lawfull enrichinge and benefite of their people. And whatsoeuer Pope shoulde excommunicate or curse any Christian prince for seekinge to reduce to the knowledge of God and to civill manners those infinite multitudes of infidells and heathen people of the West Indies, which the Spaniardes in all this time have not so moche as discovered, moche less subdued or converted, his curse woulde lighte upon his owne heade, and, to those which he cursed undeservedly, woulde be turned to a blessinge.

To be shorte; thoughe Pope Alexander the vj'th by his unequall division, hath so puffed upp and inflamed with pride his moste ambitious and insatiable contrymen, that they are growen to this high conceite of themselves, that they shall shortly attaine to be lordes and onely seigniors of all the earthe, insomoche as Gonsaluo de Ouiedo sticketh not to write to Charles the Emperour, sayenge: God hath geven you these Indies *accio che vostra Maiesta sia universale et unico monarcha del mondo*—to the intente that your Majesty shoulde be the universall and onely monarch of the world; yet God that sitteth in heaven laugheth them and their partitions to scorne, and he will abase and bringe downe their proude lookes, and humble ther faces to the duste; yea, he will make them, at his goodd time and pleasure, to confesse that the earthe was not made for them onely; as he hath already shewed unto the Portingales, which, not longe since, takinge upon them to devide the worlde with lynes, doe nowe beholde the line of Gods juste judgmente drawen over themselves and their owne kingdome and possessions. And nowe, no doubte, many of them remember that the threateninge of the prophet hath taken holde upon them, whoe pronounceth an heavie woe againste all suche as spoile, because they themselves shall at length be spoiled. [264]

6. Finally, to come to the sixte and laste pointe, yf you consider what recompense the Kinges of Spaine have made to the Popes for this so greate a benefite bestowed upon them, you shall easely see and acknowledge with me, that they were either moste

ungrateful, or, which is moste likely, that they never thoughte that they helde the Indies as the Popes gifte unto them, or that their title unto those regions depended upon his francke almes or liberalitie; ffor, if they had don soe, they coulde have done no lesse but have geven him the presentation of all archebisshopricks and bisshoprickes, and other greate ecclesiastical promotions in recompence of their former and large curtesie, wherein they have don the flatt contrary, reservinge onely unto themselves the presentation and patronage of all the archebisshopricks and bisshopricks that they have erected in the West Indies; ffor, as Gomera saieth in his 6. booke and 23. chapiter of his Generall Historie of the Indies, the Kinge of Spaine is patrone of all the archebisshopricks, bysshoprickes, dignities, and benefices of the West Indies, and so he onely appointeth and presenteth them, so that he is absolute lorde of the Indies.

This argueth that the Kinges of Spaine never made any greate accompte of the Popes Donation, but onely to blinde the eyes of the worlde with the sea of Rome; ffor doubtles, if they had acknowledged their tenure to depende, as I saied, of the Popes mere liberalitie, they woulde have don otherwise, and woulde have requited them farr otherwise then by excludinge them quite oute, and makinge themselves absolute patrones of all ecclesiasticall dignities whatsoever.

Chap. XX. A briefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.

1. The soyle yeldeth, and may be made to yelde, all the severall comodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes, domynions, and territories that England tradeth withe, that by trade of marchandize cometh into this realme.

2. The passage thither and home is neither to longe nor to
[265] shorte, but easie, and to be made twise in the yere.

3. The passage cutteth not nere the trade of any prince, nor nere any of their contries or territories, and is a safe passage, and not easie to be annoyed by prince or potentate whatsoever.

4. The passage is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and in that respecte passeth our trades in the Levant Seas within the Straites of Juberalter, and the trades in the seas within the Kinge of Denmarkes Straite, and the trades to the portes of Norwey and of Russia, &c.; for as in the south weste Straite there is no passage in somer by lacke of windes, so within the other places there is no passage in winter by yse and extreme colde.

5. And where England nowe for certen hundreth yeres last passed, by the peculiar comoditie of wolles, and of later yeres by clothinge of the same, hath raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moche higher honour, mighte, and power then before, to the equallinge of the princes of the same to the greatest potentates of this parte of the worlde: it cometh nowe so to passe, that by the greate endevour of the increase of the trade of wolles in Spaine and in the West Indies, nowe daily more and more multiplienge, that the wolles of England, and the clothe made of the same, will become base, and every day more base then other; which, prudently weyed, yt behoveth this realme, yf it meane not to returne to former olde meanes and basenes, but to stande in present and late former honour, glorye, and force, and not negligently and sleepingly to slyde into beggery, to foresee and to plante at Norumbega or some like place, were it not for any thing els but for the hope of the vent of our woll indraped, the principall and in effecte the onely enrichinge contynueinge naturall comoditie of this realme. And effectually pursueinge that course, wee shall not onely finde on that tracte of lande, and especially in that firme northwarde (to whome warme clothe shalbe righte wellcome), an ample vente, but also shall, from the north side of that firme, finde oute knowen and unknowen ilandes

and domynions replenisbed with people that may fully vent the aboundance of that our comoditie, that els will in fewe yeres waxe of none or of small value by forreine aboundaunce, &c.; so as by this enterprice wee shall shonne the ymmynent mischefe hanginge over our heades, that els muste nedes fall upon the realme, without breache of peace or sworde drawen againste this realme by any forreine state; and not offer our auncient riches to scornefull neighboures at home, nor sell the same in effecte for [266] nothinge, as wee shall shortly, if presently it be not provaided for. The increase of the wolles of Spaine and America is of highe pollicie, with greate desire of our overthrowe, endevoured; and the goodnes of the forren wolles our people will not enter into the consideration of, nor will not beleve aughte, they be so sotted with opinion of their owne; and, yf it be not foresene and some such place of vent provided, farewell the goodd state of all degrees in this realme.

6. This enterprise may staye the Spanishe Kinge from flowinge over all the face of that waste firme of America, yf wee seate and plante there in time, in tyme I say, and wee by plantinge shall lett him from makinge more shorte and more safe returnes oute of the noble portes of the purposed places of our plantinge, then by any possibilitie he can from the parte of the firme that nowe his navies by ordinary courses come from, in this that there is no comparison betwene the portes of the coastes that the Kinge of Spaine dothe nowe possesse and use, and the portes of the coastes that our nation is to possesse by plantinge at Norumbega and on that tracte faste by, more to the northe and northeaste, and in that there is from thence a moche shorter course, and a course of more temperature, and a course that possesseth more contynuance of ordinary windes, then the present course of the Spanishe Indian navies nowe dothe. And England possessinge the purposed place of plantinge, her Majestie may, by the benefete of the seate, havinge wonne goodd and royall havens, have plentie of excellent trees for mastes, of goodly timber to builde

shippes and to make greate navies, of pitche, tarr, hempe, and all thinges incident for a navie royall, and that for no price, and withoute money or request. Howe easie a matter may yt be to this realme, swarminge at this day with valiant youthes, rustinge and hurtfull by lacke of employment, and havinge goodd makers of cable and of all sortes of cordage, and the best and moste connynge shipwrights of the worlde, to be lordes of all those sees, and to spoile Phillipps Indian navye, and to deprive him of yerely passage of his treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome, and to pull him downe in equalitie to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cut of the common mischefes that come to all Europe by the peculiar aboundance of his Indian treasure, and thiss withoute difficultie.

7. This voyadge, albeit it may be accomplished by barke
[267] or smallest pynnesse for advise or for a necessitie, yet for the distaunce, for burden and gaine in trade, the marchant will not for profitts sake use it but by shippes of greate burden; so as this realme shall have by that meane shippes of greate burden and of greate strengthe for the defence of this realme, and for the defence of that newe seate, as nede shall require, and withall greate increase of perfecte seamen, which greate princes in time of warres wante, and which kinde of men are neither nourished in fewe daies nor in fewe yeres.

8. This newe navie of mightie newe stronge shippes, so in trade to that Norumbega and to the coastes there, shall never be subjecte to arreste of any prince or potentate, as the navie of this realme from time to time hath bene in the portes of the empire, in the portes of the Base Contries, in Spaine, Fraunce, Portingale, &c., in the tymes of Charles the Emperour, Fraunces the Frenche kinge, and others: but shall be alwayes free from that bitter mischeefe, withoute grefe or hazarde to the marchaunte or to the state, and so alwaies readie at the comaundement of the prince with mariners, artillory, armor, and munition, ready to

offende and defender as shalbe required.

9. The greate masse of wealthe of the realme imbarqued in the marchantes shippes, caried oute in this newe course, shall not lightly, in so farr distant a course from the coaste of Europe, be driven by windes and tempestes into portes of any forren princes, as the Spanishe shippes of late yeres have bene into our portes of the Weste Contries, &c.; and so our marchantes in respecte of a generall safetie from venture of losse, are by this voyadge oute of one greate mischefe.

10. No forren commoditie that comes into England comes withoute payment of custome once, twise, or thrise, before it come into the realme, and so all forren comodities become derer to the subjectes of this realme; and by this course to Norumbega forren princes customes are avoided; and the forren comodities cheapely purchased, they become cheape to the subjectes of England, to the common benefite of the people, and to the savinge of greate treasure in the realme; whereas nowe the realme become the poore by the purchasinge of forreine comodities in so greate a masse at so excessive prices.

11. At the firste traficque with the people of those partes, the subjectes of the realme for many yeres shall chaunge many cheape comodities of these partes for thinges of highe valor there not estemed; and this to the greate inrichinge of the realme, if [268] common use faile not.

12. By the greate plentie of those regions the marchantes and their factors shall lye there cheape, buye and repaire their shippes cheape, and shall returne at pleasure withoute staye or restrainte of forreine prince; whereas upon staies and restraintes the marchaunte raiseth his chardge in sale over his ware; and, buyenge his wares cheape, he may mainteine trade with smalle stocke, and withoute takinge upp money upon interest; and so he shalbe riche and not subjecte to many hazardes, but shalbe able to afforde the comodities for cheape prices to all subjectes of the realme.

13. By makinge of shippes and by preparinge of thinges for the same, by makinge of cables and cordage, by plantinge of vines and olive trees, and by makinge of wyne and oyle, by husbandrie, and by thousandes of thinges there to be don, infinite nombers of the English nation may be set on worke, to the unburdenynge of the realme with many that nowe lyve chardgeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea coste serve for makinge of salte, and the inland for wine, oiles, oranges, lymons, figges, &c. and for makinge of yron, all which with moche more is hoped, withoute sworde drawen, wee shall cutt the combe of the Frenche, of the Spanishe, of the Portingale, and of enemies, and of doubtfull frendes, to the abatinge of their wealthe and force, and to the greater savinge of the wealthe of the realme.

15. The substaunces servinge, wee may oute of those partes receave the masse of wrought wares that now wee receave out of Fraunce, Flaunders, Germanye, &c.: and so wee may daunte the pride of some enemies of this realme, or at the leaste in parte purchase those wares, that nowe wee buye derely of the Frenche and Flemynge, better cheape; and in the ende, for the part that this realme was wonte to receave, dryve them out of trade to idlenes for the settinge of our people on worke.

16. Wee shall by plantinge there inlarge the glory of the gospell, and from England plante sincere religion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receave people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truthe of Gods worde.

17. If frontier warres there chaunce to aryse, and if thereupon wee shall fortifie, yt will occasion the trayninge upp of our youthe in the discipline of warr, and make a nomber fitt for the
[269] service of the warres and for the defence of our people there and at home.

18. The Spaniardes governe in the Indies with all pride and tyranie; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye

with one voice, *Liberta, liberta*, as desirous of libertie and freedome, so no doubte whensoever the Queene of England, a prince of such clemencie, shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalbe reported throughe oute all that tracte to use the naturall people there with all humanitie, curtesie, and freedome, they will yelde themselves to her governemente, and revolte cleane from the Spaniarde, and specially when they shall understande that she hath a noble navie, and that she aboundeth with a people moste valiaunte for theyr defence. And her Majestie havinge Sir Fraunces Drake and other subjectes already in credite with the Symerons, a people or greate multitude alreadye revolted from the Spanishe governmente, she may with them and a fewe hundrethes of this nation, trayned upp in the late warres of Fraunce and Flaunders, bringe greate thinges to passe, and that with greate ease; and this broughte so aboute, her Majestie and her subjectes may bothe enjoye the treasure of the mynes of golde and silver, and the whole trade and all the gaine of the trade of marchandize, that none passeth thither by the Spaniardes onely hande, of all the comodities of Europe; which trade of marchandise onely were of it selfe suffycient (withoute the benefite of the rich myne) to inriche the subjectes, and by customes to fill her Majesties coffers to the full. And if it be highe pollicie to mayneteyne the poore people of this realme in worke, I dare affirme that if the poore people of England were five times as many as they be, yet all mighte be sett on worke in and by workinge lynnen, and suche other thinges of marchandize as the trade in the Indies dothe require.

19. The present shorte trades causeth the maryner to be caste of and ofte to be idle, and so by povertie to fall to piracie. But this course to Norumbega beinge longer, and a contynuance of the employmente of the maryner, dothe kepe the maryner from ydlenes and necessitie; and so it cutteth of the principall actions of piracie, and the rather because no riche praye for them to take cometh directly in their course or any thing nere their course.

20. Many men of excellent wittes and of divers singuler giftes,
[270] overthrowen by sea, or by some folly of youthe, that are not able to live in England, may there be raised againe, and doe their contrie goodd service; and many nedefull uses there may (to greate purpose) require the savinge of greate nombers, that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by the gallowes.

21. Many souldiers and servitours, in the ende of the warres, that mighte be hurtfull to this realme, may there be unladen, to the common profite and quiet of this realme, and to our forreine benefite there, as they may be employed.

22. The frye of the wandringe beggars of England, that growe upp ydly, and hurtefull and burdenous to this realme, may there be unladen, better bredd upp, and may people waste contries to the home and forreine benefite, and to their owne more happy state.

23. If Englande crie oute and affirme, that there is so many in all trades that one cannot live for another, as in all places they doe, this Norumbega (if it be thoughte so goodd) offreth the remedie.

Chap. XXI. A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge, which is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideration, then for any other reason; for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, withoute the which the voyadge is maymed.

Dead Victuall.

Hoggs fleshe, barrelled and salted, in greate quantitie.
Befe, barrelled, in lesse quantitie.
Stockfishe, Meale in barrells.
Oatemeale, in barrells, nere cowched.

Ryse, Sallett Oile, barrelied Butter.
Cheese, Hony in barrells.
Currans, Raisons of the sonne.
Dried Prunes, Olives in barrells.
Beanes, dryed on the kill.
Pease, dried likewise.
Canary Wines, Hollocke. [271]
Sacks racked.
Vinegar very stronge.
Aqua Vitæ.
Syders of Ffraunce, Spaine, and England.
Bere, brewed specially in speciall tyme.

Victuall by Rootes And Herbes.

Turnep Seede.
Passeneape Sede.
Radishe.
Cariott.
Naviewes.
Garlicke.
Onyons.
Leekes.
Melons.
Pompions.
Cowcombers.
Cabage Cole.
Parseley.
Lettis.
Endiffe.
Alexander.
Orege.
Tyme.
Rosemary.
Mustard Seede.

Fennell.
Anny Seedes, newe and freshe to be sowen.

The Encrese, Renewe, and the Continewe of Victuall at the Plantinge Places, and Men and Thinges Incident and Tendinge to the Same.

Bores, Sowes.
Conies, Bucke and Dowe.
Doves, male and female.
Cockes, Hennes.
Duckes, male and female, for lowe soiles.
Turkies, male and female.
Wheat, Rye, Barley.
Bigge, or Barley Bere.
Oates, Beanes.
Pease, Ffacches.
Three square Graine.
Suger cane planters with the plantes.
Vyne planters.
Olyve planters.
[272] Gardiners for herbes, rootes, and for all earthe frutes.
Graffers for frute trees.
Hunters, skilfull to kill wilde beasts for vittell.
Warryners to breede conies and to kill vermyn.
Fowlers.
Sea Fisshers.
Fresh water Fisshers.
Knytters of netts.
Butchers.
Salters and seasoners of vittell.
Salte makers.
Cookes.
Bakers.
Brewers.

Greyhounds to kill deere, &c.
Mastives to kill heavie beastes of rapyne and for nighte watches.
Bloude houndes to recover hurte dere.

Provisions Tendinge to Force.

Men experte in the arte of fortification.
Platformes of many formes redied to carry with you by advise of the best.
Capitaines of longe and of greate experience.
Souldiers well trayned in Fflaunders to joyne with the younger.
Harqubusshiers of skill.
Archers, stronge bowmen.
Bowyers.
Ffletchers.
Arrow head makers.
Bow stave preparers.
Glew makers.
Morryce pike makers, and of halbert staves.
Makers of spades and shovells for pyoners, trentchers, and forte makers.
Makers of basketts to cary earthe to fortes and rampiers.
Pioners and spademen for fortification.
Salte peter makers.
Gonne powder makers.
Targett makers of hornes, defensive againste savages.
Oylethole doublett makers, defensive, lighte and gentle to lye in. [273]
Turners of targetts of elme, and of other toughe woodds lighte.
Shippes, Pynesses, Barkes, Busses with flatt bottoms, furnished with experte Seamen.

Swifte boates and barges to passe by winde and oare, covered with quilted canvas of defence againste shott from the shoare, to perce ryvers for discoverie, and to passe to and froe, offensive and defensive againste savages devised by Mr. Bodenham of Spaine.
Shipwrights in some nomber to be employed on the timber.
Oare makers, and makers of cable and cordage.

Provisions Incident to the First Traficque and Trade of Marchandize.

Grubbers and rooters upp of cipres, cedars and of all other faire trees, for to be employed in coffers, deskes, &c., for traficque.
Mattocks, narrowe and longe, of yron to that purpose.
Millwrights, to make milles for spedy and cheap sawinge of timber and boardes for trade, and first traficque of sucrue.
Millwrights, for corne milles.
Sawyers, for comon use.
Carpinters, for buildinges.
Joyners, to cutt oute the boordes into chests to be imbarqued for England.
Blacksmithes, to many greate and nedefull uses.
Pitche makers.
Tarr makers.
Burners of asshes for the trade of sope asshes.
Cowpers, for barrells to inclose those asshes.
Tallow chandlers, to prepare the tallowe to be incasked for England.
Waxechandlers, to prepare waxe in like sorte.
Diers, to seeke in that firme that riche cochinilho and other thinges for that trade.
Mynerall men.

Artesanes, Servinge our Firste Planters, Not in Traficque But For Buildinges.

Brick makers.
Synkers of walles and finders of springes.
Tile makers. [274]
Lyme makers.
Quarrells to digge tile.
Bricklayers.
Roughe Masons.
Tilers.
Carpinters.
Thachers with reedes, russhes, broome, or strawe.
Lathmakers.

Artesans, Sekvinge Our Firste Planters, and in Parte Servinge for Traficque.

Barbors.
Bottlemakers of London.
Launders.
Shoemakers, coblers.
Tailors.
Tanners, white tawyers.
Botchers.
Buffe skynne dressers.
Paile makers.
Shamew skynne dressers.
Burcachiomakers.

A Present Provision For Raisinge a Notable Trade for the Time to Come. The knitt wollen cappe of Toledo in Spaine, called *bonetto rugio colterado*, so infinitely solde to the Moores in Barbarie and Affricke, is to be prepared in London, Hereforde, and Rosse, and to be vented to the people, and may become a notable trade of gaine to the marchaunte, and a greate reliefe to oure poore people and a sale of our woll and of our labour; and beinge suche a cappe that every particular person will buye

and may easelie compasse, the sale wil be greate in shorte time, especially if our people weare them at their first arryvall there.

Thinges Forgotten May Here Be Noted As They Come To Mynde, and After Be Placed With The Rest, and After That In All Be Reduced Into The Best Order.[83] That there be appointed one or twoo preachers for the voyadge, that God may be honoured, the people instructed, mutinies the better avoided, and obedience the better used, that the voyadge may have the better successe.

That the voyadge be furnished with Bibles and with Bookes of service. That the bookes of the discoveries and conquests of
[275] the Easte Indies be carried with you.

That the bookes of the discoveries of the West Indies, and the conquests of the same, be also caried, to kepe men occupied from worse cogitations, and to raise their myndes to courage and highe enterprizes, and to make them lesse careles for the better shonnynge of comon daungers in suche cases arisinge. And because men are more apte to make themselves subjecte in obedience to prescribed lawes sett downe and signed by a prince, then to the changeable will of any capitaine, be he never so wise or temperate, never so free from desire of revenge, it is wisshed that it were learned oute what course bothe the Spaniardes and Portingales tooke, in their discoveries, for government, and that the same were delivered to learned men, that had pased most of the lawes of the empire and of other princes lawes, and that thereupon some speciall orders, fitt for voyadges and begynnynges, mighte upon deliberation be sett downe and allowed by the Queenes moste excellent Majestie and her wise counsell; and, faire ingrossed, mighte in a table be sett before the eyes of suche as goe in the voyadge, that no man poonished or executed may justly complaine of manifeste and open wronge offred.

That some phisition be provided to minister by counsell and

[83] Evidently memoranda added to the Manuscript from time to time.

by phisicke, to kepe and preserve from sicknes, or by skill to cure suche as fall into disease and distemperature.

A surgeon to lett bloude, and for such as may chaunce, by warres or otherwise, to be hurte, is more nedefull for the voyadge.

An apothecarye to serve the phisition is requisite; and the phisition deinge, he may chaunce (well chosen) to stande in steede of one and thother, and to sende into the realme, by seede and roote, herbes and plantes of rare excellencie.

If suche plentie of honye be in these regions as is saied, yt were to goodd purpose to cary in the voyadge suche of the servauntes of the Russia Companie as have the skill to make the drincke called meth, which they use in Russia and Poland, and nerer, as in North Wales, for their wine; and, if you cannot cary any suche, to cary the order of the makinge of yt in writinge, that it may be made for a nede.

And, before many thinges, this one thinge is to be called, as yt were, with spede to mynde, that the prisons and corners of London are full of decayed marchantes, overthrowen by losse at sea, by usuerers, suertishippe, and by sondry other suche meanes, and dare or cannot for their debtes shewe their faces; and in truthe many excellent giftes be in many of these men, and their goodd gtftes are not ymployed to any manner of use, nor are [276] not like of themselves to procure libertie to employe themselves, but are, withoute some speciall meane used, to starve by wante, or to shorten their tymes by thoughte; and for that these men, schooled in the house of adversitie, are drawen to a degree higher in excellencye, and may be employed to greater uses in this purposed voyadge, yt were to greate purpose to use meanes by aucthoritie for suche as maliciously, wrongfully, or for triflinge causes are deteyned, and to take of them and of others that hide their heades, and to employe them; for so they may be relieved, and the enterprice furthered in many respectes.

And, in choice of all artesanes for the voyadge, this general rule were goodd to be observed, that no man be chosen that is

A most nedeful note.

knowen to be a Papiste, for the speciall inclynation they have of favour to the Kinge of Spaine.

That also, of those artesanes which are Protestantes, that where you may have chaunge and choice, that suche as be moste stronge and lusty men be chosen, and suche as can best handle his bowe or his harquebushe; for the more goodd giftes that the goers in the voyadge have, the more ys the voyadge benefited. And therefore (many goinge) yf every mans giftes and goodd qualities be entred into a booke before they be receaved, they may be employed upon any necessitie in the voyadge in this or in that, according as occasion of nede shall require.
FINIS.

XXIII. The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Maiestie to M. Walter Ralegh now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more.

Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certaine science, and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe graunt to our trusty and welbeloued seruant Walter Ralegh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free liberty and licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, [277] search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him,

his heires and assignes, and to euery or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to haue, holde, occupy and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdictions, royalties, priuiledges, franchises and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoeuer we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and successors, shal goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, the statutes or act or Parliament made against fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especiall grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for us, our heires and successors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take and leade in the sayde voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and euery or any of them, such, and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to haue, take and employ, and vse sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by vs, our heires or successors.

And further that the said Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and euery of them, shall haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes, and euery of them for euer, all

the soyle of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to be discouered and possessed as aforesayd, and of all such Cities, Castles, Townes, Villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and iurisdictions, as well marine as
[278] other within the sayd landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vsed, with full power to dispose thereof, and of euery part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors: reseruing alwayes to vs, our heires and successors, for all seruices, dueties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obteined: All which lands, Countreis, and territories shall for euer be holden of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, of vs, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the sayd payment of the said fift part, reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we do by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist aswell by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoeuer, all and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the especiall liking and licence of the sayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayde Countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreys as aforesayde (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesayd with the subiects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with vs) where the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or assignes, or any

of them, or his, or their, or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoeuer, all and euery those person or persons, with their Shippes, Vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the sayde Walter Ralegh, or his [279] heires, or assignes, as aforesayd, shalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforesayd, (the subiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they haue commonly vsed, or being driuen by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and every of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possess as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countryes, landes, and territories, so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we doe by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesayd, from thencefoorth shall be of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successors. And wee doe graunt to the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes,

Free Denization graunted.

shall in his iourneis for discouerie, or in the iourneis for conquest hereafter travaile to such lands, countreis, and territories, as aforesayd, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being eyther borne within our sayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countryes, or Territories, with such licence, (as aforesayd) shall and may haue all the priuiledge of Denizens, and persons natiue of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as vpon the finding out, discouering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safety of all men, that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneyes or voyages, to determine to liue
[280] together in Christian peace, and ciuill quietnesse eche with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit enioy that whereunto they shall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for vs, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assigns for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capitall, or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects, as shal from time to time aduenture themselues in the said iourneis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreis, or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the sayde place or places, where the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or

their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances as shall be by him the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them deuised, or established, for the better gouernment of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernment, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, nowe professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the alleagance of vs, our heires and successors, as their immediate Soueraign vnder God.

And further, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant ful power and authoritie to our welbeloued Counsailour Sir William Cecill knight, Lord Burghley, our high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England, for vs, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the priuie Counsaile of vs, our heires and successors, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or Seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the sayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him and [281] by themselues, or by their, or any of their sufficient Atturneis, Deputies, Officers, Ministers, Factors, and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities, of any our Realmes, as to the sayde Lorde Treasurer, or foure or more of the priuie Counsaile, of vs our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisedomes, or discretions thought meete and conuenient, for the

better reliefe and supportation of him the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust or vnlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subiects of vs, our heires or successors, or to any of the subiects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Gouernors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and successors, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Gouernour or estate, or their subjects, wee, our heirs and successors, shall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whom these our Letters patents may extende, shall within the terms to bee limited, by such Proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such iniuries done: so as both we and the said Princes, or other so complaining, may hold vs and themselues fully contented: And that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limitted, that then it shal be lawful to vs, our heires and successors, to put the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discoured (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegeance and protection, and that from and after such time of
[282] putting out of protection of the sayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes, and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subiects, nor by vs any

way to be auouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegeance any way belonging: for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premisses, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made in these presents bee not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, prouision, proclamation or restraint, to the contrary thereof, before the time, giuen, ordained, or prouided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoeuer, in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selues, at Westminster, the fiue and twentie day of March, in the sixe and twentith yeere of our Raigns. Anno 1584.

XXIV. The first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discouered part of the Countrey now called Virginia Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captaines, and sent to sir Walter Ralegh knight, at whose charge and direction, the said voyage was set forth.[84]

The 27 day of Aprill, in the yere of our redemption 1584, we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished

[84] This is the voyage that was taking place while Hakluyt was writing his Discourse on Planting I have given above.

with men and victuals, hauing receiued our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements deliuered by your selfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnnecessary, for the manifest discouerie of the Countrey, as also for tediousnesse sake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our course, sayling thither and returning: onely I haue presumed to present vnto you this briefe discourse, by which you may iudge how profitable
[283] this land is likely to succeede, as well to your selfe, (by whose direction and charge, and by whose seruantes this our discouerie hath beene performed) as also to her Highnesse, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisedome wilbe satisfied, considering that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by those smal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.

A Southerly course not greatly needful for Virginia.

The tenth of May we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of Iune in this present yeere, we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies, keeping a more Southeasterly course then was needefull, because wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwardes we found it to bee. At which Islands we found the ayre very vnwholsome, and our men grew for the most part ill disposed: so that hauing refreshed our selues with sweet water, and fresh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arriuall there. These Islands, with the rest adioyning, are so well knowen to your selfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

A sweet smell from the land.

The second of Iuly, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arriued vpon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we

sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or riuer issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without some difficultie, and cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the hauens mouth, on the left hand of the same: and after thankes giuen to God for our safe arriuall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adioyning, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after deliuered the same ouer to your vse, according to her Maiesties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highnesse great seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies vsed in such enterprises, we viewed the land about vs, being whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the sea ouerflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little shrubbe, as also climing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my selfe hauing seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

The first riuer. Iuly 13 possession taken.

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Abundance of grapes.

We passed from the Sea side towardes the toppes of those hilles next adioyning, being but of meane higth, and from thence wee behelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee found to bee but an Island of twentie miles long, and not above sixe miles broade. Vnder the banke or hill whereon we stoode, we behelde the vallyes replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose vnder vs, with such a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together.

The Isle of Wokokon.

This Island had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies,

Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middest of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscouia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the vine of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streighte of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole dayes before we saw any people of the Countrey: the third day we espied one small boate rowing towardes vs having in it three persons: this boat came to the Island side, foure harquebuz-shot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shoreside towards vs, and wee being then all within boord, he walked vp and downe vpon the point of the land next vnto vs: then the Master and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others rowed to the land, whose comming this fellow attended, neuer making any shewe of feare or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not vnderstood by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ships, and gaue him a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after hauing viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boat againe, which hee had left in a little Coue or Creeke adioyning: assoone as hee was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he diuided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnesse; which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites receiued, departed out of our sight.

Conference with a Sauage.

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Abundance of fish.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men,

The ariuall of the kings brother.

very handsome and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly and ciuill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Maiestie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this sort: hee left his boates altogether as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shore, and came along to the place ouer against the ships, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place his seruants spread a long matte vpon the ground, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat a farre off: when we came to the shore to him with our weapons, hee neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer mistrusted any harme to be offered from vs, but sitting still he beckoned vs to come and sit by him, which we performed: and being set hee made all signes of ioy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast and afterwardes on ours, to shew wee were all one, smiling and making shewe the best he could of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech vnto vs, wee presented him with diuers things, which hee receiued very ioyfully, and thankefully. None of the companie durst speake one worde all the time: only the foure which were at theother ende, spake one in the others eare very softly. The King is greately obeyed, and his brothers [286] and children reuerenced: the King himselfe in person was at our being there, sore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reason whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being sixe dayes iourney off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, wee likewise gaue somewhat to the other that satte with him on the matte: but presently he arose and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making signes and

tokens, that all things ought to bee deliuered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruants, and followers. A day or two after this we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he sawe, a bright tinne dish most pleased him, which hee presently tooke vp and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making signes that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne dish for twentie skinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fiftie Crownes. They offered vs good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for kniues and would haue giuen any thing for swordes: but wee would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboord the shippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a fewe days ouerpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: shee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead shee had a bande of white Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, (whereof wee deliuered your worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and some of the children of the kings brother and other noble men, haue fiue or sixe in either eare: he himselfe had vpon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being vnpolished we knew not what mettall it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire

Trafficke with the Sauages. Tinne much esteemed.

White corall. Perles.

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long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine aburne and chesnut coloured haire.

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, diuers kindes of dies, very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the gouernours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderstood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouernours, then these doe. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to vs (as she did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on land, sauing her two daughters, her nurse and one or two more. The kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would hee make on the shore a farre off, to the end we might vnderstand with what strength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch trees: a wood not commenly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge-tooles to make them withall; if they haue any they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeres since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wracke which happened vpon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saued, but only the ship, or some part of her being cast vpon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nayles and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, putting gumme and rosen vpon one side thereof, they set fire

Pitch trees.

The manner or making their boates.

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into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shels, and euer where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serueth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and diuers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them: but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that we esteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderstoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worshippe doeth very well vnderstand.

He was very iust of his promise: for many times we deliuered him merchandize vpon his word, but euer he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent vs euery day a brase or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent vs diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Pease, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well tasted, and groweth three times in fiue moneths: in May they sow, in Iuly they reape, in Iune they sow, in August they reape: in Iuly they sow, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a wodden mattock, or pickeaxe: our selues prooued the soile, and put some of our Pease in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they haue also Beanes very faire of diuers colours and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so haue they wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholsome of all the worlde: there were aboue fourteene seuerall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their vnderwoods are Bayes and such like: they haue those Okes that we haue, but farre greater and better. After they had bene diuers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, with seuen more went twentie mile

into the Riuer, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following, wee came to an Island which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered, seuen leagues: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the [289] entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially; when wee came towardes it, standing neere vnto the waters side, the wife of Granganimeo the kings brother came running out to meete vs very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village: some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe: others she appointed to cary vs on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing fiue roomes in her house, she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all thinges ordered in the best maner shee could, making great haste to dress some meate for vs to eate.

After we had thus dryed ourselues, she brought vs into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house; some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fish sodden, boyled and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of diuers kindes and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and black Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and diuers others wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue and kindnesse, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could possibly deuise. We found the people most gentle, louing, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as liue after the maner

of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defende them selues from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselues with such meat as the soile affoordeth: their meat is very well sodden and they make broth very sweet and sauorie: their vessels are earthern pots, very large, white and sweete, their dishes are wodden platters of sweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as shee espied our mistrust, shee was very much mooued, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening and would not tary all night she was very sory, and gaue vs into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pottes and all, and brought vs to our boate side, in which wee lay all night, remoouing the same a prettie distance from the shoare: shee perceiuing our ielousie, was much grieued, and sent diuers men and thirtie women, to sit all night on the banke side by vs, and sent vs into our boates fine mattes to couer vs from the raine, vsing very many wordes to entreate vs to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durst not adventure any thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and louing people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

Their Idole.

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Skicoak a great towne.

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and ouer against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great riuer called Occam by the inhabitants on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock; and sixe dayes journey from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very greate: but the Sauages were neuer at it, only they speake of

it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirme it to bee aboue one houres iourney about.

Into this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneho is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southwest, foure dayes iourney is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which, sixe and twentie yeres past there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saued, and those were white people, whom the countrey people preserued. A ship cast away.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Island vninhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boates of the countrey together and made mastes vnto them and sailes of their shirtes, and hauing taken into them such victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island 3 weekes: but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found vpon the coast cast a land in another Island adioyning: other then these, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seene or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaid were seene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred maruelously when we were amongst them at the whitenes of our skins, euer coueting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides they had our ships in marvelous admiration, and all things els were so strange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer seene the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an hargubuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenesse [291]

of tha same: for the weapons which themselues vse are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell or tooth of a fish sufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their swordes be of wood hardened: likewise they vse wooden breastplates for their defence. They haue beside a kinde of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towardes the battell in stead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their ciuill dissentions which haue happened of late yeeres amongst them, the people are maruelously wasted, and in some places the countrey left desolate.

Their weapons.

Or Pananuaioc.

Adioyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adioyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate vpon a goodly riuer called Neus: these kings haue mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we haue brought with vs to England, haue giuen vs to vnderstand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many iniuries and slaughters done vpon them by this Piemacum. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women of the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merry, and praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illusion of the deuill) the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly vpon them, and slewe them euery one, reseruing the women and children: and these two haue oftentimes since perswaded vs to surprize Piemacum his towne, hauing promised and assured vs, that there will be found in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they

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may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Island called Roanoak, are maine Islands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increases, together with many townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding vpon the Islands, and some stretching vp further into the land.

When we first had sight of this countrey, some thought the first land we saw to bee the continent; but after we entred into the Hauen, we saw before vs another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coast a tracte of Islands, two hundreth miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean sea, and betweene the Islands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (these Islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places sixe miles broad, in some places lesse, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in some places, forty, and in some fifty, in some twenty miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this inclosed Sea there are aboue an hundreth Islands of diuers bignesses, whereof one is sixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly Cedars, and diuers other sweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leasure to view. Besides this Island there are many, as I haue sayd, some of two, or three, of foure, of fiue miles, some more, some lesse, most beautifull and pleasant to behold, replenished with Deere, Conies, Hares, and diuers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Roanoak sixteen miles long.

Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our discouery made this present voyage, as farre foorth as the shortnesse of the time we there continued would affoord vs to take viewe of: and so contenting our selves with this seruice at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shalbe giuen, we resolued to leaue the countrey, [293]

and to apply ourselues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued safely in the West of England about the middest of September.

And whereas wee haue aboue certified you of the countrey taken in possession by vs, to her Maiesties vse, and so to yours by her Maiesties grant, wee thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular Gentlemen, and men of accompt, who then were present, as witnesses of the same, that thereby all occasion of cauill to the title of the countrey, in her Maiesties behalfe may be preuented, which otherwise, such as like not the action may vse and pretend, whose names are:

Captains:
Master Philip Amadas
Master Arthur Barlow

Of the companie.
William Greeneuile,
Iohn Wood,
Iames Browewich,
Henry Greene,
Beniamin Wood,
Simon Ferdinando,
Nicholas Petman,
Iohn Hewes,

We brought home also two of the Sauages being lustie men, whose names were Wanchese and Manteo.

XXV. The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenuile,[85] for Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585.

The 9. day of April, in the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seuen sailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of seuen score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a small barke: whereunto were also adioyned for [294] speedy seruices, two small pinnesses. The principall Gentlemen of our Companie, were these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candish, M. Iohn Arundel, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. Iohn Clarke, and diuers others, whereof some were Captaines, and other some Assistants for counsell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteuentura, Isles of the Canaries, and from thence, we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the West India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Cotesa, a little Iland situate neere to the Iland of S. Iohn, where we landed, and refreshed our selues all that day.

The land vpon the Iland of S. Iohn de Porto Rico.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Island of S. Iohn, within a Faulcon shot of the shoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greeneuil, and the most part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea side: the riuer ran by the one side of our forte, and the other two sides were inuironed with woods.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinnesse within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, some

[85] This is the same Sir Richard Grenville whose heroic fight in the “Revenge” is so well known.

part whereof we fet three miles vp in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

The 16. day there appeared vnto vs out of the woods eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, staying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but assoone as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Master Candish, who had bene separated from our fleete in a storme in the Bay of Portugall, arriued at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to have beene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts, for ioy of whose comming our ships discharged their ordinance, and saluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spanish horsemen shewed themselues to vs vpon the other side of the riuer: who beinge seene, [295] our Generall dispatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horsmen of ours, mounted vpon Spanish horses, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they shewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made signes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the sands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began according to their Spanish proud humors, to expostulate with them about their arriuall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithstanding by our mens discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furnish our selues with water and victuales, and other necessaries, whereof we stood in neede, which we craued might be yeelded vs with faire and friendly meanes, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieue ourselues by the sworde) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute,

yeelded to our requestes with large promises of all curtesie, and great fauour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinnesse was finished, and launched: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Countrey about the space of 4. miles, where in a plaine marsh they stayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish vs with victuals: who keeping their olde custome for periurie and breach of promise, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our Fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboord to be ready to set saile the next morning.

The 29.[86] day wee set saile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs stung before vpon shoare with the Muskitos: but the same night wee tooke a Spanish Frigat, which was forsaken by the Spaniards vpon the sight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and diuers Spaniards of account in her which afterwards wee ransomed for good round summes, and landed them in S. Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo Bay vpon the Southwest side of Saint Iohn, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish Pilot: as soone as hee arriued there, hee landed with [296] his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himselfe vpon the sandes immediatly, compassing one of their salte hils within the trench: who being seene of the Spaniards, there came downe towardes him two or three troopes of horsemen and footemen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durst not come neere him to offer any resistance, so that Master Lane maugre their troopes, caryed their salte aboord and laded his Frigat, and so returned againe to our fleete the 27. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day

[86] Should be 24th.

arriued in the Iland of Hispaniola.

Iune The 1. day of Iune we anchored at Isabella, on the North side of Hispaniola.

The 3. of Iune, the Gouernour of Isabell, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboard our shippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many braue and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the Gouernour aforesayd, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our Generall, promising within fewe dayes to come to him in person, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforesayd Gouernour accompanied with a trusty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their seruants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea side, where our ships road at anker, who being seene, our Generall manned immediatly the most part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, euery man appointed, and furnished in the best sort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spanish Gouernour receiued him very courteeously, and the Spanish Gentlemen saluted our English Gentlemen, and their inferiour sort did also salute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in feare of vs, and of so many of our boates whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Gouernour discoursed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the state of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men prouided two ban-
[297] quetting houses couered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the seruants and a sumptuous banquet was brought in serued by vs all in plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consorte of musicke, wherwith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes

in recompence of our courtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to bee hunted by horsemen after their maner, so that the pastime grewe very pleasant for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport many rare presents and gifts were giuen and bestowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Merchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of diuers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bull hides, sugar, ginger, pearle, tobacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort doe impute this great shewe of friendship, and courtesie vsed towards vs by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnesse that was amongst vs, then to any heartie good will, or sure friendly intertainement: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, wee might haue looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master Iohn Haukins receiued at Saint John de Vilua, or Iohn Oxnam neere the streites of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day wee ankered at a small Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee vnderstood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse were in very great danger to haue beene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hasard, and returned aboord the Admirall in safetie.

They land on the Iles of Caicos.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Isle of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salte-pondes, vpon the aduertisement and information of a Portugall: who in deede abused our Generall and vs, deseruing a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased

vs.

The 12 we ankered at Guanima, and landed.

[298] The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.[87]

They land in Florida. The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where we caught in one tyde so much fish as would haue yeelded vs twentie pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the vnskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on ground, and sunke.

Iuly. The 3. we sent word of our arriuing at Wocokon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

The 6. M. Iohn Arundel was sent to the maine, and Manteo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master Iohn Arundell, Master Stukeley, and diuers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and twentie others in the new pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a shipboat, Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ship-boate, passed ouer the water from Wocokon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discouered the townes of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Sauages Paquique,[88] with

[87] Off Smith's Island.

[88] Probably Lake Matimuskeet.

diuers other places, and so returned with that discouery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Sauages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demaund a siluer cup which one of the Sauages had stollen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promise, wee burnt, and spoyled their corne, [299] and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the discouery of Secotan, and the same day came aboord our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we weyed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

The 2. the Admirall was sent to Weapomeiok. August.

The 5. M. Iohn Arundell was sent for England.

The 25. our Generall weyed anker, and set saile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spanish ship of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of chests, which fell asunder, and sunke at the ships side, assoone as euer he and his men were out of it.

The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then September. shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tyger.

The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landes end, and the same day October. came to anker at Falmouth.

The 18. the Generall came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteously receiued by diuers of his worshipfull friends.

The names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, vnder the Gouernement of Master Ralph Lane.

Master Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey.
Master Hariot.
Master Acton.
Master Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Master Maruyn.
Master Gardiner.
Captaine Vaughan.
Master Kendall.
Master Prideox.
Robert Holecroft.
Rise Courtney.
Master Hugh Roger.
Master Thomas Haruie.
Master Snelling.
Master Anthony Russe.
Master Allyne.
Master Michael Polison.
Iohn Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Geffery Churchman.
William Farthow.
Iohn Taylor.
[300] Philip Robyns.
Thomas Philips.
Valentine Beale.
Thomas Foxe.
Darby Glande.
Edward Nugen.
Edward Kelley
Iohn Gostigo.
Erasmus Clefs.
Edward Ketcheman.

Iohn Linsey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane.
Iohn Harris.
Francis Norris.
Matthew Lyne.
Edward Kettell.
Thomas Wisse.
Robert Biscombe.
William Backhouse.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Ioseph Borges.
Dougham Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Mill.
Richard Gilbert.
Steuen Pomarie.
Iohn Brocke.
Bennet Harrie.
Iames Steuenson.
Charles Steuenson.
Christopher Lowde.
Ieremie Man.
Iames Mason.
Dauid Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookener.
William Philips.
Randall Mayne.
Iames Skinner.

George Eseuen.
Iohn Chandeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Constable.
Thomas Hesket.
William Wasse.
Iohn Feuer.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
Iohn Wright.
Gabriel North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
Iames Lacie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert.
Iohn Euans.
Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Francis Whitton.
Rowland Gryffin.
William Millard.
Iohn Twit.
Edward Seclemore.
Iohn Anwike.
Christopher Marshall.
Dauid Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Siluester Beching.

Vincent Cheyne.
Hance Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
William Walters.

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XXVI. An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

In the meane while you shall vnderstand, that since Sir Richard Greenuils departure from vs, as also before, we haue discouered the maine to be the goodliest soyle vnder the cope of heauen, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatenesse, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie haue no greater, so many sortes of Apothecarie drugs, such seuerall kindes of flaxe, and one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there, as grasse is here. And nowe within these few dayes we haue found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and vnknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though sauagely, and the climate so wholsome, that wee had not one sicke since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some

reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe, being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities soeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the East partes doe yeeld vnto vs, in wines of all sortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, corrans, sugers, and such like, these partes doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Sauages that possess the land, they know no vse of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, haue, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most curteous, and very desirous to haue clothes, bvt especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canuas they also like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M.H. I haue inioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearely well, and commending me most heartily to you both I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the New Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia.

Commodities fit to carie to Virginia.

Your most assured friend.
Ralph Lane.

XXVII. An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. vntil the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey; sent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.

2 parts of this discourse.

That I may proceede with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to diuide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such partes of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and supply of things necessarie did inable vs to enter into the discouery of.

The second part shall set downe the reasons generally mouing vs to resolue on our departure at the instant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey, for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to haue stayed there, were caryed away with tempest and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shall bee declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the maine to have cut vs off, &c.

The first part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

First therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you shall vnderstand that our discouerie of the same hath beene extended from the Island of Roanoak, (the same hauing bene the

place of our settlement or habitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.

The vttermost place to the Southward of any discouery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoalds:[89] we had but one boate with four oares to passe through the same, which boate could not carry aboue fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for seuen dayes at the most: and as for our pinesse, besides that
[303] she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stirre for an oare: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leeue the discouery of those parts vntill our stronger supply.

To the Northward our furthest discouery was to the Chesepians[90] distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of the bredth of the sound, and the little succour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

The excellencie of the seat of Chesepioock.

But the Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteene miles from the shore) was for pleasantnes of seat, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle and for the commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Sassafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoeuer.

There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the Northwest the farthest place of our discouery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our passage

[89] Pamlico Sound.
[90] Chesapeake Bay.

thither lyeth through a broad sound,[91] but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, nauigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds.

The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke, The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwem: all these being vnder the iurisdiction of the king of Weopomeiok, called Okisco: From Muscamunge we enter into the Riuer,[92] and iurisdiction of Chawanook: There the Riuer beginneth to straighten vntil it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betweene Westminster and Lambeth.

Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook vpon the left hand as wee passe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it [304] Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging vnto it: it is subiect to Chawanook.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Prouince and Seigniorie lying vpon that Riuer, and that the Towne it selfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Prouince it selfe.

The towne of Chawanook able to make 700. men of warre.

The king of the sayd Prouince is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Sauage, a very graue and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the disposition of his owne men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue mee more vnderstanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the searches and Sauages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March last past 1586. Amongst other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a Canoe vp

[91] Albemarle Sound.
[92] River Meherrin.

his Riuer of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to passe ouer land Northeast to a certaine kings countrey, whose Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greatest strength is an Island situate, as he described vnto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Island very deepe.

Pearles in exceeding quantitie.

Out of this Bay hee signified vnto mee, that this King had so greate quantitie of Pearle, and doeth so ordinarily take the same, as that not onely his owne skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, and brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gaue mee a rope of the same pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete; yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shallow water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

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It seemed to me by his speach, that the sayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we haue, for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same countrey.

The king of Chawanook promised to giue me guids to go ouer land into that kings countrey whensoeuer I would: but he aduised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuall, for he said, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men in to the field, which be sayd would fight very well.

An enterprise of speciall importance.

Hereupon I resumed with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boates or men, to haue had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to haue found vs vntill the newe corne were come in, I would haue sent a small barke with two pinnesses about by Sea to the Northward to haue found out the Bay he spake of, and to haue sounded the barre if there were any, which should haue ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boates I could make, and with two hundred men would haue gone vp to the head of the riuer of Chawanook with the guids that Menatonon would haue giuen me, which I would haue bene assured should haue beene of his best men, (for I had his best beloued sonne prisoner with me) who also should haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest, foote by foote, all the voyage ouer land.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my descent where I would haue left my boates, to haue raised a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would haue left fiue and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I have marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue caried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my march vpon some conuenient plot would I haue raised another sconse according to the former, where I would haue left fiftene or twentie. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I would haue raised my saide sconse vpon some Corne fielde, that my company might haue liued vpon it. [306]

Whither M. Ralfe Lane meant to remoue.

And so I would haue holden this course of insconsing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arriued at the Bay or Port hee spake of: which finding to bee worth the possession, I would there haue raised a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our shipping also, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) vnto this other

before mentioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before specified, could I at al times return with my company back vnto my boates riding vnder my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable Riuer, and in all those parts most famous, called the Riuer of Moratoc.[93] This Riuer openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok.[94] And whereas the Riuer of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarse be nauigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Isle of dogges, in some places more, and in some lesse: the current runneth as strong, being entred so high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a vale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Sauages of Moratoc themselues doe report strange things of the head of that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rock standeth so neere vnto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from the sea) the waues thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish: I tooke a resolution with my selfe, hauing dismissed Menatonon vpon a ransome
[307] agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could haue victuall to cary vs, vntil we could meete with more either of the Moraroks, or of

[93] River Appomatox?
[94] James River?

the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Sauages, dwelling more to the Westward of the said Riuer: but the hope of recouering more victuall from the Sauages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discouerie before our returne, as euer men did, that missed the same.

Wingina changeth his name. Conspiracie of the Sauages against the English.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina vpon the death of his brother Granganimo, had giuen both the Choanists, and Mangoaks worde of my purpose towarde them, I hauing bene inforced to make him priuie to the same, to bee serued by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did neuer rest to solicite continually my going vpon them, certifying mee of a generall assembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thousand bowes, preparing to come vpon vs at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were ioyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselues to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about vs, as I found at my comming thither, which being vnlooked for did so dismay them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie against vs of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed vnto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards vs.

Hee in like sort having sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe vp into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he saide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had euer dealt kindly with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retired themselues with their Crenepos, and their Corne within the maine: insomuch as hauing passed three dayes voyage vp the River, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any of their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe that wee had but two dayes

Their women.

victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrarie windes or stormes, and suspecting
[308] treason of our owne Sauages in the discouerie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to haue had corne of them: I at night vpon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, aduertised the whole company of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them vpon vaine hope to be in the ende starued, seeing all the Countrey fled betore vs, and therefore while wee had those two dayes victual left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homeward, and that it were necessary for vs to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieued vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

Thus much I signified vnto them, as the safest way: neuertheleſse I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether wee should aduenture the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to meete with some better happe, or otherwise to retire our selues backe againe. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholy was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was lefte but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee should not leaue the search of that Riuer, and that there were in the companie two Mastiues vpon the pottage of which, with Sassafras leaues (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the Sound and to bee relieued by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be

drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of themselues, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to haue some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to haue had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Prouince to the which the said Mangoaks haue recourse and trafique vp that Riuer of Moratoc, which hath a marueilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling vp the said riuer, and also to the Sauages of Chawanook, and all them to the Westward, but also to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

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A marueilous Mineral in the countrey of Caunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador euery mettall whatsoeuer: they say it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the saide mettall out of a riuer that falleth very swift from the rockes and hils, and they take it in shallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a skinne ouer the hollow parte thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the said bowle with the skinne, and receiue into the same as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle will holde, which presently they cast into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeeld in fiue parts at the first melting, two parts of mettall for three partes of oare. Of this mettall the Mangoaks haue so great store, by report of all the Sauages adioyning, that

they beautify their houses with greate plates of the same: and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks sonne of my prisoner, who also him selfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but he had not bene at Chaunis Temoatan himselfe: for hee said it was twentie dayes iourney ouerland from the Mangoaks, to the said Minerall Countrey, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said Countrey.

Vpon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of by all the Sauages that dwelt towardes these parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised me guides of his owne men, who
[310] should passe ouer with me, euen to the said Country of Chaunis Temoatan (for ouerland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from Sunne rising to Sunne setting, whereas by water it is seuen dayes with the soonest): These things, I say, made me very desirous by all meanes possible to recouer the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victuall spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could neuer see man, onely fires we might perceiue made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and vp into the Country, vntill the very last day. In the euening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with vs: which word was not so soon spoken

by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to lande vpon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselues to flight: wee landed, and hauing faire and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselues we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if wee would pursue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee should be assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of: therefore choosing for the company a conuenient ground in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the Sunne to be going back againe, if possibly we might recouer the mouth of the riuer, into the broad sound, which at my firste motion I found my whole company ready to assent vnto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had bespoken for themselues if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Riuers mouth within foure or fiue miles of the same, hauing rowed in one day downe [311] the current, much as in foure dayes wee had done against the same: we lodged vpon an Iland, where wee had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Sassafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer used before as I thinke. The broad sound wee had to passe the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was vpon Easter eue, which was fasted very truely. Vpon Easter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence

all the Sauages that we had left there were left, but their weares did yeeld vs some fish, as God was pleased not vtterly to suffer vs to be lost: for some of our company of the light horsemen were farre spent. The next morning wee arriued at our home Roanoak.

I haue set downe this Voyage somewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the most to the least amongst vs, to haue perfited this discouerie of the Mine: for that the discouery of a good Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discouery of either of the two aboue shewed, it will bee the most sweet and healthfullest climate, and therewithall the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselues will not be worth fetching.

Prouided also, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which must be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to haue spent this Summer in the search of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I should haue had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesie, had not bene driuen away by storme: the other if your supply of more men, and some other necessaries had come to vs in any conuenient sufficiencie. For this riuer of Moratico promiseth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the Countrey, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto
[312] the same, that openeth out into the South sea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, seeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as

before is saide, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the Riuer of Choannak sconses being raised, from whence againe ouerland through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the first towne of the Mangoaks vp the riuer of Moratico by the way, as also vpon the said Riuer for the defence of our boats like sconses being set, in this course of proceeding you shall cleare your selfe from al those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the least, and so passe your discouery into that most notable countrey, and to the likeliest parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwise can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I haue though simply, yet truely set downe vnto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeeld vnto you, which might haue bene performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleased that onely that which you had prouided for vs had at the first bene left with vs, or that hee had not in his eternall providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisedome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a most strange and vnlooked for storme of all our prouision, with Barks, Master, Mariners, and sundry also of mine owne company, al hauing bene so courteously supplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the same hauing bene most sufficient to haue performed the greatest part of the premisses, must euer make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for some his good purpose to my selfe yet vnknowen) to haue bene in the matter.

The second part touching the conspiracie of Pemisapan, the discouery of the same, and at the last, of our request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

Ensenore a Sauage father to Pemisapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongest them, and about the King, died
[313] the 20. of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himselfe in their consultations against all matters proposed against vs, which both the King and all the rest of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to saue vs from hurt, as poysonings and such like, but also to doe vs very great good, and singularly in this.

The King was advised and of himselfe disposed, as a ready meane to haue assuredly brought vs to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himselfe also with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Iland vnsowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee could haue bene preserued from staruing out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fish, neither coulde our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for seede to put into the ground.

This skill of making weares would be learned.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a brute among themselues, that I and my company were part slaine, and part starued by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starued, but the other false.

Neuerthelesse vntill my returne it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the Almightie God of heauen, and Iesus

Christ whom wee serue and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what prouince soeuer. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake haue no more credite for vs: and it came so farre that the king was resolued to haue presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But euen in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee sawe contrary to his expectation, and the aduertisement that hee had receiued: that not onely my selfe, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his owne 3. Sauages which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the [314] Chanoists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the prouinces) durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and that those that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loued to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little asswage all deuises against vs: on the other side, it made Ensenores opinions to be receiued againe with greater respects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the King and the rest, that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to bee destroyed by them: but contrariwise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, shoulde finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they haue bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of vs, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned

into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching vs, when hee sawe the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible vnto them: But that which made vp the matter on our side for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the rest was) the good prouidence of the Almightie for the sauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the sayd iourney, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather, as Pemisapan tolde mee, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie vnto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himselfe seruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the sayde Okiosko ioyntly with this Menatonons messenger sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemis-
[315] apan, to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent those his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maiestie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforesayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Sauages in counsell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward vs: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore wanne this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, and withall, to cause his men to set vp weares foorthwith for vs: both which he at that present went in hande withall, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient,

to haue fed our whole company (God blessing the grouth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: besides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of ground for our selues to sowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill vntill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their haruest,) that then a newe supply out of England or else our owne store would well ynough maintaine vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane space if the Sauages should not helpe vs with Chassaui, and Chyna, and that our weares should faile vs, (as often they did) we might very well starue, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the staruing horse in the stable, with the growing grasse, as the prouerbe is: which wee very hardly had escaped, but onely by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is saide, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand againe to put their old practises in vse against vs, which were readily imbraced, and all their former deuises against vs, reneued, and new brought in question. But that of staruing vs, by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by hauing made the King all at one instant to sow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues ouer against vs. Neuenhelesse there wanted no store of mischieuous practises among them, and of all they resolued principally of this following.

The beginning of their haruest in Iuly.

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First that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoage should bee mooued, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok should be inuited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they doe vse to solemnise in their Sauage maner for any great personage dead, and should haue bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Chesepians and

The conspiracie of Pemisapan.

their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close at the signe of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troupe aboue named should haue executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the rest should haue come ouer into the Island, where they went to haue dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroad in the Island, seeking of crabs and fish to liue withall. The maner of their enterprise was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes, with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beset my house, and put fire in the reedes that the same was couered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my selfe would haue come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, vpon the instant whereof they would haue knocked out my braines.

The forme of the treason.

The same order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is saide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for vs at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and so bee the more easily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of vs with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper sell vs any victuals whatsoeuer: besides that in the night they should sende to haue our weares robbed, and also to cause them to bee broken, and once being broken neuer to bee repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to liue vpon shell fish, for so the Sauages themselues doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other

The sufficiencie of our men to deal against the Sauages. 10 to an hundred.

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places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreeme among vs, our weares failing vs of fish, that I was enforced to sende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to serue two turnes in one, that is to say, to feede himselfe and his company, and also to keepe watch if any shipping came vpon the coast to warne vs of the same. I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnesse to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Prouost Marshal to liue there, and also to wait for shipping: also I sent every weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the company to the maine ouer against vs, to liue of Casada and oysters.

In the meane while Pemisapan, went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio for three causes: The one to see his grounds there broken vp, and sowed for a second crop: the other to withdrawe himselfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for he was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst hee in my presence but by colour and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to haue relied my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there had giuen many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeue such tales of vs.

The third cause of his going to Dasamonquepeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid, all which he did with great imprest of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoile.

The answere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok,

which was deuided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himselfe with his
[318] force into the maine: the other was concerning the rest of the prouince who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags receiued the imprest.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of June: all which the premises were discouered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon hee being perswaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himselfe as well vsed at my hande, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discouered al vnto me, which also afterwards was reueiled vnto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, that night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being all instantly vpon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood mee in hand to study howe to prevent them, and also to saue all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arriual of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good adventure,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes prouision to serue for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himselfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him and the Mandoags, whose time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the last of May 1586 when all his owne Sauages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his

commandement sent abroad vnto them, and I resolued not to stay longer vpon his comming ouer, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolued to do the next day: but that night I meant to giue them in the Iland a camisado,[95] and at the instant to seize vpon all the canoas about the Island, to keepe him from aduertisements. [319]

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them: the occasion was this, I had sent the Master of the light horsemen, with a fewe with him, to gather vp all the canoas in the setting of the Sun, and to take as many as were going from vs to Dasamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a canoa, going from the shore, and ouerthrew the canoa, and cut off two Sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but he was discovered from the shore; whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, priuy to their owne villanous purposes against vs, held as good espial vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The slaughter and surprise of the Sauages.

The alarme giuen, they tooke themselues to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slaine with our shot; the rest fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horsemen and one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Dasamonquepeio: and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne Sauages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Osocon, who the night past was conueying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an hand-locke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding myselfe amidst seuen or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gaue the watch-word agreed vpon, (which was, Christ our victory) and

[95] Night surprise. So called from having been made by horsemen with white shirts over their armour so as to recognise each other in the darkness.

immediatly those his chiefe men and himselfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purposed for vs. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the sauing of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he ouerran all the company, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irish man seruing me, one Nugent, and the deputy prouost, vndertooke him; and following him in the woods, ouertooke him; and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king and my man by our owne negligence to haue beene intercepted by the Sauages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.

Pemisapan slaine.

This fell out the first of Iune 1586, and the eight of the same came aduertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discouered a great fleet of three and twentie sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne. He aduised me to stand vpon as good guard as I could.

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The ninth of the sayd moneth he himselfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, and that same day trauelled by land twenty miles: and I most truely report of him from the first to the last, hee was the gentleman that neuer spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any seruice committed vnto him.

A letter from Sir Francis Drake.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but also of barks, pinnesses, and boats; they also by him to be victualled, manned and furnished to my contentation.

The tenth day he arriued in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleuenth day I came to him,

whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deserued, but as I could both for my company and myselfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would desire) craued at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake and vnfit men for any good action, which I would deliuer to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leaue vs so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had discouered somewhat, that for lacke of needfull prouision in time left with vs as yet remained vndone.

That it woulde please him withall to leaue some sufficient Masters not onely to cary vs into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow, if there were any, and especially to helpe vs to some small boats and oare-men. [321]

Also for a supply of calieuers, hand weapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like.

He hauing receiued these my requests, according to his vsuall commendable maner of gouernment (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell; the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I vsed in such matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Master of the victuals, the Keeper of the store, and the Vicetreasurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demands whatsoeuer, to the vttermost.

And further, he appointed for me two pinnesses, and foure

small boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards vs, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented Masters as were any in his fleet, by iudgment of them that knew them, with very sufficient guide to tary with me, and to employ themselues most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, vntill the terme which I promised of our returne into England againe. The names of one of those Masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While these things were in hand, the prouision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboord, my sayd Masters being also gone aboord, my sayd barks hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the sayd Generall the 12 of the sayde moneth) the 13 of the same there arose such an vnwoonted storme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the Generall very prouidently foreseene the woorst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboord: but in the end hauing driuen sundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis also with all my provisions, my two Masters, and my company aboord, she was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleere to Sea.

This storme hauing continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming ashore made a new proffer vnto me; which was a ship of 170 tunne, called The barke Bonner, with a sufficient Master and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all prouisions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for
[322] any thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leaue her in the road, and to leaue the care of the rest vnto my selfe, and aduised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliuer presently vnto him in writing what I would require him to doe for vs; which being within his

power, he did assure me aswell for his Captaines as for himselfe, shoulde be most willingly performed.

Heereupon calling such Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as priuy as my selfe to the Generals offer; their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weaknesse of our company, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall Masters, with our principall provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take vs from thence; considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour: seeing furthermore, our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenuill, so vndoubtedly promised vs before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolue my selfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleased to giue vs present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe deliuered vnto him, hee most readily assented vnto: and so he sending immediatly his pinnesses vnto our Island for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnesses so often on ground, that the most of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers cast ouerboard, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieued with their long and dangerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (hauing bestowed vs among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that storme sustained more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spanyards, with praises vnto God for all, set saile the nineteenth of Iune 1596, and arriued in Portsmouth the seuen and twentieth

of Iuly the same yeere.

END OF VOL. XIII., PART I.

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Part II.

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XXVIII. The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia at the sole charges of Sir Walter Ralegh.

In the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Ralegh at his owne charge prepared a ship of an hundred tunne, fraighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, for the supply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they set saile from England it was after Easter, so that our Colony halfe despaired of the comming of any supply: wherefore euery man prepared for himselfe, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their reliefe in so plentifull a maner as might haue sufficed them two yeeres without any

further labour. Thus trusting to their owne haruest, they passed the Summer till the tenth of Iune: at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countreymen the English Colony then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English Colony [326] inhabited: and hauing espied some of that company, there be ankered and went aland, where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had passed with them. They answered him that they liued all; but hitherto in some scarsity: and as yet could heare of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that hee would leaue with them some two or three ships, that if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themselues. Which hee agreed to. Whilest some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their trauels to ech other, some on land, some on boord, a great storme arose, and droue the most of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English Colony: the rest on land perceiuing this, hasted to those three sailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they should be left behinde they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the natiue inhabitants of that countrey.

This ship arriued in Virginia.

Immediatly after the departing of our English Colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship abouementioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh and his direction, arriued at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony vp in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd prouision into England.

Sir Richard Grinuils third voyage.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grinuile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three shippes well appointed for the same voyage, arriued there; who not finding the aforesaid shippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our English Colony there seated, and left by him anno 1585, himselfe travelling vp into diuers places of the countrey, aswell to see if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, vnder the charge of Master Lane his deputy, as also to discouer some places of the countrey; but after some time spent therein, not hearing any of them, and finding the places which they inhabited[96] desolate, yet vnwilling to loose the possesion of the countrey which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leaue some men behinde to reteine possession of the Countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of prouisions for two yeeres, and so departed for England.

[327]

Fifteen men more left in Virginia.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of Açores, on some of which Islands he landed, and spoiled the townes of all such thinges as were woorth cariage, where also he tooke diuers Spanyards. With these and many other exploits done him in this voyadge, aswell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

[96] See the different account given above by one of the colonists.

XXIX. A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found, and to be raised, aswell merchantable as others: Written by Thomas Heriot, seruant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discouering a full tweluemonth.

Ralfe Lane one of her Majesties Esquiers, and Gouernour of the Colony in Virginia, aboue mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle Reader wisheth all happinesse in the Lord.

Albeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as my selfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without desert; neuerthelesse, forasmuch as I haue bene requested by some my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the same, not onely for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whosoeuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much vpon my credit I am to affirme, that things vniuersally are so truely set downe in this Treatise by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no lesse for his honesty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouch, it may very well passe with the credit of trueth euen amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, so also (of the certaintie [328] thereof assured by mine owne experience) with this publique assertion I doe affirme the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

Since the first vndertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of discouering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages hauing beene thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this yeere 1587: there haue bene diuers and variable reports with some slanderous and shameful speeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discouery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Grinuile in the yere 1585, being of all others the most principall, and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they stayed but sixe weeks, and the others after were onely for supply and transportation, nothing more being discouered than had bene before. Which reports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselues the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of euents, to the shame of those that haue auouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the aduenturers, fauourers, and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing beene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the woorthinesse thereof already found, and as you shall vnderstand hereafter to be requisite. Touching which woorthinesse through cause of the diuersity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be setled in any certainty.

I haue therefore thought it good, being one that haue beene in the discouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imployed: and hauing therefore seene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart so much vnto you of the fruits of our
[329] labours, as that you may know how iniuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for

two respects.

First, that some of you which are ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the fauour of her Maiesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colony, but is also ready, according as the times and meanes will affoord, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reason of their diuersitie, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring my selfe to your fauourable constructions, and to be adiudged of, as by good consideration you shall finde cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey haue bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, haue maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Gouernours, but for their sakes slandered the countrey it selfe. The like also haue those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends and acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainsayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great trauellers as themselues. They stood so much as it may seeme, vpon their credit and reputation, that hauing bene a tweluemoneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great disgrace vnto them, as they thought, if they could not haue sayd much, whether it were true or false. Of which some haue spoken of more then euer they saw, or otherwise knew to

be there. Other some haue not bene ashamed to make absolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, and other some make difficulties of those things they haue no skill of.

[330] The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were neuer out of the Island where we were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold and siluer was not so soone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle vnderstanding, lesse discretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or such as neuer (as I may say) had seene the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wish any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of downe or feathers, the country was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in briefe to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious, and slanderous reports and deuices els, by our owne countreymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will passe to the commodities, the substance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The Treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier vnderstanding, I will diuide into three speciall parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found or to be raised, which will not onely serue the ordinary turnes of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants, but such an ouerplus sufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of skill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will enrich yourselues the prouiders: those that shall deale with you, the enterprisers in generall, and

greatly profit our owne countrey men, to supply them with most things which heretofore they haue beene faine to prouide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call Merchantable.

In the second I will set downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it selfe for victuall and sustenance of mans life, such as are vsually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by vs during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall thinke behoouefull for those that shall inhabit, and plant there to know of, which specially concerne building, as also some [331] other necessary vses: with a briefe description of the nature and manners of the people of the countrey.

The first part of Merchantable commodities.

Silke of grasse, or Grasse silke. There is a kind of grasse in the country, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke in forme of a thin glittering skin to be stript off. It groweth two foot and an halfe highe or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the selfe same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great vse and vent thereof aswel in our countrey as elswhere. And by the meanes of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which also by proofe here

in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme silke. In many of our iourneys we founde Silkewormes faire and great, as big as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to haue found such plenty, as elswhere to be in the countrey we haue heard of, yet seeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourishing, and some of them carefull gathered and husbanded in that sort, as by men of skil is knowen to be necessary: there wil rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians and Spaniards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no greate store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted but as the soile doth yeeld of it selfe: and howsoeuer the leafe and stemme or stalke do differ from ours, the stuffe by iudgement of men of skill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as farther proofe should finde otherwise, we haue that experience of the soile, as that there cannot be shewed
[332] any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, seeing there is so much ground whereof some may well be applied to such purposes. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily vnderstand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of fortie or fiftie miles, whereof by the iudgement of some that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richnesse of such a commodity is so well knowen, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yeeld White coprasse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants,

very like to Terra sigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Physicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the same kinde of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants vse it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plenty, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fifteene miles of length, and fiue or sixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kinde, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare vertues in physicke for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more vses then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of vsing, and the manifold vertues thereof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, translated and entituled in English, The joyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteds, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make vp fraight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowre, of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a [333] principall commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three seuerall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which also by the experience and vse of the inhabitants, we find to

yeeld very good and sweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many speciall vses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profit. We hope also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the countrey there are store, although there were but two skinnes that came to our hands. Luzernes also we haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deere skinnes dressed after the manner of Chamoes, or vndressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet-cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bin killed by a Sauage or inhabitant, and in another place the smel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country: good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, and the other six score miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the countrey els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and deereness thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants diuers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as we vnderstood by the inhabitants that [334] dwell further into the countrey, where as they say are mountaines

and riuers that yeeld also white graines of mettal, which is to be deemed Siluer. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arriuall in the countrey, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of Siluer grosly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about fourescore miles from vs: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I after vnderstood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metal found. The aforesayd Copper we also found by tryall to holde Siluer.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muscles we found some Pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet discouered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters had gathered together from among the Sauage people about fiue thousand: of which number he be chose as many as made a faire chaine, which for their likenesse and vniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equality in greatnesse, were very faire and rare: and had therefore beene presented to her Maiesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storme lost them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Fiue thousand pearles gathered.

Sweet gummes of diuers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receiue it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in taking reasonable paines shal discouer them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kinds: There is Shoemake well knowen, and vsed in England for blacke: the seede of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for diuers sorts of red: their goodnesse for our English clothes

remains yet to be prooued. The inhabitants vse them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skinnes: and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall
[335] works withall in their mats and baskets, hauing no other thing besides that they account of, apt to vse them for if they will not prooue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt vses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and vses amongst English Diers, which can not be yeelded sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the Islands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We carried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not so well preserued as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for their setting when we arriued, we could not make that proofe of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for Orenges and Limmons. There may be planted also Quinses. Whereby may grow in reasonable time, if the action be deligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugers, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leaue to your discreet and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we haue not discouered. Two more commoditie of great value, one of certeinty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised and in short time to be prouided, and prepared, I might haue specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe I might haue sayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in

what proportion: but because others then welwillers might be there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I haue vttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowen to yeeld for victuall and sustenance of mans life, vsually fed vpon by the naturall inhabitants; as also by vs, during the time of our abode: and first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

Pagatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayz: English men call it [336]
Guinywheat or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweet flowre: being vsed according to its kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of Hops, therof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase: of a thousand, fifteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen and twelue weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in fourteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and some two: euery head containing fiue, sixe, or seuen hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or

seething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okingier, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, sauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the Beanes, for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they little differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are far better then our English Peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be soft, and beginne to breake, as is vsed in England, either by themselues, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a morter, and thereof make loaues or lumps of doughish bread, which they vse to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their seueral formes, called by vs [337] Pompious, Melons, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those in England. In Virginia such of seuerall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it vnto take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fiue foot high: of the seede thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many vse sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We ourselues vsed the leaues for pot-herbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with a floure is a spanne in bredth. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the seeds hereof they

make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforesayde commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and seuerally by themselues, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note vnto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few days before they sowe or set, the men with woodden instruments made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a foot long, and about fiue inches in bredth, doe onely break the vpper part of the ground to raise vp the weeds, grasse, and old stubbes of corne stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt vp into small heaps, to saue them labour for carrying them away, they burne into ashes. And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which wee observed they do not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take speciall care to set their corne where the ashes lie, which also wee finde they are carelesse of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they vse.

Then their setting or sowing is after this maner. First for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they [338]
touch not one another (about an inch asunder) and couer them with the molde againe: and so thorowout the whole plot making such holes, and vsing them after such maner, but with this regard, that they make them in ranks, euery rank differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes also in euery ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard spare ground betweene euery hole: where according to discretion here and there, they

set as many Beanes and Peaze: in diuers places also among the seeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by vs experimented, an English acre conteining forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne Beanes and Peaze, at the least two hundred London bushels, besides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta solis; when as in England forty bushels of our Wheat yeelded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this vnto you, that you which shall inhabit, and plant there, may know how specially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: besides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victuall, the increase is so much, that small labor and paines is needful in respect of that which must be vsed for ours. For this I can assure you that according to the rate we haue made proofe of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with lesse then foure and twenty houres labour, as shall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a tweluemoneth, if he haue nothing els but that which the same ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before spoken of: the sayd ground being also but fiue and twenty yards square. And if need require but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the selfsame ground two haruests or ofcomes: for they sow or set, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midst of March vntill the end of Iune: so that they also set when they haue eaten of their first croppe. In some places of the countrey notwithstanding they haue two haruests, as we haue heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corne neuerthelesse, whether to use or not to use it, you that inhabit may doe as you shall haue further cause to thinke best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oates, and Peaze, we haue seene proofe of, not being purposely sowen, but fallen casually in the woorst sort of ground, and yet

to be as faire as any we haue euer seene heere in England. But [339]
of Wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. This much haue I digressed, and I hope not vnnecessarily: now will I returne againe to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is sowed apart by it selfe, and is called Tabacco.
by the inhabitants Vppowoc: in the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the seuerall places and countreys where it groweth and is vsed: the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into pouder, they vsed to take the fume or smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superflous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body; by which meanes the vse thereof not onely preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they haue not bene of two long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preserued in health, and know not many grieuous diseases, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are maruellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storm vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire; also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and staring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithall and chattering strange words and noises.

We our selues, during the time we were there, vsed to sucke it after their maner, as also since our returne, and haue found many rare and wonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which

the relation would require a volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they vse to husband: all els that follow, [340] are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

Openauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of Walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena.[97]

Monardes parte 2, lib. 1. cap. 4.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reason of their drinesse they will neither rost nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants vse to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the housholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not so much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithstanding vsed to boile and eat many.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring foorth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre vnlike:

[97] This is no doubt, that most useful vegetable, the potato.

which being supported by the trees it groweth neerest vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chapt into small pieces, and stampt, is strained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oile. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root; for it was discouered since, and is in vse as is aforesayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to serue for any vse or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Coscushaw some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassauy, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy [341] pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonmeat, and is vsed very much by the inhabitants. The iuice of this root is poison, and therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stampt: loaues of the same to be layd nere or ouer the fire vntill it be sowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or spoonmeat very good in taste and holesome may be made thereof.

The iuice of Coscushaw is poison.

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a Parsnip: of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

Of fruits.

Chesnuts there are in diuers places great store: some they vse to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonmeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dough bread as they vse of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kind is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they vse to put into some sorts of their spoonemeat: also among their sodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them haue a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit: so called by vs chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good vntill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the same bignesse: otherwise in taste and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cheries, and very sweet: but whereas the chery is sharpe sweet, they are lushious sweet.

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There are iii. kinds of Tunas whereof that which beareth no fruith bringeth foorth the Cochinil-lo.

Mutaquesunnauk, a kinde of pleasant fruit almost of the shape and bignesse of English peares, but they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaues are very thicke, and full of prickles as sharpe as needles. Some that haue bene in the Indies, where they haue seene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe describe this plant right like vnto this of Metaquesunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a bastard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for such matter we haue not so specially obserued.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the

merchantable commodities.

Strawberries there are as good and as great as those which we haue in our English gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, such as we haue in England.

Sacquenummener, a kinde of berries almost like vnto Capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters vpon a plant or hearbe that is found in shallow waters; being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and holesome; otherwise if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely sicke.

There is a kind of Reed which beareth a seed almost like vnto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in some places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were lesse, which are also good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

There is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are fiue sorts that grow on seuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the second Osamener, the third Pummuckoner. [343] These kinde of acornes they vse to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almost after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be vsed, they first water them vntill they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victuall, either to eat so simply, or els being also punned to make loaues or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I sayd before the inhabitants vsed to make sweet oile.

Another sort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like vnto Chesnuts. They sometime also make bread of this sort.

The fift sort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of

the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their seruants, or sometime the chiefe themselues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

Of Beasts.

Deere, in some places there are great store: neere vnto the Sea coast they are of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, and some lesse: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the snags of their hornes looke backwards.

Conies. Those that we haue seene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like vnto Hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the skinnes of those which they vsually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our selues, but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirels, which are a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do vse to take and eat many: so also sometime did we. They are taken commonly in this sort: In some Islands or places where they are, being hunted for assoone as they haue spiall of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they clime and get vp the next tree they can: from whence with arrowes they are [344] shot downe starke dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them downe with our calieuers.

I haue the name of eight and twenty seuerall sorts of beasts, which I haue heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine; of which there are onely twelue

kinds that we haue yet discouered; and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lion, and eat him:[98] and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluish dogs, which I haue not set downe for good meat, least that some would vnderstand my iudgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company haue bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

Tvrkie cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of fowle I haue the names in the countrey language of fourescoure and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, and haue the pictures as they were drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of seuerall strange sorts of water fowle eight, and seuenteene kinds more of land fowle, although we haue seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored vpon further discouery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shalbe also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vsed for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

For foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse of ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eighteene, twenty inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kinds of fish in those [345]

[98] Of course, this is an error.

moneths are most plentifull, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts, Porpoises, Rayes, Oldwiues, Mullets, Plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we haue taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue the pictures of twelue sorts more, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

In the gulfe of California they vse the like fishing.

The inhabitants vse to take them two maner of wayes: the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow:

Sea crabs, such as we haue in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Also Muscles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Creuises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shel-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, hauing a crusty taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many Tortoises both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venimous beasts; but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their egges. Some haue bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants

themselues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.

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The third and last part of such other things as are behouefull for those which shall plant and inhabite to know of, with a description of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

Of commodities for building and other necessary vses.

Those other things which I am more to make rehearsal of, are such as concerne building, and other mechanicall necessary vses, as diuers sorts of trees for house and ship-timber, and other vses else: Also lime, stone, and bricke, least that being not mentioned some might haue bene doubted of, or by some that are malitious the contrary reported.

Okes there are as faire, straight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and also great store, and in some places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue said before very many, some haue bene seene excellent timber of foure and fiue fadome, and aboue fourescore foote streight without bough.

Firre trees fit for masts of ships, some very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees so called that are sweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of stones, and shels: we haue knowen some so great being made in that sort of one tree, that they haue caried well 20. men at once, besides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, streight, soft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (besides other vses) to be fit also for masts of ships.

Cedar, a sweete wood good for seelings, chests, boxes, bedsteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue also said before. Some of our companie which haue wandered in some places where I haue not bene, haue made certeine affirmation of Cyprus, which for such and other excellent vses is also a wood of price and no small estimation.

Maple, and also Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vse to make their bowes.

Holly, a necessary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fish after the English maner, although the inhabitants vse onely reedes, which because they are so strong as also flexible, doe
[347] serue for that turne very well and sufficiently.

Beech and Ashe, good for caske-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as also for many things els.

Elme. Sassafras trees.

Ascopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taste and spicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes describeth to be Cassia Lignea of the West Indies.

There are many other strange trees whose names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it so conuenient for the present to trouble you with particular relation: seeing that for timber and other necessary vses, I haue named sufficient. And of many of the rest, but that they may be applied to good vse, I know no cause to doubt.

Nowe for stone, bricke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coast where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of stones to be found (except a few small pebbles about foure miles off) but such as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In some of our voyages we haue seene diuers hard raggie stones, great pebbles, and a kinde of gray stone like vnto marble of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleaue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither

haue they vse of any store whereupon they should haue occasion to seeke any. For if euery housholde haue one or two to cracke nuts, grinde shels, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vse they any digging, but onely for graues about three foote deepe: and therefore no marueile that they know neither quarries, nor lime-stones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntill there be discouery of sufficient store in some place or other conuenient, the want of you which are and shalbe the planters therein may be as well supplied by bricke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vse in the Isles of Tenet[99] and Shepy, and also in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides diuers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow Sound along the coast, where for the space of [348] many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

Thus much can I say furthermore of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stonnes, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

It resteth I speake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners leauing large discourse thereof vntil time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall

[99] Thanet

haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them.

Iaques Cartier voyage 2. chap. 8.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middle, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as wee in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withall, neither knowe they how to make any: those weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themselues but targets made of barkes, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelue houses: some 20. the greatest that we haue seene hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in round forme after the maner as is vsed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes couered with barkes, and in some with artificiall mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we haue seene of foure and twentie. [349]

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundred fighting men at the most. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres among themselues is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone light,[100] or els by ambushes, or some subtile deuises. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue some hope of defence, after the deliuery of euery arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and deuises else, especially Ordinance great and small, it may easily bee imagined: by the experience wee haue had in some places, the turning vp of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding in their proper maner (considering the want of such means as we haue,) they seeme very ingenious. For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellence of wit. And by how much they vpon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speed for doing and execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good gouernment be vsed, that they may in short time bee brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they haue already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed. [350]

[100] This is quite different from the Indians of South America, who "rarely attacked in the night." (Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, II, cap. X.)

They beleeue that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath beene from all eternitie. Who as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be vsed in the creation and gouernment to follow, and after the Sunne, moone, and starres as pettie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters out of which by the gods were made all diuersitie of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceiued and brought foorth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages haue passed since, they say they can make no relation hauing no letters or other such meanes as we to keepe records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offring vnto them. In some Machicomuck we haue seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to be also gods.

They beleeue also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either carried to heauen the habitacle of the gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one

happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being seene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they should do to auoyd that terrible place of [351] torment. The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from vs, and it was told me for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his soule was aliue, and had trauailed farre in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then euer hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most braue and faire houses, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and shew his friendes what good they were to doe to enioy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come againe.

What subtiltie soeuer be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them haue great respect to their Gouernours, and also great care what they doe, to auoyd torment after death, and to enioy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whore-mongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the facts.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by hauing speciall familiaritie with some of their priests. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne; and no small admiration

of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspectiue glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde firewoorkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clockes that seeme to goe of themselues, and many other things that wee had were so strange vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which
[352] made many of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from vs whom God so specially loued, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was conteined the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heads, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would bee glad many times to be with vs at our Prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne,

as also in others whither hee sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grieuously sicke that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending vs and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that he might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a draught which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs, many would come to vs and desire vs to pray to our God of England, that he would preserue their Corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sicknesse, losses, hurts, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing vs. One other rare and strange accident, leauing others, wil I mention before I end, which moued the whole Countrey that [353] either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any subtle deuise practised against vs, wee leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euery such Towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some Townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bin, where they vsed some practise against vs, and after such time. The disease also was so strange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time

out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselves. Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had obserued such effects in foure or fiue Townes to follow their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate vs that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die, alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although wee shewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that indeede all things haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as he had ordeined: and that, we to shewe our selues his true seruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth, and serue him in righteousnesse, but notwithstanding in such sort, that wee referre that, as all other things, to bee done according [354] to his diuine will and pleasure, and as by his wisedome he had ordeined to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought neuerthelesse it came to passe by our meanes, and that we in vsing such speeches vnto them, did not dissemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thankes in their maner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of vs, that some people could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women among vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuisible and without bodies, and that by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting inuisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleeue, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithall the inuisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended vs, as wee listed, howe farre distant from vs soeuer it were. And other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selues haue cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoeuer some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And also [355]
of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the saide sicknesse. But to exclude them from being the speciall causes of so speciall an accident, there are further reasons then I thinke fit at this present to be alleadged. These

their opinions I haue set downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and gouernment to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although some of our company towards the ende of the yeere, shewed themselues too fierce in slaying some of the people in some Townes, vpon causes that on our part might easily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet notwithstanding, because it was on their part iustly deserued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning vs is the lesse to be doubted. And whatsoever els they may be, by carefulnesse of our selues neede nothing at all to be feared.

The best neuerthelesse in this, as in all actions besides, is to be endeuoured and hoped, and of the worst that may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

The conclusion.

Now I haue (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may bee sufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I haue mentioned, which doubtlesse and in great reason is nothing to that which remaineth to be discouered, neither the soyle, nor commodities. As we haue reason so to gather by the difference we found in our trauailes, for although al which I haue before spoken of, haue bene discouered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our trauailing: yet sometimes as we made our iourneys further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as euer we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and [356]

of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plentie, as well of other things, as of those which wee haue already discouered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in discouering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge of where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discouery haue not seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the climate, being answerable to the Iland of Japan, the land of China, Persia, Iury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, because I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and neuer so vehemently hot, as sometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen vnto you without further relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but this much: that for all the want of prouisson, as first of English victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such sort, as to haue brought vs into some greuious and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee so suddenly and easily prouided for vs, nor in so great number and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we

This want is hereafter to be supplied.

had of clothes. Furthermore in al our trauailes, which were most specially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundred and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and vpon none of the aforesaid causes. For all foure, especially three, were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before euer they come thither, and those that knew them, much marueled that they liued so long being in that case, or had aduentured to trauaile.

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Seeing therefore the aire there is so temperate and holsome, the soyle so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be performed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh so liberall in large giuing and granting land there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath granted hath bene fiue hundreth acres to a man onely for the aduenture of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reasonably prouided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe vse but that diligence and care, that is requisit, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt but for the time following, they may haue victuall that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sorts of cattell also hereafter, as some haue bene before and there are yet remayning, may and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some haue bene already, and proue well: And in short time, also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I haue spoken of, as shall both enrich themselues, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I haue thought nec-

essary to aduertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as haue beene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discouerers of the Country, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinuil, and after his departure of our Gouernour there Master Ralph Lane, with diuers others directed and imployed vnder their gouernment: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation of the Gouernour and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a discourse by it selfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the course of times: which when time shall be [358] thought conuenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable constructions, expecting good successe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and gouernour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of February 1587.

XXX. The fourth voyage made to Virginia with three ships, in yere 1587. Wherein was transported the second Colonie.

In the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to perseuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be sent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom hee appointed Gouernour, and also appointed vnto him twelue Assistants, vnto whom he gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouernour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

April.

Our Fleete being in number three saile, viz. the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinnesse, departed the sixe and twentieth of April from Portsmouth, and the same day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where wee stayed eight dayes.

May.

The fift of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the space of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Master of our Admirall, lewdly forsooke our Fly-boate, leauing her distressed in the Bay of Portugal.

Iune.

[359] The 19 we fell with Dominica, and the same euening we sayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat also fell with Dominica.

One of the Isles of the Indies inhabited with Sauages.

Circumspection to be vsed in strange places.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Island called Santa Cruz,[101] where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25 of the same moneth. At our first landing on this Island, some of our women, and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes, and swelling of their tongues so bigge, that some of them could not speake. Also a child by sucking one of those womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was

[101] One of the Virgin Islands.

strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres it ware away of it selfe.

Also the first night of our being on this Island, we took fiue great Tortoses, some of them of such bignes, that sixteene of our strongest men were tired with carying of one of them but from the sea side to our cabbins. In this Island we found no watring place, but a standing ponde, the water whereof was so euill, that many of our company fell sicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but wash their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did so burne and swell, that their eyes were shut vp, and could not see in fiue or sixe dayes, or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the Island for fresh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouernour also, with sixe others, went vp to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Island, but could perceiue no signe of any men, or beastes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the discent of a hill, certaine potsheards of sauage making, made of the earth of that Island: whereupon it was iudged, that this Island was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had told vs for certaine the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the Gouernour. The one company affirmed, that they had seene in a valley eleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very fayre spring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company: for before that time, wee drank the stinking water of the pond. [360]

The same second day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinnesse, departed from our fleets, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohn, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz,

and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25 of Iune we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinnesse riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketos Bay,[102] where we spent three dayes vnprofitable in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

Musketos Bay, is a harbour vpon the south side of S. Iohns Island, where we take in fresh water.

The first day we weyed anker at Musketos Bay, where were left behind two Irish men of our company, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Iohns till euening, at which time wee fell with Rosse Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised wee should take in salte, and had caused vs before, to make and prouide as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouernour also, for that hee understood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the salt hills, appointed thirty shot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinnesse, and to goe aland for salt. Ferdinando perceiuing them in a readines, sent to the Gouernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that hee knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also, that if the Pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to bee cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp

[102] Now called Crux Bay.

hard, so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

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A pleasant and fruitfull countrey, lying on the west end of S. Iohns Island, where groweth plenty of Orenges, Limons, Plantans, and Pines.

The next day sayling along the west end of S. Iohn, the Gouernour determined to go aland in S. Germans Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenges, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow neere the shore, and the places where they grew, well known to the Gouernour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, and there land the Gouernour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattell, and all such things as we would haue taken in at S. Iohn: but he meant nothing lesse, as it plainely did appeare to vs afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of Iuly, we saw Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4. of Iuly, sayling along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the Gouernour, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The sixt day of Iuly we came to the Island Caycos, wherein

Ferdinando sayd were two salt pondes, assuring vs that if they were drie we might find salt to shift with, vntill the next supply: but it prooued as true as finding of sheepe at Baque. In this Island, whilest Ferdinando solaced himselfe ashore, with one of the company, in part of the Island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Iland, some to seeke the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. [362] The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16 of Iuly we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Island of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes: but finding himselfe deceiued, he weyed, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all cast away vpon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length vpon it: such was the carelesnes, and ignorance of our Master.

An intent to plant in the Bay of Chesepiok

The two and twentieth of Iuly wee arriued safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnesse ankered: the Gouernour went aboord the pinnesse accompanied with fortie of his best men, intending to passe vp to Roanoak foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene Englishmen, which Sir Richard Grinuile had left there the yeere before, with whom he meant to haue conference, concerning the state of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had so done, to returne againe to the fleete, and passe along the coast, to the Bay of Chesepiok where we intended to make our seate and forte, according to the charge giuen us among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but assoone as we were put with our pinnesse from the ship, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the sailers in the pinnesse, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe again, but to leaue

them in the Island, except the Gouernour, and two or three such as he approued, saying that the Summer was farre spent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the saylers, both in the pinnesse, and shippe, perswaded by the Master, wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sunne-set went aland on the Island, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any signe that they had bene there, sauing onely wee found the bones of one of those fifteene, which the Sauages had slaine long before.

The three and twentieth of Iuly the Gouernour with diuers of his company, walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the yeere before, [363] where wee hoped to find some signes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort rased downe, but all the houses standing vnhurt, sauing that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers sortes, and Deere within them, feeding on those Melons: so wee returned to our company, without hope of euer seeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The same day order was giuen, that euery man should be employed for the repayring of those houses, which wee found standing, and also to make other new Cottages, for such as should neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the rest of our planters arriued all safe at Hatoraske, to the great ioy and comfort of the whole company: but the Master of our Admirall Ferdinando grieued greatly at their safe comming: for hee purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the Master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of so many men of warre, as at that time were abroad,

they should surely be taken, or slaine: but God disappointed his wicked pretenses.

The eight and twentieth, George Howie, one of our twelue Assistants was slaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company, and what we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Island. These Sauages being secretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere asleep, and so kill them, espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, saue only a smal forked sticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gaue him sixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had slaine him with their woodden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Iuly Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kindred dwelling in that Island, of whom wee hoped to vnderstand some newes of our fifteene men, but especially to learne the disposition of the people of the countrey toward vs, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our [364] first landing they seemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceiuing vs begin to march with our shot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, assoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and some of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, desiring vs not to gather or spill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We answered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the old loue, that was betweene vs and them at the first, and to liue with them as brethren and friends: which answer seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested vs to walke vp to their Towne,

who there feasted vs after their maner; and desired vs earnestly, that there might bee some token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Island. They told vs further, that for want of some such badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Island by Master Lane his company, whereof they shewed vs one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt euer since: but they sayd, they knew our men mistooke them, and hurt them instead of Winginos men, wherefore they held vs excused.

August.

The next day we had conference further with them, concerning the peopie of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of those townes, that if they would accept our friendship, we would willingly receiue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be vtterly forgiuen and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly doe the best they could, and within seuen dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Gouernours of those townes with them, to our Gouernour at Roanoak, or their answere. We also vnderstood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Master Howe was slaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept companie: and also we vnderstood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Englishmen left at Roanoak the yeere [365] before, by Sir Richard Grinuile, were suddenly set vpon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk in manner following. They conueyed themselues secretly behind the trees, neere the houses where our men carelesly liued: and hauing perceiued that of those fifteene they could see but eleuen onely, two of those Sauages appeared to the 11 Englishmen calling to them by friendly signes, that but two of their chiefest

men should come vnarmed to speake with those two Sauages, who seemed also to be vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilest one of those Sauages traiterously imbraced one of our men, the other with his sworde of wood, which he had secretly hidden vnder his mantell, strooke him on the heade and slew him, and presently the other eight and twentie Sauages shewed them selues: the other Englishman perceiuing this, fled to his company, whom the Sauages pursued with their bowes, and arrowes, so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages foorthwith set the same on fire: by meanes wherof our men were forced to take vp such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to runne forth among the Sauages, with whom they skirmished aboue an howre. In this skirmish another of our men was shotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and also one of the Sauages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themselues, and so offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being some of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their foure fellowes coming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oysters: these foure they receiued into their boate, leauing Roanoak, and landed on a little Island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Hauing nowe sufficiently dispatched our businesse at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leaue, and
[366] came aboord the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of August, the Gouernour hauing long expected the

comming of the Wiroanses of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, Secota, and Dasamonguepeuk, seeing that the seuen dayes were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answeres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Dasamonquepeuk, were they which had slaine George Howe, and were also at the driving of our eleuen Englishmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the reuenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, wherof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where those Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himselfe toward vs as a most faithfull Englishman.

The next day, being the 9 of August, in the morning so early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, and very secretly conueyed our selues through the woods, to that side, where we had their houses betweene vs and the water: and hauing espied their fire, and some sitting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable soules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing fast by, where our men perceiuing them, shot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entered the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but we were deceiued, for those Sauages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne and fruit of that place, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had slaine George Howe, and for haste had left all their corne. Tobacco, and Pompions standing in such sont, that al had bene deuoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to haue payd deerely for it: for it was so darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had

not had a child at her backe, shee had bene slaine in stead of a man, and as hap was, another Sauage knew master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was saued. Finding our selues thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered al the corne, Pease, Pompions, and Tobacco that we found ripe,
[367] leauing the rest vnspoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these Sauages somewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in comming to the Gouernour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that mischance.

The 13 of August our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull seruices.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Gouernour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Assistants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia. By this time our ships had vnladen the goods and victuals of the planters; and began to take in wood, and fresh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send backe into England.

Our two ships, the Lion and the Flyboat almost ready to depart, the 21 of August, there arose such a tempest at Northeast, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on sixe dayes before he could come to vs againe so that we feared he had bene cast away, and the rather for that at the time that the storme tooke them, the most and best of their sailers were left aland.

At this time some controuersies arose betweene the Gouernour and Assistants, about choosing two out of the twelue Assistants,

which should goe backe as factors for the company into England: for euery one of them refused, saue onely one, which all other thought not sufficient: but at length by much perswading of the Gouernour, Christopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perswasion of diuers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, the 22 of August, the whole company both of the Assistants and planters came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requested him to returne himselfe into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them: but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes, [368] why he would not: the one was, that he could not so suddenly returne backe againe without his great discredite, leauing the action, and so many whome hee partly had procured through his perswasions, to leaue their natiue countrey, and vndertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not spare to slander falsly both him and the action, by saying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to leade so many into a countrey, in which hee neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seeing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe and goods might be both spoiled, and most of them pilfered away in the cariage, so that at his returne he should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all suche things againe, or else at his comming againe to Virginia find himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himselfe.

Their meaning to remoue 50 miles into the countrey.

The next day, not onely the Assistants but diuers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the Gouernour againe, to take vpon him to returne into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as there were to be

done, promising to make him their bond vnder all their handes and seales for the safe preseruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof was spoyled or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoever the same should be missed and demanded: which bond, with a testimony vnder their hands and seales, they foorthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the testimony I thought good to set downe.

"May it please you, her Maiesties subjects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you and euery of you to vnderstand, that for the present and speedy supply of certaine our knowen and apparent lackes and needes, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of vs, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde and consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested Iohn White, Gouernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured
[369] help, and setting forward of the foresayd supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour and maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernement, and all his goods among vs and himselfe in all our behalfes to passe into England, of whose knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe assure ourselues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto, the 25 of August 1587."

The Gouernour being at the last through their extreame intreating constrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a dayes respite to prepare himselfe for the same, departed from Roanoak the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning and the same day about midnight, came aboord the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly

come thither againe. The same day both ships weyed anker, and set saile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flyboate were throwen from the Capstone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about them, that the other two barres thereof strooke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them neuer recouered it; neuerthelesse they assayed presently againe to wey their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weye it, but were throwen downe and hurt the second time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboord, and most of them by this vnfortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neuerthelesse, they kept company with the Admirall, vntill the seuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and sawe Flores.

September.

The eighteenth, perceiuing that of all our fifteene men in the Flyboat there remained but fiue, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England but to linger about the Island of Tercera for purchase: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the helpe of God to arriue shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twentie dayes, hauing had sometimes scarse and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost [370]
consumed there arose a storme at Northeast, which for sixe dayes ceased not to blowe so exceeding, that we were driuen further in those sixe then we could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our saylers began to fall very sicke and two of them dyed, the weather also continued so close, that our Master sometimes in foure dayes together could see neither sunne nor starre, and all the beuerage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three

gallons, and therefore nowe we expected nothing but famine to perish at Sea.

October.

Smerwick in the West of Ireland.

The 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the same land at that day: about sunne set we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinnesse of Hampton[103] riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe ashore, vntill the pinnesse sent off their boate to vs with 6 or 8 men, of whom wee vnderstood wee were in Smerwick in the West parts of Ireland: they also relieued vs presently with fresh water, wine and other fresh meate.

The 18 the Gouernour and the Master ryd to Dingen a Cushe,[104] 5 miles distant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboat for England, and for reliefe of our sicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatswain, the Steward, and the Boatswains mate died aboord the Flieboat, and the 28 the Masters mate and two of our chiefs sailers were brought sicke to Dingen.

Nouember.

The first the Gouernour shipped himselfe in a ship called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The same day we set sayle, and on the third day we fell with the North side of the lands end and were shut vp the Seuerne, but the
[371] next day we doubled the same for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Gouernour landed in England at Martasew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

[103] Littlehampton.
[104] Probably Dingle, County Kerry.

The 8 we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderstood that our consort the Admirall was come to Portsmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and also that Ferdinando the Master with all his company were not onely come home without purchase, but also in such weaknesse by sicknesse, and death of their chiefest men, that they were scarse able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all haue perished there, if a small barke by a great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are these, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and some other saylers, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

XXXI. The names of all the men, women and children, which safely arriued in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ. 29.

Iohn White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Christopher Cooper.
Thomas Steuens.
Iohn Sampson.
Dyonis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Iohnson.
Thomas Warner.

Anthony Cage.
Iohn Iones.
William Willes.
Iohn Brooke.
Cutbert White.
Iohn Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
Iohn Cotsmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
Iohn Gibbes.
Iohn Stilman.
Robert Wilkinson.
Iohn Tydway.
Ambrose Viccars.
Edmond English.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
Iohn Spendloue.
Iohn Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
Iohn Burden.
Iames Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.
[372] Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.

Richard Tauerner.
Iohn Earnest.
Henry Iohnson.
Iohn Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
Iohn Wright.
William Dutton.
Mauris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
Iohn Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Bishop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Paine.
Thomas Harris.
William Nichols.
Thomas Pheuens.
Iohn Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
Iohn Wyles.
Brian Wyles.

George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenson.
Martin Sutton.
Iohn Farre.
Iohn Bridger.
Griffen Iones.
Richard Shabedge.
Iames Lasie.
Iohn Cheuen.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Haruie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Ioyce Archard.
Iane Jones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Iane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Ioan Warren.
Iane Mannering.
Rose Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Boyes and children.

Iohn Sampson.
Robert Ellis.

Ambrose Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.
George How.
Iohn Prat.
William Wythers.

[373]

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
Haruie.

Sauages that were in England and returned home into Virginia with them.

Manteo.
Towaye.

XXXII. A letter from John White to M. Richard Hakluyt.

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt, much happinesse in the Lord.

Sir, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made vnto you at my last being with you in England, I haue sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contestation of a delicate care) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what euents happened vnto vs in this our iourney, you shall plainely perceiue by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of

M. Iohn Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Ralegh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome vnto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in Virginia: so likewise, that by his endeuour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were Gods pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Maiestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound vnto Sir Walter Ralegh or his assignes, in 3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, and transport a conuenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Neuerthelesse that order was not obserued, neither was the bond taken according to the
[374] intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to haue any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, sauing only my selfe and my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend vpon me, although I made great sute, and earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and vnkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarcity of time was such, that I could haue no opportunity to go vnto Sir Walter Ralegh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne. Thus both Gouernors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countreymen in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselues to seeke after purchase and spoiles,

spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arriued at Virginia. And when we were come thither, the season was so vnfit, and weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, hauing not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboard. Which euils and vnfortunate euents (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Ralegh had bene obserued, or if my dayly and continuall petitions for the performance of the same might haue taken any place. Thus may you plainely perceiue the successe of my fift and last voiage to Virginia, which was no lesse vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; and as ioyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wishes, I leaue off from prosecuting that where-unto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe and comfort them, according to his most holy will and their good desire, I take my leaue: from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.

Your most welwishing friend,

IOHN WHITE.

XXXIII. The fift voyage of M. Iohn White into the West Indies and parts of America called Virginia, in the yeere 1590.

The 20 of March the three shippes the Hopewell, the Iohn Euangelist, and the little Iohn, put to sea from Plymmouth with two small Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were sunke being towed at the ships stearnes by the Boatswaines negligence.

On the 30 we saw a head vs that part of the coast of Barbary, lying East of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Asaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a Pinnesse of London called the Mooneshine.

Aprill.

On the first of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great shippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 shipboats to supply the losse of our Shalops.

On the 2 we set sayle from the rode of Santa Cruz for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we saw Alegranza, the East Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chase to a double flyboat, the which, we also the same day fought with, and tooke her, with losse of three of their men slaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we saw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in fresh water on the Southside thereof.

On the 9. we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of Aprill we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anker on the Southside thereof.

May.

The first of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboord our ships in their Canowes, and did traffique with vs; we also the same day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the same day aboord without any resistance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinnesse departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Viceadmirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwardes [376] bound to the Indies; the same night we had sight of three small Ilands called Los Santos, leauing Guadeloupe and them on our starboord.

The 3 we had sight of S. Christophers Iland, bearing Northeast and by East off vs.

On the 4 we sayled by the Virgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the East ende of S. Iohns Iland: and the same day towards euening we landed vpon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we stayed but three houres, and from thence stood into the shore Northwest, and hauing brought this Iland Southeast off vs, we put towards night thorow an opening or swatch, called The passage, lying betweene the Virgines, and the East end of S. Iohn: here the Pinnesse left vs, and sayled on the South side of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall sayled along the North side of S. Iohn, so neere the shore that the Spaniards discerned vs to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custome is, when they see any men of warre on their coasts.

The 7 we landed on the Northwest end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a good riuer called Yaguana, and the same night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our state ranne from vs to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona; whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned and tooke from them a Pinnesse, which they had drawen a ground and sunke, and caried all her sayles, mastes, and rudders into the woods, because we should not take him away; we also chased the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rockes, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues distant from Mona, lying on the Southside of Hispaniola neere the East end: betweene these two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

[377] On Thursday being the 19 our Viceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other fiue daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforesaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Viceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Casiques sonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Viceadmirall landed to take in ballast.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangelist our Pinnesse staying for vs: here we tooke in two Spaniards almost starued on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we passed by. Those places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a desolate and meere wildernesse, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

The 22 our Pinnesse came also to an anker in Aligato Bay at cape Tyburon. Here we vnderstood of M. Lane, Captaine of

the Pinnesse; how he was set vpon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue ouer the fight and forsooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

The 26 the Iohn our Vizeadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we should attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitsunday Euen at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from vs, and at tenne dayes end returned to our ships almost starued for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkases of diuers men, who had perished (as wee thought) by famine in those woods, being either stragled from their company, or landed there by some men of warre.

Iune.

On the 14 of Iune we tooke a smal Spanish frigat which fell amongst vs so suddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, so that he could not escape vs. This frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but three men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the [378] thirde a Vintener, who escaped all of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the West parts of Hispaniola where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17 being Wednesday Captaine Lane was sent to Yaguana with his Pinnesse and a Frigat to take a shippe, which was there taking in fraight, as we vnderstood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the shippe, with many passengers and Negroes in the

same; which proued not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and spoyled her before we came. Neuerthelesse her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafistula, Copper-pannes, and Casaui.

Iuly.

The second of Iuly Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small Pinnesse, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the same day we had sight of a fleete of 14 saile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gaue chase, but they vpon the first sight of vs fled, and separating themselues scattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our selues and so made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reason of the darkenesse we lost sight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the same night at the fetching vp of the Vizadmirall of the Spanish fleete, against whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with losse of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 slaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinnesse, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The fight was in sight of the Iland of Nauaza.[105]

The 3 of Iuly we spent about rifling, romaging, and fitting the Prize to be sayled with vs.

The 6 of Iuly we saw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboord. [379]

Vpon the 8 of Iuly we saw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southside of Cuba nigh vnto the West end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the same day we gaue chase to a Frigat, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sayling of our Admirall, and lacke of the Moonelight our Pinnesse, whom Captaine Cooke had sent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonelight and her Pinnesse abiding for our comming, of whom we vnderstood that the day before there passed by them 22 saile, some of them of the burden of 300 and some 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treasure from the maine, bound for Hauana: from this 11 of Iuly vntill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very scarse, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards sauing three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choise on the Southside of Cuba neere vnto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof called the Martires.[106]

The 25 being S. James day in the morning, we fell in with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the East of Hauana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying to and fro betweene the Matanças and Hauana, we were espied of three small Pinasses of S. Iohn de Vilua bound for Hauana exceedingly richly loaden. These 3 Pinasses came very boldly vp vnto vs, and so continued vntill they came within musket shot of vs. And we supposed them to be Captaine Harps Pinnesse, and two small Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently vpon the sight of it turned about and made all the saile they could from vs toward the shore, and kept themselues in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of shot and pouder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flagge, we might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had beene in our hands. This chase brought vs so far

[106] Or Florida Keys.

[380] to leeward as Hauana: wherfore not finding any of our consorts at the Matanças, we put ouer againe to the cape of Florida, and from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare West of vs.

The state of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia.

The 30 we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much swifter a farre off then in sight of the coast.[107] For from the Cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddie currents, setting to the South and Southwest.

The 31 our three ships were clearely disbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or consort, and sayled directly for England.

August.

On the first of August the winde scanted, and from thence forward we had very fowl weather with much raine, thundering, and great spouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ships.

The 3 we stoode againe in for the shore, and at midday we tooke the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low sandie Ilands West of Wokokon. But the weather continued so exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coast: wherefore we stood off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of August.

On Munday the storme ceased, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we stood in againe for the shore: and came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy Island, being one of the Ilandes, West of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in some fresh water and caught great store of fish

[107] The Gulf Stream.

in the shallow water. Betweene the maine (as we supposed) and that Iland it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in most places.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeast end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night. [381]

Great diuersity of soundings.

The 13 in the morning before we wayed our ankers, our boates were sent to sound ouer this breach: our ships riding on the side thereof at 5 fadome; and a ships length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and shallowing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found 5 fadome, and by and by 7, and within two casts with the lead 9, and then 8, next cast 5, and then 6, and then 4, and then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the last, 2 leagues off from the shore. This breach is in 35. degr. and a halfe, and lyeth at the very Northeast point of Croatoan, whereas goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.[108]

Hatorask in 36 degr. and a terce.

The 15 of August towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in fiue fadom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first comming to anker on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which smoake put vs in good hope that some of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a shore, and Captaine Cooke, and Cap. Spicer, and their company with me, with intent to passe to the place at Raonoak where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our Master gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to shoot them off with reasonable space betweene euery shot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the

[108] This is either the Core Bank or Hatteras Bank.

They land.

place where wee hoped to finde some of our people. This was accordingly performed, and twoe boats put off vnto the shore, in the Admirals boat, we sounded all the way and found from our shippe vntill we came within a mile of the shore nine, eight, and seuen fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ships and the shore we saw another great smoke to the Southwest of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that second smoke first, but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we supposed it to be, so that we were very sore tired before wee came to the smoke. But that which grieued vs more was that when we came to the smoke, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately, nor yet any fresh
[382] water in all this waye to drinke. Being thus wearied with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our absence had brought their caske a shore for fresh water, so we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and caused some of those saylers to digge in those sandie hills for fresh water whereof we found very sufficient. That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in safety.

The next morning being the 17 of August, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke afternoone before we put from our ships which were then come to an anker within two miles of the shore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the shore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ship. The Admirals boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea brake in our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull styrage of Captaine Cooke we came safe ashore, sauing onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeast and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and

the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boat was halled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach, with his mast standing vp, and was halfe passed ouer, but by the rash and vndiscreet styrage of Ralph Skinner his Masters mate, a very dangerous sea brake into their boate and ouerset them quite, the men kept the boat some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so, that some of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade ashore: but the Sea still beat them downe, so that they could neither stand nor swimme, and the boat twise or thrice was turned the keele vpward, whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung vntill they sunke, and were seene no more. But foure that could swimme a little kept themselues in deeper water and were saued by Captaine Cookes meanes, who so soone as he saw their ouersetting, stripped himselfe, and four other that could swimme very well, and with all haste possible rowed vnto them, and saued foure. There were 11 in all and 7 of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelly, Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the saylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to seeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement and perswasion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and seeing the Captaine and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 persons in both boates: but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding darke, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the North ende of the Island the light of a great fire thorow the woods, to which we presently rowed: when wee came right ouer against it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the shore and sounded with a trumpet a Call, and afterwardes many familiar English tunes and Songs, and called to them friendly;

Captaine Spicer drowned.

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but we had no answere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Island directly ouer aguinst Dasamongwepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water side, round about the North point of the Iland, vntill we came to the place, where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 sorts troaden the night, and as we entered vp the sandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carued these faire Romane letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signifie the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed vpon betweene them and me at my last departure from them, which was, that in any wayes they should not faile to write or carue on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my comming alway they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carue ouer the letters or name, a Crosse + in this forme, but we found no such signe of distresse. And hauing well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken downe, and the place very strongly enclosed
[384] with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chiefe trees or postes at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5 foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any crosse or signe of distresse; this done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many barres of iron, two pigges of lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron sacker-shotte, and such like heauie thinges, throwen here and there, almost ouergrowen with grasse and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water side, towards the poynt of the Creeke to see if we could find any of

their botes or Pinnesse, but we could perceiue no signe of them, nor any of the last Falkons and small Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, some of our Saylers meeting vs, told vs that they had found where diuers chests had bene hidden, and long sithence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them spoyled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the Sauages knew any vse of, vndefaced. Presently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres past by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found fiue Chests, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the same chests three were my owne, and about the place many of my things spoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of some of my pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and my armour almost eaten through with rust; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Dasamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and assoone as they were departed digged vp euery place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieued me to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly ioyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.

When we had seene in this place so much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the shoare towards our shippes, with as much speede as we could: For the weather beganne to ouercast, and very likely that a foule and stormie night would ensue. Therefore the same Euening with much danger and labour, we got our selues aboard, by which time the winde and seas were so greatly risen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would scarcely holde vntill Morning: wherefore the [385]
Captaine caused the Boate to be manned by fiue lusty men, who could swimme all well, and sent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard sixe of our men, who

had filled our caske with fresh water: the Boate the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caske ready filled they left behinde, impossible to bee had aboard without danger of casting away both men and Boates: for this night prooued very stormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my selfe, with the Master and others, to way anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and also to leaue that Caske with fresh water on shoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capston, but when the anchor was almost apecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we lost another Anchor, wherewith we droue so fast into the shoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor: which came so fast home that the Shippe was almost aground by Kenricks mounts: so that we were forced to let slippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, closer by the shoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer haue gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mount. Being thus cleare of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some losse: for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarse, and our caske and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should goe for Saint Iohn or some other Iland to the Southward for fresh water. And it was further purposed, that if wee could any wayes supply our wants of victuals and other necessaries, either at Hispaniola, Sant Iohn, or Trynidad, that then we should continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to visit our countreymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested onely to knowe what the Master of the Moone-light our consort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in

They leaue the coast of Virginia.

that new determination, they alleaged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the same night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and [386] the Admirall set his course for Trynidad, which course we kept two dayes.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was sette on foule weather euery way: but this storme brought the winde West and Northwest, and blewe so forcibly, that wee were able to beare no sayle, but our fore-course halfe mast high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due course for England, for that wee were driuen to change our first determination for Trynidad, and stoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purposed to take in fresh water, and also there hoped to meete with some English men of warre about those Ilands, at whose hands wee might obtaine some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Açores, sometimes with calmes, and sometimes with very scarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeast, and blew so exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry[109] all that day. At this time by account we iudged our selues to be about twentie leagues to the West of Cueruo and Flores, but about night, the storme ceased, and fayre weather ensued.

On Thursday the seuenteenth wee saw Cueruo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reason the winde shifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, standing in againe with Cueruo, we escryed a sayle a head vs, to whom we gaue chase: but when wee came neere him, wee knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him: but we vnderstood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of this prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinnesse had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleete, and

[109] Heave to.

had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for succour, and some of them ran themselues aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further wee vnderstood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Hauana, with whom he fought: in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was slaine, and the Captaines right arme strooken off, with foure other of his men slaine, and sixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spanish shippes, which was so sore shot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treasure she sunke; so that we lost thirteene Pipes of siluer which sunke with her, besides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spanish shippe being pearced with nine shotte vnder water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to pursue: but some of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they saw aboue water neere the shoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to rescue the two Ships; Wherefore they gaue ouer the chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.

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13. Pipes of siluer

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a small village on the North side of Flores, where we found ryding 5. English men of warre, of whom we vnderstood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of these fiue was the Moonelight our consort, who vpon the first sight of our comming into Flores, set sayle and went for England, not taking any leaue of vs.

On Sunday the 20 the Mary Rose, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ships, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-sure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of warre, as the Edward

Bonauenture, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of sir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ships and pinnesses, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the West Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we spake with the Swift-sure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines desired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ships stood for Faial. But the Generall with the rest of the Fleete were separated from vs, making two fleetes, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleete.

On Wednesday the 23. we saw Gratiosa, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queenes fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counsel, in which was determined that the whole fleete should go for the mayne, and spred themselues on the coasts of Spaine and Portugal, so farre as conueniently [388]
they might, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleete in those parts.

The 20. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with some other of the fleete ankered, other some plyed vp and downe betweene that and the Pico vntill midnight, at which time the Anthony shot off a piece and weyed, shewing his light: after whom the whole fleete stood to the East, the winde at Northeast by East.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who stood to the East. But our shippe accompanied with a Flyboat stoode in again with S. George, where we purposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On Wednesday the 30. of September, seeing the winde hang so Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S. George, we gaue ouer our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

October.

The 2. of October in the Morning we saw S. Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we saw Vshant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.[110]

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XXXIV. The relation of John de Verrazano of the land by him discovered.

To the most Christian King of France, Francis the first.

The relation of Iohn de Verrazzano a Florentine, of the land by him discouered in the name of his Maiestie. Written at Diepe the eight of Iuly, 1524.

I wrote not to your Maiesty, most Christian king, since the time we suffered the tempest in the north partes, of the successe of the foure Shippes, which your Maiestie sent forth to discouer new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Maiestie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by these presents I will giue your Maiestie to vnderstand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with two ships, the Norman and the Dolphin (in such euill case as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayred them in all poynts as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our course along by the coast of Spaine, which your Maiestie shall vnderstand by the profite that we receiued thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make discouerie of new Countries, to prosecute

[110] Between 1587 and 1602 Raleigh sent out five expeditions to Virginia. To the last be firmly believed in the future of the country.

the nauigation we had already begun, which I purpose at this present to recount vnto your Maiestie to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter. [390]

The 17 of Ianuary the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the dishabited rocke by the isle of Madêra, apperteining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other ship-munition very well prouided and furnished for 8 moneths: And sayling Westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were ouertaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as euer any saylers suffered: whereof with the diuine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almighty God, and the goodnesse of our shippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were deliuered, and with a prosperous winde followed our course West and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made aboue 400. leagues more, where we discouered a new land, neuer before seene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at first sight it seemed somewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceiued by the great fires that we saw by the Sea coast, that it was inhabited: and saw that the land stretched to the Southwards. In seeking some conuenient Harborough wherein to anchor and to haue knowledge of the place, we sayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and seeing the land to runne still to the Southwards, we resolued to return back againe towards the North where wee found ourselues troubled with the like difficulty. At length being in despaire to finde any Port, wee cast anchor vpon the coast, and sent our Boate to shore, where we saw great store of people which came to the sea side: and seeing vs approch, they fled away, and sometime would stand still and looke backe, beholding vs with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and assured with signes that we made them, some of them came hard to the Sea side, seeming to reioyce very much at the sight of vs, and marueiling greatly at our apparel, shape and whitenesse, shewing vs by sundry

The Isle of Madêra

They discouer land.

signes where we might most commodiously come aland with our Boat, offering vs also of their victuals to eat. Now I wil briefly declare to your Maiestie their life and maners, as farre as we could haue notice thereof: These people goe altogether naked, except only that they couer their priuie parts with certaine skins of beastes like vnto Martens, which they fasten vnto a narrow girdle made of grasse very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayle of diuers other beastes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare
[391] garlands of byrdes feathers. The people are of colour russet, and not much unlike the Saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a litle taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane stature, and commonly somewhat bigger then we: broad breasted, strong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well fashioned, and they are disfigured in nothing, saving, that they have somewhat broade visages, and yet not all of them: for we saw many of them wel favoured, having blacke and greate eyes, with a cheerefull and steady looke, not strong of body, yet sharpe witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in those two last qualities they are like to the people of the East partes of the world, and especially to them of the uttermost parts of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of living, nor their particular customs, by reason of the short abode we made on the shore, our company being but small, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from these we found another people, whose living wee thinke to be like unto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare unto your Majestie) shewing at this present the situation and nature of the foresayd land. The shore is all covered with small sand, and so ascendeth upwards for the space of 15 foote, rising in forme of litle hils about 50 paces broad. And sayling forwards, we found certaine small Rivers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, washing the shoare on both

sides as the coast lyeth. And beyond this we saw the open Countrey rising in height above the sandy shoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mighty great woods, some very thicke, and some thinne, replenished with divers sorts of trees, as pleasant and delectable to behold, as is possible to imagine. And your Majesty may not thinke that these are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deserts of Tartary, and the Northerne coasts full of fruitlesse trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypresse trees, and many other sorts of trees unknowen in Europe, which yeeld most sweet savours farre from the shoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne for the cause aforesayd, and not for any difficulty to passe through the woods, seeing they are not so thicke but that a man may passe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the East world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs and spicery, and other riches of golde, seeing the colour of the land doth so much argue it. And the land is full of many beastes, [392] as Stags, Deere and Hares, and likewise of Lakes and Pooles of fresh water, with great plentie of Fowles, conuenient for all kinde of pleasant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees, with good and wholesome ayre, temperature, betweene hot and colde, no vehement windes doe blowe in those Regions, and those that doe commonly reigne in those coasts, are the Northwest and West windes in the summer season, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the skie cleere and faire with very little raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and mistie with the Southerne winde, immediatly it is dissolued and waxeth cleere and fayre againe. The Sea is calme, not boysterous, the waues gentle: and although all the shore be somewhat sholde and without harborough, yet it is not dangerous to the saylers, being free from rocks and deepe, so that within 4. or 5. foote of the shore, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth still increasing in such vniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ship being shaken in a tempest, can neuer perish there by break-

ing of her cables, which we haue prooued by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is vsuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppressed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth fayled or mooued at all.

The coast trendeth to the East in 34. degrees of latitude.

We departed from this place, stil running along the coast, which we found to trend toward the East,[111] and we saw euery where very great fires, by reason of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coast, partly because it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boate ashoare with 25. men: where by reason of great and continuall waues that beat against the shoare, being an open Coast, without succour, none of our men could possibly goe ashoare without loosing our boate. Wee saw there many people which came vnto the shoare, making diuers signes of friendship, and shewing that they were content we should come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Maiestie shal vnderstand by the successe. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteeme, as sheetes of paper, glasses, bels, and such like trifles; we sent a young man one of our Mariners ashoare, who swimming towards them, and being within 3. or 4. yards of the shore, not trusting them, cast the things vpon the shoare: but seeking afterwards to returne, he was with such violence of the waues beaten vpon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead: which the Indians perceiuing, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they caried him a litle way off from the sea. The yong man perceiuing they caried him, being at the first dismaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteously: likewise did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to giue him courage, and then setting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil against the sunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marueiling at the whitenesse of his flesh:

Courteous and gentle people.

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[111] North-East.

And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would haue rosted him at that fire, and haue eaten him. The young man hauing recouered his strength, and hauing stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that he was desirous to returne to the ship: and they with great loue clapping him fast about with many imbracings, accompanying him vnto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leauing him alone, went vnto a high ground and stood there, beholding him vntill he was entred into the boate. This yong man obserued, as we did also, that these are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their flesh very shining, of meane stature, handsome visage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle strength, but of prompt wit: farther we obserued not.

They run 50 leagues farther.

Departing from hence, following the shore which trended somewhat toward the North, in 50. leagues space we came to another land which shewed much more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker: and that we might haue some knowledge thereof, wee sent 20. men aland, which entred into the countrey about 2 leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They saw onely one olde woman with a young maide of 18. or 20. yeeres old, which seeing our company, hid themselues in the grasse for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her shoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres old. The young woman was laden likewise with as many: but when our men came vnto them, the women cried out: the olde woman made signes that the men were fledde vnto the woods. Assoone as they saw vs to quiet [394] them and to winne their fauour, our men gave them such victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the old woman receiued thankfully: but the yong woman disdained them all, and threw them disdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall stature, they

could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea: and especially hauing great woods to passe thorow, and being farre from the ship, we purposed to leaue her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found those folkes to be more white then those that we found before, being clad with certaine leaues that hang on boughs of trees, which they sewe together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were trussed vp after the same maner as the former were: their ordinary food is of pulse, whereof they haue great store, differing in colour and taste from ours; of good and pleasant taste. Moreouer they liue by fishing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fish, and other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted. We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20 foote long, and 4 foote broad, which are not made with yron or any other kind of metall (because that in all this countrey for the space of leagues which we ranne, we neuer saw one stone of any sort:) they helpe themselues with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollowness of the boat; the like they doe in making the sterne and the forepart, vntil it be fit to saile vpon the sea. The land is in situation goodnes and fairenesse like the other: it hath woods like the other, thinne and full of diuers sorts of trees: but not sweete, because the country is more Northerly and colde.

They ran along the coast 200 leagues. They make hollow their Canoes with fire.

Vines like those of Lombardie.

We saw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing vp, tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lombardie, which if by husbandmen they were dressed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for hauing oftentimes seene the fruit thereof dryed, which was sweete and pleasant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe esteeme the same, because that in euery place where they growe, they take away the vnder branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

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We found also roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of herbes, and sweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their dwellings, because they were farre vp in the land, and we iudge by many signes that we saw, that they are of wood and of trees framed together.

We doe beleeue also by many coniectures and signes, that many of them sleeping in the fields, haue no other couert then the open sky. Further knowledge haue we not of them: we thinke that all the rest whose countreys we passed, liue all after one maner. Hauing made our aboade three dayes in this countrey, and ryding on the coast for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the shore betweene the North and the East, sayling onely in the daytime, and riding at anker by night. In the space of 100. leagues sayling we found a very pleasant place situated amongst certaine litle hils: from amidst the which hils there ran downe into the sea an exceeding great streme of water, which within the mouth was very deepe, and from the sea to the mouth of the same with the tide which we found to rise 8. foote, any great ship laden may passe vp.

A mighty riuer.

But because we rode at rode at anker, in a place well fenced from the wind, we would not venture ourselues without knowledge of the place: and we passed vp with our boat onely into the sayd Riuer, and saw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almost like vnto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of diuers colours: they came towards vs very cheerefully, making great showts of admiration; shewing vs where we might come to land most safely with our boat. We entered vp the sayd river into the land about halfe a league where it made a most pleasant lake about 3 leagues in compasse: on the which they rowed from the one side to the other to the number of 30. of their small boates, wherein were many people which passed from one shore to the other to come and see vs. And behold vpon the sudden (as is woont to fall out in sayling) a contrary flaw of wind comming from the sea, we were inforced to returne to

People clad with feathers of diuers colours.

The pleasantness and riches of the land.

our ship, leauing this lande to our great discontentment, for the great commodity and pleasantnesse thereof, which we suppose is not without some riches, all the hils shewing minerall waters in them. We weyed anker, and sayled toward the East, for so the coast trended, and so alwayes for 50. leagues being in the sight thereof, we discouered an Iland in forme of a triangle, distant from the maine land 10. leagues, about the bignesse of the Iland of the Rhodes: it was ful of hils couered with trees, well peopled, for we saw fires all along the coast: wee gaue it the name of your Maiesties mother, not staying there by reason of the weather being contrary.

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The description of Claudia, Iland, tenne leagues from the mayne. Claudia was mother of king Francis.

And we came to another land being 15. leagues from the Iland, where we found a passing good hauen, wherein being entred, we found about 20. small boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our ship, comming no neerer then 50. paces towards vs: they stayed and beheld the artificialnesse of our ship, our shape and apparel: then they all made a loud showt together, declaring that they reioyced. When we had something animated them, vsing their gestures, they came so neere vs, that we cast them certaine bels and glasses, and many toyes, which when they had receiued, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ship. There were amongst these people 2. kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare: the eldest was about 40. yeeres of age, the second was a young man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had vpon his naked body a Harts skin wrought artificially with diuers branches like damaske: his head was bare with the hayre tyed vp behind with diuers knot: about his necke he had a large chaine, garnished with diuers stones of sundry colours: the yong man was almost apparelled after the same maner. This is the goodliest people, and of the fairest conditions that we haue found in this our voyage. They exceed vs in bignes: they are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whitenesse: others are of yellow colour, of comely visage, with

long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke vp: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of sweete and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion. I write not to your Maiestie of the other parts of their body, hauing al such proportion as apperteineth to any handsome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handsome and well fauoured, of pleasaunt countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good [397] education: they are all naked saue their priuy partes, which they couer with a Deeres skin branched or embrodered as the men vse: there are also of them which weare on their armes very rich skinnes of Luzernes: they adorne their heads with diuers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both sides their brestes: others vse other kinde of dressing themselues like vnto the women of Egypt and Syria, these are of the elder sort: and when they are maried, they weare diuers toyes, according to the vsage of the people of the East, as well men as women.

Among whom we saw many plates of wrought copper, which they esteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of Azure and Red. The things that they esteeme most of all those which we gaue them, were bels, christall of Azure colour, and other toyes to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not desire cloth of silke or of golde, much lesse of any other sort, neither cared they for things made of steele and yron, which wee often shewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them: the like they did at our glasses, which when they beheld, they suddenly laught and gaue them vs againe. They are very liberall, for they giue that which they haue: wee became great friends with these, and one day we entred into the Hauen with our ship, whereas before we rode a league off at Sea by reason of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their small boats vnto the ship with their faces all bepainted with

diuers colours, shewing vs that it was a signe of ioy, bringing vs of their victuals, they made signes vnto vs where we might safest ride in the Hauen for the safegard of our ship keeping still our company: and after we were come to an anker, wee bestowed 15 dayes in prouiding our selues many necessary things, whither euery day the people repaired to see our ship bringing their wiues with them, whereof they were very ielous: and they themselues entring abord the ship and staying there a good space, caused their wiues to stay in their boats, and for all the entreatie we could make, offring to giue them diuers things, we could neuer obtaine that they would suffer them to come abord our ship. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleasure to see vs, they all stayed on shore 200. paces from vs, sending a small boat to giue vs intelli-
[398] gence of their comming, saying they would come to see our ship: this they did in token of safety, and assone as they had answere from vs, they came immediatly, and hauing staied awhile to behold it, they wondered at hearing the cries and noyses of the mariners. The queene and her maids stayed in a very light boat, at an Iland a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship vttering diuers conceits with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of euery thing particularly. He tooke likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparell, and in tasting our meats, and so courteously taking his leaue departed. And sometimes our men staying 2 or 3 daies on a litle Iland neere the ship for diuers necessaries (as it is the vse of seamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to see what we did, and asked vs oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offring vs of their prouision: then the king drawing his bow and running vp and down with his gentlemen, made much sport to gratifie our men:

Most pleasant and fruitful lands.

we were oftentimes within the land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleasant as is possible to declare, very apt for any kind of husbandry of corne, wine and oyle: for that there are plaines

25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of such fruitfullnesse, that any seed being sowed therein, wil bring forth most excellent fruit. We entred afterwards into the woods, which we found so great and thicke, that any army were it neuer so great might haue hid it selfe therein, the trees whereof are okes, cipresse trees, and other sortes vnknowen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damson trees, and nut trees, and many other sort of fruit differing from ours: there are beasts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzerns, and other kinds which they take with their nets and bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they vse are made with great cunning, and in stead of yron, they head them with flint, with iasper stone and hard marble and other sharp stones which they vse in stead of yron to cut trees, and to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10 or 12 men may sit commodiously: their oares are short and broad at the end, and they vse them in the sea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great speedines as they list themselues. We saw their houses made in circular or round forme, 10 or. 12 paces in compasse, made with halfe circles of timber separate one from another without any order of building, couered with mattes of straw wrought cunningly together, which saue them from wind and raine; and if they had the order of building and perfect skil of workmanship as we haue there were no doubt but that they would also make eftsoones great and stately buildings. For all the sea coasts are ful of cleare and glistering stones, and alablaster, and therefore it is full of good hauens and harboroughs for ships. They mooue the foresaid houses from one place to another according to the commodity of the place and season wherin they wil make their abode, and only taking of the mattes, they haue other houses builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great number: in some of them we saw 25 or 30 persons. They feed as the other doe aforesaid of pulse which grow in that Countrey

The fashion of their houses.

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The coast full of good havens.

with better order of husbandry then in the others. They obserue in their sowing the course of the Moone and the rising of certaine starres, and diuers other customes spoken of by antiquity. Moreouer they liue by hunting and fishing. They liue long, and are seldome sicke, and if they chance to fall sicke at any time, they heale themselues with fire without any phisitian, and they say that they die for very age. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their aduersity: and in their miserie, the kinred reckon vp all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they vse mourning mixt with singing, which continueth for a long space. This is as much as we could learne of them. This land is situated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2. terces: but somewhat more cold by accidentall causes and not of nature, (as I wil declare vnto to your highnesse elsewhere) describing at this present the situation of the foresaid Countrey, which lieth East and West, I say that the mouth of the Hauen lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the East and the North, it stretcheth twelue leagues: where it waxeth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compasse, wherein are fiue small Islands very fruitfull and pleasant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Islandes any great Nauie may ride safe without any feare of tempest or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring into the Hauen on both sides there are most pleasant hils, with many riuers of most cleare water falling into the Sea.

Their curing with Tobacco and perfumes.

The description of a notable hauen in 41. deg. and 2 tierces.

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In the middest of this entrance there is a rocke of free stone growing by nature apt to build any Castle or Fortresse there, for the keeping of the hauen. The fift of May being furnished with all things necessarie, we departed from the said coast keeping along in the sight thereof, and wee sailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner; but the land somewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a shew of minerall matter, wee sought not to land there in any place, because the weather

serued our turne for sailing: but wee suppose that it was like the former, the coast ranne Eastward for the space of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cipresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle: so much were these full of rudenesse and ill maners, and so barbarous that by no signes that euer we could make, we could haue any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themselues with Beares skinnes and Luzernes and Seales and other beasts skinnes. Their food, as farre as we coulde perceiue, repairing often vnto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They haue no graine, neither saw we any kind or signe of tillage, neither is the land, for the barennesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to haue any of their commodities, they vsed to come to the sea shore vpon certaine craggy rocks and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleased them to giue vs, crying continually that we should not approch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but kniues, fishookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to inuent. We were in despight of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of vs: And when we went on shore they shot at vs with their bowes making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land any thing notable, or of importance, sauing very great woods and certaine hilles, they may haue some minerall matter in them, because wee saw many of them haue beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from thence keeping our course Northeast along

Here the people begin to be more sauage.

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Beades of copper.

32 pleasant Islands.

the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coast for the space of fiftie leagues, we discouered 32 Islands lying al neere the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high and hauing many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harborougbs and chanels as they doe in the gulfe of Venice in Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same maners and nature as the others are. Sayling Northeast for the space of 150. leagues we approched to the land that in times past was discouered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Hauing now spent all our prouision and victuals, and hauing discouered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

They ran almost to 50. degrees.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee haue found, for want of their language wee could not vnderstand neither by signes nor gesture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or moouer, neither that they worship the heauen or stars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much lesse whither they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whither that they vsed any kind of sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they haue no religion at all, and that they liue at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to be perswaded: and all that they see vs Christians doe in our diuine seruice, they did the same with the like imitation as they saw vs to doe it.

XXXV. A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulnesse of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, sauing the last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who remained there himselfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter.

Translated out of French into English by M. Richard Haklvyt.

To the right honourable Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Captaine of her Maiesties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highnesse Lieutentant generall of the County of Cornewall, R.H. wisheth true felicitie.

Sir, after that this historie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France vnder your Name by my learned friend M. Marline Basanier of Paris, I was easily enduced to turne it into English, vnderstanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie persons there. And no maruaile though it were very welcome vnto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginia, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeeres in France then I, and vnderstand the French better then my selfe, I forthwith perceiued that you approoued mine endeuour, not for any priuate ease or commoditie that thereby might redound vnto you, but that it argued a singular and especiall care you had of those which are to be employed

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would haue forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the grosse negligence in prouiding of sufficiency of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconueniencies that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as also might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large described and so neere neighbours vnto our Colonies, that
[403] they might generally bee awaked and stirred vp vnto the diligent obseruation of euery thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, wherinto they are so cheerefully entred. Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of these partes, the accidents of the French mens gouernment therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I haue annexed to the ende of the worke, it shall be needlesse to recken vp againe. And that the rather, because the same with diuers other things of chiefest importance are liuely drawne in colours at your no smal charges by the skillfull painter Iames Morgues,[112] sometime liuing in the Black-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillion then Admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnesse and fertility of those regions, and hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which since he hath published together with the purtratures. These foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, and that for diuers iust considerations. First, for that as I haue sayd before, they were

[112] *Marginal note*.—The chiefe things worthie obseruation in Florida are drawen in colours by Iames Morgues painter sometime liuing in the Black fryers in London.

dedicated vnto you in French; secondly because now foure times also you haue attempted the like vpon the selfe same coast neere adioyning: thirdly in that you haue persed[113] as farre vp into the maine and discouered no lesse secrets in the partes of your aboad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting: lastly considering you are now also ready (vpon the late returne of Captaine Stafford and good newes which he brought you of the safe arriual of your last Colony in their wished hauen) to prosecute this action more throughly then euer. And heare to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined. The particular commodities whereof are wel knowen vnto your selfe and some few others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained there about a tweluemonth with your worshipful Lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those Countreys. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wrote well it would demaund a princes purse to haue it throughly followed without lingering, yet am I of opinion, that you shall drawe the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful aswel to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine secret commodities already discouered by your seruants, and partly by breeding of diuers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warme climat as wil best prosper there, and our realme standeth most in need of. And this I find to haue bin the course that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoueries and conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola found neither sugercanes

A collection of the commodities of Virginia.

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Meanes to raise benefit in new discoueries vsed by the Spaniards and Portugals.

Kine, sugar-canes and ginger transported into Hispaniola and Madera &c.

[113] Pierced.

nor ginger, growing there, nor any kind of our cattell: But finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine and buls and sundry sorts of other profitable beastes thither, and transported the plants of suger canes, and set the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandise of that Island. The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as Iohn Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Island by that name. Howbeit the climate being fauourable, they inriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they vsed in the Isles of Açores by sowing therin great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctial, and in Brasil and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but that in due time they shall reape no lesse commodity and benefite. Moreouer there is none other likelihood but that her Maiesty, which hath Christned, and giuen the name to your Virginia if need require, will deale after the maner of honourable godmothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring vp their children themselues, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnesse in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon,[114] after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdome of Granada and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spaine, was neuerthelesse so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the son of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the history of the deedes of his father) she layd part of her owne iewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father foorth vpon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discouered; what may we expect of our most, magnificent and

Woad and vines planted in the Azores.

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[114] *Marginal note.*—The great zeal of Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Aragon in aduancing of new discoueries tending to Gods glory.

gracious prince ELIZABETH of England, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may wee, I say, hope of her forwardnesse and bounty in aduancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant nowe in English, the maine land, where your last Colonie meane to seate themselues, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath bene found by those that haue had some triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a Storke bee cast in shee will seeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will seeke to start a Hare: So sundry men entering into these discoueries propose vnto themselues seuerall endes. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part wordly and transitorie gaine, and that often times by dishonest and vnlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and, the sauing of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet because diuers honest and well disposed persons were entred already into this your businesse, and that I know you meane hereafter to send some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely say with the Apostle to the Sauages, wee seeke not yours but you: I conceiue great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whose power is wont to bee perfected in weaknesse, will bless the feeble foundations of your building. Only bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lord sayd vnto Iosue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember

The aptnesse of the people in the maine of Virginia to embrace Christianitie. Seneca.

that priuate men haue happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed vpon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our Common wealth wherein you liue. Hereof we haue examples both domesticall and forreigne. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Ireland newly dedicated vnto your selfe. Read you not that Richard Stranbow the decayed earle of Chepstow in Monmuthshire, being in no great fauour of his soueraigne, passed ouer into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied onely with certaine of his priuate friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for king Henry the second to the speedy subjection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugall was first begun by mean and priuate men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoueries, assured me in this citie in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginia, and the large extension thereof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it were a matter of more difficulty then the conquest of Ireland, first I answere, that as the late experience of that skilfull pilote and Captaine M. Iohn Dauis to the Northwest (toward which his discovery your selfe haue thrise contributed, with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be maine sea, where before was thought to be maine land, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culuacan and the gulfe of California, that the land on the backe part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the maps of those parts. Moreouer it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and vnarmed people in Virginia, then one thousand were able then to do in Ireland against that armed and warlike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeeres last experience

hath plainly shewed, that we may spare 10000. able men without any misse. And these are as many as the kingdome of Portugal had euer in all their garrisons of the Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Molucos, and Macao vpon the coast of China. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppresse for certain causes) which haue bene personally in the East Indies, and haue assured me that their kings had neuer aboue ten thousand natural borne Portugals[115] (their slaues excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present yeere I saw confirmed in a secrete extract of the particular estate of that kingdome and of euery gouernement and office subiect to the same with the seueral pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreyes they go idle vp and downe in swarms for lack of honest intertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained vp thus long in seruice, then in the inward partes of the firme of Virginia against such stubborne Sauages as shal refuse obedience to her Maiestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treatie they shall vnderstand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere vpon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse whereof you haue bin contented to suffer to come to light. In the meane season I humbly commend my selfe and this my translation vnto you, and your selfe, and all those which vnder you haue taken this enterprise in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endeuour. From London the 1 of May 1587.

[115] [Marginal note: The kings of Poartugal had neuer aboue ten thousand of their naturall subiects in all their new conquered dominions.]

Your L. humble at commandement R. Hakluyt.

The Preface of M. Rene Laudonniere.

[408] There are two things, which according to mine opinion haue bene the principall causes, in consideration whereof aswell they of ancient times, as those of our age haue bene induced to trauell into farre and remote regions. The first hath beene the naturall desire which wee haue to search out the commodities to liue happily, plentifully, and at ease: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to search out and bring from thence such things as are there to be found, and are in greatest estimation and in most request in our Countreys. The second cause hath bene the multitude of people too fruitefull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their natiue soyles, haue entred vpon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes passing further haue pearced euen vnto the vttermost regions. After this sort the North climate, a fruitfull father of so many nations hath oftentimes sent foorth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys: so that most of the nations of Europe drawe their originall from these parts. Contrariwise the more Southerne regions, because they bee too barren by reason of their insupportable heate which raineth in them, neede not any such sending forth of their inhabitants, and haue bene oftentimes constrained to receiue other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All Afrike, Spaine, and Italie can also testifie the same, which neuer so abounded with people that they had neede to send them abroad to inhabite elsewhere: as on the contrary Scythia, Norway, Gotland and France haue done. The posterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in Italy, Spaine and Afrike but also in fruitful and faire Asia. Neuerthelesse I find that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding vnto these two chiefe causes aforesaid, (as being

Planting of Colonies.

most curious to plant not onely their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, and religion in those prouinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their soueraigne Senate sent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) euen to the vnfurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should haue preserued the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then aduanced them to the possession of the vniuersal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aspire. For it came to passe that their Colonies here and there being miserably sacked by strange people did [409] vtterly ruin and ouerthrow their Empire. The brinks of the riuer of Rene are yet red, those of Danubius are no lesse bloody, and our France became fat with their blood which they lost. These are the effects and rewards of al such as being pricked forward with this Romane and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to subdue strange people: effects, I say, contrary to the profit which those shall receiue, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to say, to the generall policie of all men, and endeuour to vnite them one with another as well by trafficke and ciuill conuersations, as by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Sauages will not yeeld vnto their enduours so much tending vnto their profit.

When force of armes is to be vsed.

For this cause princes haue sent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good actiuity to plant themselues in strange Countreys, there to make their profite to bring the Countrey to ciuilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God: an end so much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannical and cruel gouernement: and so they haue alwayes thriued in their enterprises, and by little and little gained the heartes of them which they haue conquered or wonne vnto them by any meanes. Hereof we may gather that sometimes it is good, yea, very expedient to send forth men to discouer the pleasure and commoditie of strange Countreys: But

so, that the Countrey out of which these companies are to passe remaine not weakned, nor depriued of her forces: And againe in such sort that the company sent forth be of so iust and sufficient number, that it may not be defeited by strangers, which euery foote endeuour nothing else but to surprise the same vpon the sudden. As within these few daies past the French haue proued to my great griefe, being able by no means possible to withstand the same, considering that the elements, men, and all the fauours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Christian alliance fought against vs: which thing I purpose to discouer in this present historie with so euident trueth, that the Kings Maiesty my soueraigne prince shall in part be satisfied of the diligence which I haue vsed in his seruice, and mine aduersaries shall find themselues so discouered in their false reports, that they shall haue no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefly set downe the situation and description of the land whereunto we haue sailed and where we haue inhabited from the yeere 1561. vnto sixty fiue, to the ende that those things may the more easily be borne away, which I meane to describe in this discourse.

Nota.

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The description of the West Indies in generall, but chiefly and particularly of Florida,

America vnknowen to all antiquity.

That part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or America, or rather the West India, was vnknowen vnto our ancestours by reason of the great distance thereof. In like maner all the Westerne Islands and fortunate Isles were not discouered but by those of our age. Howbeit there haue bin some which haue said that they were discouered in the time of Augustus Cæsar, and that Virgil hath, made mention thereof in the sixt booke of his Æneidos, when he saith, There is a land beyond the starres, and the coarse of the yeere and of the Sunne, where Atlas the Porter of Heauen sustaineth the pole vpon his shoulders:

neuerthelesse it is easie to iudge that hee meaneth not to speake of this land, whereof no man is found to haue written before his time, neither yet aboue a thousand yeeres after. Christopher Colon did first light vpon land in the yeere 1592. And fiue yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Castile, and gaue vnto it his owne name, whereupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well seene in the Arte of Nauigation and in Astronomie: whereby hee discouered in his time many lands vnknowen vnto the ancient Geographers. This countrey is named by some, the land of Brasil, and the lande of Parots. It stretcheth it selfe, according vnto Postell, from the one Pole to the other, sauing at the streight of Magellan, whereunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will diuide it for the better vnderstanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Articke on the North is called new France, because that in the yeere 1514. Iohn Verrazzanno a Florentine was sent by King Francis the first and by Madam the Regent his mother vnto these newe Regions, where he went on land, and discouered all the coast which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight add twentieth vnto the fiftieth degree, and farther vnto the North. He planted in this Countrey the Ensignes and Armes of [411] the king of France: so that the Spaniardes themselues which were there afterwarde, haue named this countrey Terra Francesca. The same then extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the 25. degree vnto the 54. toward the North: and in Longitude from 210. vnto 330. The Easterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the bay of Gama, which separateth it from the Isle of Canada whither Iaques Carthiers sayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador stretching towarde Groenland. In the Westerne part there are many knowen countreys, as the Regions of Quiuira, Ciuola, Astatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, because it was discouered on Palme-sunday, which the Spaniardes call Pascha

Christopher Colon or Columbe. Americus Vespucius of whom America took the name. The first generall part of America. Cabota in the yeere 1597 had discouered all this tract for the crowne of England.

Florida. The Northerne part is altogether vnknowen.

The second part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, vnto the ninth degree. In the same is situated the Citie of Themistitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adioyning vnto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the most famous and renoumed are Hispaniola and Isabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforesayd, haue not in Longitude past seuentie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, vnto three hundreth and ten: it is also long and narrowe as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it selfe in Latitude from the tenth degree vnto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I haue sayde before, vnto the streight of Magelan. It is made in fashion like to an egge, and is very well knowen vpon all sides. The part where it is largest hath threescore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, because it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

New France is almost as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the most knowen and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen haue made diuers voyages at sundry times, insomuch
[412] that now it is the best knowen Countrey which is in all this part of new France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of land stretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly towarde the South: it hath right ouer against it fiue and twentie leagues distant the Isle of Cuba otherwise called Isabella toward the East the Isles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the West the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and diuided with diuers riuers, and therefore moyst, and is sandie towards the Sea
The trees of Florida. shore. There groweth in those partes great quantitie of Pinetrees,

which haue no kernels in the aples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentiskes, and Chestnut trees, which are more wild then those in France. There is great store of Cedars, Cypresses, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe vp along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Medlers, the fruit whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are also Plum-trees, which beare very faire fruite, but such as is not very good. There are Raspasses, and a little berrie which we call among vs Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Hasez, whereof in necessitie they make bread. There is also there the tree called Esquine, which is very good against the Pockes and other contagious diseases. The beastes best knowen in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards, Ounces, Luserns, diuers sortes of wolues, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beast that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pigions, Ringdoues, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geese, Malards, Cormorants, Hernshawes, white, red, blacke, and gray, and an infinite sort of all wilde foule. There is such abundance of Crocodiles, that ofentimes in swimming men are assayled by them: of Serpents there are many sorts. There is found amongst the Sauages good quantitie of Gold and Siluer, which is gotten out of the shippes that are lost vpon the coast, as I haue vnderstood by the Sauages themselues. They vse traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleeue it, is, that on the coast towarde the Cape, where commonly the shippes are cast away, there is more store of Siluer then towards the North, neuerthelesse they say, that in the Mountaines of Appalatcy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is also in this Country great store of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good

These are perhaps those which the Sauages call Tunas.

The beasts of Florida.

The foule of Florida.

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dyes and paintings of all kindes of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleasure in painting of their skins, know very well how to vse the same. The men are of an Oliue colour, of great stature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They couer their priuies with the skinne of a Stagge well dressed. The most part of them haue their bodies armes, and thighes painted with faire deuises: the painting whereof can neuer be taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. Their haire is very blacke and reacheth euen downe to their hips, howbeit they trusse it vp after a fashion that becommeth them very well. They are great dissemblers and traitours, valiant of their persons and fight very well. They haue none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the string of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stagges skin, which they know how to dresse as well as any man in France, and with as different sorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they work very finely and handsomly. They exercise their yong men to runne well, and they make a game among themselues which he winneth that has the longest breath. They also exercise themselues much in shooting. They play at ball in this maner: they set vp a tree in the middest of a place which is eight or nine fathome high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whosoeuer hitteth in playing therat, winneth the game. They take great pleasure in hunting and fishing. The kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut off their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. They saue the women and children and nourish them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they assemble all their subiects, and for ioy three dayes and three nights they make good cheare, they dance and sing, likewise they make the most ancient women of the Countrey to

The disposition and maners of the Floridians.

The wearing of their haire.

dance, holding the haires of their enemies in their hands: and in [414]
dancing they sing praises to the Sunne, ascribing vnto him the honour of the victory. They haue no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, sauing of that which they see, as the Sunne and the Moone. They haue their priests to whom they giue great credit, because they are great magicians, great sooth-sayers, and callers vpon diuels. These Priests serue them in stead of Physitions and Chirurgions. They cary alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased which for the most part are sick of the pocks, for they loue women and maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and some of them are Sodomites. They marry, and euery one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to haue two or three: yet none but the first is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the first wife inherite the goods and aucthoritie of the father. The women doe all the businesse at home. They keepe not house with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they haue their flowers. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, whice take all the greatest paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and sticke their haire full of feathers or downe, that they may seeme more terrible. The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carry also sometimes fish, which they cause to be dressed in the smoke. In necessitie they eat a thousand rifraffes, euen to the swallowing downe of coales, and putting sand into the pottage that they make with this meale. When they goe to warre, their King marcheth first, with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiuer full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which haue likewise their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterprize in hand, but first they assemble oftentimes

their Councell together, and they take very good aduisement before they growe to a resolution. They meete together euery morning in a great common house, whither their King repaireth, and setteth him downe vpon a seate which is higher then the seates of the other: where all of them one after another come and salute him: and the most ancient begin their salutations, lifting vp both their handes twise as high as their face, saying, ha, he, ya, and the rest answer ha, ha. Assoone as they haue done their salutation, euery man sitteth him downe vpon the seates which are round about in the house. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Iawas, that is to say their Priestes, and the most ancient men, and asketh them their aduise. Afterward he commaundeth Cassine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaues of a certaine tree: They drinke this Cassine very hotte: he drinketh first, then he causeth to be giuen thereof to all of them one after another in the same boule, which holdeth well a quart measure of Paris. They make so great account of this drinke, that no man may taste thereof in this assembly, vnlesse hee hath made proof of his valure in the warre. Moreouer this drinke hath such a vertue, that assoone as they haue drunke it, they become all in a sweate, which sweate, being past, it taketh away hunger and thirst for foure and twenty houres after. When a King dyeth, they burie him very solemnly, and vpon his graue they set the cuppe wherein he was woont to drinke: and round about the sayde graue they sticke many arrowes, and weepe and fast three dayes together without ceasing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the loue which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the space of sixe Moones (so they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thrise a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Euening. All the goods of this King are put into his house, and afterward they set it on fire, so that nothing is euer more after to

be seene. The like is done with the goods of the Priestes, and besides they burie the bodies of the Priests in their houses, and then they set them on fire. They sowe their Maiz twise a yere, to wit, in March and in Iune, and all in one and the same soyle. The sayd Maiz from the time that it is sowed vntill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth rest. They haue also faire Pumpions, and very good Beanes. They neuer dung their land, onely when they would sowe, they set the weedes on fire, which grewe vp the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground with an instrument of wood which is fashioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be sowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to assemble his subiects euery day to labour, during which labour the King causeth store of that drinke to be made for them, whereof we haue spoken. At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into a common house, where it is distributed to euery man according to his qualitie. They sowe no more but that which they thinke will serue their turnes for sixe moneths, and that very scarcely. For during the Winter they retire themselues for three or foure moneths in the yeere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and liue there of Maste, of fish which they take, of Oisters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beastes which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dressed in the smoake, which in their language they call Boucaned. They eate willingly the flesh of the Crocodile: and in deede it is faire and white: and where it not that it sauoureth too much like Muske we would oftentimes haue eaten thereof. They haue a custome among them, that when they finde themselues sicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cause our selues to be let blood, their Physitions sucke them vntill they make the blood follow.

The women are likewise of good proportion and tall, and of the

same colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an Oliue colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annointings of oyle which they vse among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and because of the Sunne which shineth hote vpon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is so great, that they can swimme ouer the great Riuers bearing their children vpon one of their armes. They climbe vp also very nimbly vpon the highest trees in the Countrey.

Oile in Florida.

Beholde in briefe the description of the Countrey, with the nature and customes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the discourse of my historie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to vnderstand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

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My Lord Admirall of Chastillon, a noble man more desirous of the publique then of his priuate benefite, vnderstanding the pleasure of the King his prince, which was to discouer new and strange Countreys, caused vessels fit for this purpose to be made ready with all diligence, and men to bee leuied meete for such an enterprise: Among whom hee chose Captaine Iohn Ribault, a man in trueth expert in sea causes: which hauing receiued his charge, set himselfe to Sea the yeere 1562. the eighteenth of Februarie, accompanied onely with two of the kings shippes, but so well furnished with Gentlemen, (of whose number I myselfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieue some notable thing and worthy of eternall memorie. Hauing therefore sayled two moneths, neuer holding the usuall course of the Spaniards, hee arriued in Florida, landing neere a Cape or Promontorie, which is no high lande, because the coast is all flatte, but onely rising by reason of the high woods, which at his arriuall he called Cape Francois in honour of our France. This Cape is distant from the Equator about thirtie degrees. Coasting from this place towards the North, he discouered a very faire

The first voyage of Iohn Ribault to Florida. 1562.

The course of the Spaniards not altogether necessary.

Cape Francois in 30. degrees.

A pillar set vp.

and great Riuer, which gaue him occasion to cast anker that hee might search the same the next day very early in the morning: which being done by the breake of day, accompanied with Captaine Fiquinuille and diuers other souldiers of his shippe, he was no sooner arriued on the brinke of the shoare, but straight hee perceiued many Indians men and women, which came of purpose to that place to receiue the Frenchmen with all gentlenesse and amitie, as they well declared by the Oration which their king made, and the presents of Chamois skinnes wherewith he honoured our Captaine, which the day following caused a pillar of hard stone to be planted within the sayde Riuer, and not farre from the mouth of the same vpon a little sandie knappe, in which pillar the Armes of France were carued and engraued. This being done hee embarked himselfe againe, to the ende alwayes to discouer the coast toward the North which was his chiefe desire. After he had sayled a certaine time he crossed ouer to the other side of the riuer, and then in the presence of certaine Indians, which of purpose did attend him, hee commaunded his men to [418] make their prayers, to giue thankes to GOD, for that of his grace hee had conducted the French nation vnto these strange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentiue to hearken vnto them, thinking in my iudgment, that wee worshipped the Sunne, because wee alwayes had our eyes lifted vp toward heauen, rose all vp and came to salute the Captaine Iohn Ribault, promising to shew him their King, which rose not vp as they did, but remained still sitting vpon greene leaues of Bayes and Palmetrees: toward whom the Captaine went and sate downe by him, and heard him make a long discourse, but with no great pleasure, because hee could not vnderstand his language, and much lesse his meaning. The King gaue our Captaine at his departure a plume or fanne of Hernshawes feathers died in red, and a basket made of Palme-boughes after the Indian fashion, and wrought very artificially, and a great skinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of diuers

Prayiers and thankes to God.

Presents giuen to Ribault.

wilde beasts so liuely drawen and pourtrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The Captaine to shew himselfe not vnthankfull, gaue him pretie tinne bracelets, a cutting hooke, a looking glasse, and certaine kniues: whereupon the King shewed himselfe to be very glad and fully contented. Hauing spent the most part of the day with these Indians, the Captaine imbarked himselfe to passe ouer to the other side of the Riuer, whereat the king seemed to be very sorie. Neuerthelesse being not able to stay vs, hee commaunded that with all diligence they should take fish for vs: which they did with all speede. For being entred into their Weares or inclosures made of reedes and framed in the fashion of a Labirynth or Mase, they loaded vs with Troutes, great Mullets, Plaise, Turbuts, and marueilous store of other sortes of fishes altogether different from ours.

Their fish weares like those of Virginia.

This done, we entred into our Boates and went toward the other shore. But before we came to the shore, we were saluted with a number of other Indians, which entring into the water to their armepits, brought vs many litle baskets full of Maiz, and goodly Mulberries both red and white: Others offered thamselues to beare vs on shoare, where being landed we perceiued their King sitting vpon a place dressed with boughes, and vnder a little Arbour of Cedars and Bay trees somewhat distant from the waters side. He was accompanied with two of his sonnes which were exceeding faire and strong, and with a troope of Indians who had all their bowes and arrowes in marueilous good order. His two sonnes receiued our Captaine very graciously: but the king their father, representing I wot not what kinde of grauitie, did nothing but shake his head a little: then the Captaine went forward to salute him, and without any other mouing of himselfe he reteined so constant a kind of grauitie, that hee made it seeme vnto vs that by good and lawfull right hee bare the title of a King. Our Captaine knowing not what to iudge of this mans behauiour, thought he was ielous because wee went first vnto the other king, or else that he was not well pleased with the

They passe ouer the riuer.

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Pillar or Columne which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to thinke, our Captaine shewed him by signes, that he was come from a farre Countrey to seeke him, to let him to vnderstand the amitie which he was desirous to haue with him: for the better confirmation whereof, hee drewe out of a budget certaine trifles, as certaine bracelets couered as it were with siluer and guilt, which he presented him withall, and gave his sonnes certaine other trifles. Whereupon the King beganne very louingly to entreate both our Captaine and vs. And after these gentle intertainments we went ourselues into the woods, hoping there to discouer some singularities; where were great store of Mulberrie trees white and red, on the toppes whereof there was an infinite number of silkewormes. Following our way wee discouered a faire and great medowe, diuided notwithstanding with diuers Marishes which constrained vs by reason of the water which enuironed it about, to returne backe againe towarde the Riuers side. Finding not the King there, which by this time was gone home to his house, wee entred into our boates and sayled toward our shippes: where after we arriued, we called this Riuer the Riuer of May, because wee discouered it the first day of the sayde moneth.

Soone after we returned to our shippes, wee weighed our ankers and hoysed our sailes to discouer the coast farther forward, along the which wee discouered another faire Riuer, which the Captaine himselfe was minded to search out, and hauing searched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, hee named it Seine, because it is very like vnto the Riuer of Seine in France. From this Riuer wee retired toward our shippes, where being arriued, we trimmed our sailes to saile further toward the North, and [420]
to descry the singularities of the coast. But wee had not sayled any great way before wee discovered another very faire Riuer, which caused vs to cast anker ouer against it, and to trimme out two Boates to goe to search it out. Wee found there an Ile and a king no lesse affable then the rest, afterwarde we named this

Riuer Somme. From thence wee sayled about sixe leagues, after wee discouered another Riuer, which after wee had viewed was named by vs by the name of Loyre. And consequently we there discouered fiue others: whereof the first was named Charente, the second Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fift Grande: which being very well discouered with such things as were in them, by this time in lesse then the space of three score leagues we had found out many singularities along nine Riuers. Neuerthelesse not fully satisfied we sayled yet further toward the North, following the course that might bring vs to the Riuer of Iordan one of the fairest Riuers of the North, and holding our wonted course, great fogges and tempests came vpon vs, which constrained vs to leaue the coast to beare toward the maine Sea, which was the cause we lost the sight of our Pinnesses a whole day and a night vntill the next day in the morning, what time the weather waxing faire and the Sea calme wee discouered a Riuer which we called Belle a veoir.[116] After wee had sayled three or four leagues, wee began to espie our Pinnesses which came straight toward vs, and at their arriuall they reported to the Captaine, that while the fogges and wild weather endured they harboured themselues in a mightie Riuer which in bignesse and beautie exceeded the former: wherewithall the Captaine was exceeding ioyfull, for his chiefe desire was to finde out an Hauen to harbour his shippes, and there to refresh our selues for a while. Thus making thitherward wee arriued athwart the sayde Riuer, (which because of the fairenesse and largenesse thereof wee named Port Royall) wee strooke our sailes and cast anker at ten fathom of water: for the depth is such, namely when the Sea beginneth to flowe, that the greatest shippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Hauing cast anker, the Captaine with his Souldiers went on shoare, and hee himself went first on land: where we found the place as pleasaunt as was

The Riuer of Port Royall in 32. degrees of latitude.

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[116] Belle à voir.

possible, for it was all couered ouer with mightie high Oakes and infinite store of Cedars, and with Lentiskes growing vnderneath them, smelling so sweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seeme exceeding pleasant. As we passed thorow these woods we saw nothing but Turkeycocks flying in the Forrests, Partridges gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bignesse. Wee heard also within the woods the voyces of Stagges, of Beares, of Lusernes, of Leopards, and diuers other sortes of Beastes vnknowen vnto vs. Being delighted with this place, we set ourselues to fishing with nets, and we caught such a number of fish, that it was wonderfull. And amongst other wee tooke a certaine kind of fish which we call Salicoques, which were no lesse then Creuises, so that two draughts of the net were sufficient to feede all the companie of our two ships for a whole day. The Riuer at the mouth thereof from Cape to Cape is no lesse then 3 French leagues broad; it is diuided into two great armes whereof the one runneth toward the West, the other towards the North: And I beleeue in my iudgement that the arme which stretcheth towarde the North runneth vp into the Countrey as farre as the Riuer Iordan, the other arme runneth into the Sea, as it was knowen and vnderstoode by those of our company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two armes are two great leagues broad: and in the middest of them there is an Ile, which is poynted towardes the opening of the great Riuer, in which Iland there are infinite numbers of all sortes of strange beasts. There are Simples growing there of so rare properties, and in so great quantitie, that is an excellent thing to behold them. On euery side there is nothing to be seene but Palmetrees, and other sorts of trees bearing blossoms and fruite of very rare shape and very good smell. But seeing the euening approch, and that the Captaine determined to returne vnto the shippes, wee prayed him to suffer vs to passe the night in this place. In our absence the Pilots and chiefe Mariners aduertised the Captaine that it was needefull to bring the shippes further vp within the

A passage by a riuer into the Sea.

Riuer, to auoyde the dangers of the windes which might annoy vs, by reason of our being so neere to the mouth of the Riuer: and for this cause the Captaine sent for vs. Being come to our shippes, wee sayled three leagues vp within the Riuer, and there we cast anker. A little while after, Iohn Ribault accompanied with a good number of souldiers imbarked himselfe, desirous to sayle further vp into the arme that runneth toward the West, and to search the commodities of the place. Hauing sayled twelue leagues at the least, we perceiued a troope of Indians which assoone as they espied the Pinnesses, they were so afrayd that they fled into the woods leauing behind them a young Lucerne which they were a turning vpon a spit: for which the place was called Cape Lucerne: proceeding foorth on our way, we found another arme of the Riuer, which ranne toward the East, vp which the Captaine determined to sayle and to leaue the great current. A little while after they began to espie diuers other Indians both men and women halfe hidden within the woods: who knowing not that we were such as desired their friendship, were dismayed at the first, but soone after were emboldened, for the Captaine caused store of merchandise to be shewed them openly whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well vnto them; and then they made a signe that he should come on lande, which we would not refuse. At our comming on shoare diuers of them came to salute our Generall according to their barbarous fashion. Some of them gaue him skinnes of Chamois, others little baskets made of Palme leaues, some presented him with Pearles, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbour to defend us in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne. But wee would not stay as then. Wherefore the Captaine thanked them much for their good will, and gaue presents to each of them: wherewith he pleased them so well before he went thence, that his suddaine departure was nothing pleasant vnto them. For knowing him to bee so liberall, they would haue wished him to haue stayed a little longer, seeking by all meanes to giue him

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Ribault saileth 12 leagues vp the Riuer.

occasion to stay, shewing him by signes that he should stay but that day onely, and that they desired to aduertise a great Indian Lorde which had Pearles in great abundance, and Silver also, all which things should bee giuen vnto him at the Kings arriuall: saying further that in the meane time while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houses, and shewe him there a thousand pleasures in shooting, and seeing the Stagge killed therefore they prayed him not to denie them their request. Notwithstanding wee returned to our shippes, where after wee had bene but one night, the Captaine in the morning commanded to put into the Pinnesse a pillar of hard stone fashioned like a columne, wherein the armes of the king of France were grauen, to plant the same in the fairest place that he could finde. This done, wee imbarked ourselues, and sayled three leagues towards the West: where wee discouered a little riuer vp which we sayled so long, that in the ende we found it returned into the great current, and in his returne to make a litle Iland separated from the firme land where wee went on shore: and by commandement of the Captaine, because it was exceeding faire and pleasant, there wee planted the Pillar vpon a hillock open round about to the view, and inuironed with a lake halfe a fathom deepe of very good and sweete water. In which Iland wee sawe two Stagges of exceeding bignesse, in respect of those which we had seene before, which we might easily haue killed with our harguebuzes, if the Captaine had not forbidden vs, mooued with the singular fairenesse and bignesse of them. But before our departure we named the little riuer which enuironed this Ile The Riuer of Liborne. Afterward we imbarked our selues to search another Ile not farre distant from the former: wherein after wee had gone a land, wee found nothing but tall Cedars, the fairest that were seene in this Countrey. For this cause wee called it The Ile of Cedars: so wee returned into our Pinnesse to go towards our shippes. [423]

A Pillar of free stone wherein the Armes of France were grauen, set vp in an Iland in the riuer of Port Royal.

A few dayes afterward Iohn Ribault determined to returne

once againe toward the Indians which inhabited that arme of the Riuer which runneth toward the West, and to carrie with him good store of souldiers. For his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queene had commaunded him. With this deliberation againe wee tooke our former course so farre foorth, that at the last wee came to the selfe same place where at the first we found the Indians, from thence we tooke two Indians by the permission of the king, which thinking that they were more fauoured then the rest, thought themselues very happy to stay with vs. But these two Indians seeing we made no shew at all that we would goe on land, but rather that wee followed the middest of the current, began to be somewhat offended, and would by force haue leapt into the water, for they are so good swimmers that immediatly they would haue gotten into the forestes. Neuerthelesse being acquainted with their humour, wee watched them narrowly and sought by all meanes to appease them: which we could not by any meanes do for that time, though we offered them things which they much esteemed, which things they disdained to take, and gaue backe againe whatsoeuer was giuen them, thinking that such giftes should haue altogether bound them, and that in restoring them they should be restored vnto their libertie. In fine, perceiuing that all that they did auayled them nothing, they prayed vs to giue them those things which they had restored, which we did incontinent: then they approched one toward the other and began to sing, agreeing so sweetely together, that in hearing their song it seemed that they lamented the absence of their friendes. They continued their songs all night without ceasing: all which time we were constrained to ly at anker by reason of the tyde that was against vs, but we hoysed sayle the next day very early in the morning, and returned to our ships. Assoone as we were come to our ships, euery one sought to gratifie these two Indians, and to shew them the best countenance that was possible: to the intent that by such courtesies they might perceiue the good desire

Two Indians taken away.

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The dolefull songs of the Indians.

and affection which we had to remaine their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meate to eate, but they refused it, and made vs vnderstand that they were accustomed to wash their face and to stay vntill the Sunne were set before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France. Neuerthelesse in the end they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselues to our nature, which was somewhat strange vnto them at the first. They became therefore more iocunde, euery houre made vs a 1000 discourses, being merueilous sory that we could not vnderstand them. A few daies after they began to beare so good wil towards mee, that, as I thinke, they would rather haue perished with hunger and thirst, then haue taken their refection at any mans hand but mine. Seeing this their good wil, I sought to learne some Indian words, and began to aske them questions, shewing them the thing whereof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me, and knowing the desire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aske them euery thing. So that putting downe in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to vnderstand the greatest part of their discourses. Euery day they did nothing but speak vnto me of the desire that they had to vse me wel, if we returned vnto their houses, and cause me to receiue all the pleasures that they could deuise, aswell in hunting as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certaine feast which they call Toya. Which feast they obserue as straightly as we obserue the Sunday. They gaue me to vnderstand, that they would bring me to see the greatest Lord of this countrey which they called Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they tolde me) a good foote and a halfe. They said vnto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and inclosed exceeding high, but I could not learne wherewith. And as farre as I can iudge, this place whereof they spake vnto me, was a very faire citie. For they said vnto me that within the inclosure there was great store of houses which

The Indians eat not before the sun be set.

Landonniers putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indians speech.

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This seemeth to be La grand Copal.

were built very high, wherein there was an infinite number of men like vnto themselues, which made none account of gold, of siluer, nor of pearles, seeing they had thereof in abundance. I began then to shew them al the the parts of heauen, to the intent to learne in which quarter they dwelt. And straightway one of them stretching out his hand shewed me that they dwelt toward the North, which makes me thinke that it was the riuer of Iordan. And now I remember that in the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift, certaine Spaniards inhabitants of S. Domingo (which made a voyage to get certaine slaues to work in their mines) stole away by subtilty the inhabitants of this riuer, to the number of 40, thinking to cary them into their New Spaine. But they lost their labour: for in despite they died al for hunger, sauing one that was brought to the Emperor, which a litle while after he caused to be baptised, and gaue him his own name and called him Charles of Chiquola, because he spake so much of this Lorde of Chiquola whose subiect hee was. Also, he reported continually, that Chiquola made his abode within a very great inclosed citie. Besides this proof, those which were left in the first voyage haue certified me, that the Indians shewed them by euident signes, that farther within the land toward the North, there was a great inclosure or citie, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had staied a while in our ships, they began to be sory, and stil demanded of me when they should returne. I made them vnderstand that
[426] the Captaines will was to send them home againe, but that first he would bestow apparell of them, which fewe dayes after was deliuered vnto them. But seeing he would not giue them licence to depart, they resolued with themselues to steale away by night, and to get a litle boat which we had, and by the help of the tyde to saile home toward their dwellings, and by this meanes to saue themselues. Which thing they failed not to doe, and put their enterprize in execution, yet leauing behinde them the apparel which the Captaine had giuen them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their owne, shewing well hereby that they

The 2 Indians escape away.

were not void of reason. The Captaine cared not greatly for their departure, considering they had not bene vsed otherwise then well: and that therefore they woulde not estrange themselues from the Frenchmen. Captaine Ribault therefore knowing the singular fairenes of this riuer, desired by all meanes to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance for the Kings seruice, and the reliefe of the Common wealth of France. Therefore proceeding on with this intent he commanded the ankers to be weighed and to set things in order to returne vnto the opening of the riuer, to the ende that if the winde came faire he might passe out to accomplish the rest of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the riuer, he made them cast anker, whereupon we stayed without discouering any thing all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come vp vpon the decke, saying that he had somewhat to say vnto them. They all came vp, and immediately the Captaine began to speake vnto them in this maner.

The Oration of Iohn Ribault to his company.

I thinke there is none of you that is ignorant of how great consequence this our enterprize is, and how acceptable it is vnto our yong King. Therefore my friendes (as one desiring your honour and benefite) I would not faile to aduertise you all of the exceeding good happe which should fall to them, which, as men of valure and worthy courage, would make tryall in this our first discouerie of the benefits and commodities of this new land: which should be, as I assure my selfe, the greatest occasion that euer could happen vnto them, to arise vnto the title and degree of honour. And for this cause I was desirous to propose vnto you and set downe before your eyes the eternall memorie which of right they deserue, which forgetting both their parents and their countrey haue had the courage to enterprize a thing of [427] such importance, which euen kings themselues vnderstanding to be men aspiring to so high degree magnanimitie and increase of their maiesties, doe not disdaine so wel to regard, that afterwards

imploying them in maters of weight and of high enterprize, they make their names immortall for euer. Howbeit, I would not haue you perswade your selues, as many doe, that you shall neuer haue such good fortune as not being knowen neither to the king nor to the Princes of the Realme, and besides descending of so poore a stocke, that few or none of your parents, hauing euer made profession of armes, haue bene knowen vnto the great estates. For albeit that from my tender yeeres I myselfe haue applyed all my industry to follow them; and haue hazarded my life in so many dangers for the seruice of my prince, yet could I neuer attaine thereunto (not that I did not deserue this title and degree of gouernment) as I haue seene it happen to many others, onely because they descend of a noble race, since more regard is had of their birth then of their vertue. For wel I know that if vertue were regarded ther would more be found worthy to deserue the title, and by good right to be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make sufficient answere to such propositions and such things as you may obiect against me, laying before you the infinite examples which we haue of the Romans: which concerning the point of honour were the first that triumphed ouer the world. For how many finde we among them, which for their so valiant enterprizes, not for the greatnesse of their parentage, haue obtained the honour to tryumph? If we haue recourse vnto their ancestors, wee shall finde that their parents were of so meane condition, that by labouring with their hands they liued very basely. As the father of Ælius Pertinax, which was a poore artisan, his Grandfather likewise was a bond man, as the historiographers do witnes: and neuerthelesse, being moued with a valiant courage, he was nothing dismayed for all this, but rather desirous to aspire vnto high things, he began with a braue stomacke to learne feates of armes, and profited so wel therein, that from step to step he became at length to be Emperour of the Romans. For all this dignitie he despised not his parents: but contrariwise and in remembrance of them, he caused his fathers shop to be couered

Ælius Pertinax descending from base parentage became Emperour of Rome.

with a fine wrought marble, to serue for an example to men descended of base and poore linages, to giue them occasion to aspire vnto high things notwithstanding the meannesse of their ancestors. I wil not passe ouer in silence the excellencie and prowesse of the valiant and renowned Agathocles the sonne of a simple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible estate of his father, he so applied himselfe to vertue in his tender yeeres, that by the fauour of armes he came to be king of Sicilie: and for all this title he refused not to be counted the sonne of a Potter. But the more to eternize the memory of his parentes and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he should be serued at the Table in vessels of gold and siluer and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignitie wherein hee was placed came not vnto him by his parents, but by his owne vertue onely. If I shal speake of our time, I will lay before you onely Rusten Bassha, which may be sufficient example to all men: which though he were the sonne of a poore heard-man, did so apply his youth in all vertue, that being brought vp in the seruice of the great Turke, he seemed to aspire to great and high matters, in such sort that growing in yeeres he increased also in courage, so far forth, that in fine for his excellent vertues he married the daughter of the great Turke his Prince. Howe much then ought so many worthy examples to moue you to plant here? Considering also that you shalbe registered for euer as the first that inhabited this strang countrey, I pray you therefore all to aduise your selues thereof, and to declare your mindes freely vnto mee, protesting that I will so well imprint your names in the kinges eares, and the other princes, that your renowne shall hereafter shine vnquenchable through our Realme of France. He had scarcely ended his Oration, but the greatest part of our souldiers replyed: that a greater pleasure could neuer betide them, perceiuing well the acceptable seruice which by this meanes they shoulde doe vnto their Prince: besides that this thing should be for the increase of their honours: therefore they besought the Captaine, before he departed out of the place, to begin

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Agathocles a potters sonne became king of Sicilie.

Rusten Bassha of an heard-mans sonne through his valure became the greate Turkes sonne in law.

The souldiers answere to Ribaults Oration.

to build them a Fort, which they hoped afterward to finish, and to leaue them munition necessarie for their defence, shewing as it seemed that they were displeased, that it was so long in doing. Wherevpon Iohn Ribault being as glad as might be to see his men so well willing, determined the next day to search the most [429] fit and conuenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himselfe very earely in the morning and commanded them to followe him that were desirous to inhabite there, to the intent that they might like the beter of the place. Hauing sayled vp the great riuer on the North side, in coasting an Isle which ended with a sharpe point toward the mouth of the riuer, hauing sailed a while, he discouered a small riuer, which entred into the Islande, which hee would not faile to search out. Which done, and finding the same deep inough to harbour therein Gallies and Galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, ioyning vpon the brinke thereof, where he went on land, and seeing the place fit to build a Fortresse in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolued incontinent to cause the bignes of the fortification to be measured out. And considering that there stayed but sixe and twentie there, he caused the Fort to be made in length but sixteene fathome, and thirteene in breadth, with flankes according to the proportion thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captaine Salles, we sent vnto the shippes for men, and to bring shouels, pickaxes and other instruments necessarie to make the fortification. We trauailed so diligently, that in a short space the Fort was made in some sort defenciable. In which meane time Iohn Ribault caused victuals and warrelike munition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had neede of, he determined to take his leaue of them. But before his departure he vsed this speech vnto Captaine Albert, which he left in this place.

The length and bredth of the fort taken by Laudonnier and Captaine Salles.

Ribaults speech to Captaine Albert.

Captaine Albert, I haue to request you in the presence of al these men, that you would quit yourselfe so wisely in your charge,

and gouern so modestly your small companie which I leaue you, which with so good cheere remaineth vnder your obedience, that I neuer haue occasion but to commend you, and to recount vnto the king (as I am desirous) the faithfull seruice which before vs all you vndertake to doe him in his new France: And you companions, (quoth he to the Souldiers) I beseech you also to esteeme of Captaine Albert as if he were myselfe that stayed here with you, yeelding him that obedience which a true souldier oweth vnto his Generall and Captaine, liuing as brethern one with another without all dissention: and in so doing God wil assist [430] you and bless your enterprises. Hauing ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaues of each of them, and sayled toward our shippes, calling the Forte by the name of Charles-fort, and the Riuer by the name Chenonceau. The next daye we determined to depart from this place being as wel contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our busines, with good hope, if occasion would permitte, to discouer perfectly the riuer of Iordan. For this cause we hoysed our sayles about ten of the clocke in the morning: after wee were ready to depart Captaine Ribault commanded to shoote off our Ordinance to giue a farewel vnto our Frenchmen, which failed not to doe the like on their part. This being done wee sayled toward the North: and then we named this Riuer Porte Royal, because of the largenes and excellent fairenes of the same. After that wee had sailed about 15 leagues from thence, we espied a riuer, whereupon wee sent our pinnesse thither to discouer it. At their returne they brought vs word that they found not past halfe a fathom water in the mouth thereof. Which when we vnderstood, without doing any thing els, we continued our way, and called it the Base or Shallow riuer. As we stil went on sounding we found not past fiue or sixe fathome water, although we were sixe good leagues from the shoare: at length we found not past three fathomes, which gaue vs occasion greatly to muse. And without making any further way we strook our sayles, partly because we wanted water, and partly because

The riuer Base 15 leagues Northwards of Port Royall.

the night approched: during which time Captaine Iohn Ribault bethought with himselfe whether it were best for him to passe any farther, because of the eminent dangers which euery houre we sawe before our eyes: or whither he should content himselfe with that which he had certainely discouered, and also left men to inhabite the countrey. Being not able for that time to resolue with himselfe, he referred it vntill the next day. The morning being come he proposed to all the company what was best to be done, to the end that with good aduisement euery man might deliuer his opinion. Some made answere that according to their iudgement he had occasion fully to content himselfe, considering that he could doe no more: laying before his eyes, that he had discouered more in sixe weekes, then the Spaniards had done in two yeres in the conquest of their New Spaine: and that he should do the king very great seruice, if he did bring him newes
[431] in so short a time of his happy discouerie. Other shewed vnto him the losse and spoile of his victuals, and on the other side the inconuenience that might happen by the shallow water that they found continually along the coast. Which things being well and at large debated we resolued to leaue the coast forsaking the North, to take our way toward the East, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arriued the twentieth day of Iuly the yere 1562.

The state and condition of those which were left behind in Charles-fort.

Our men after our departure neuer rested, but night and day did fortifie themselues being in good hope that after their fort was finished, they would begin to discouer farther vp within the riuer. It happened one day, as certaine of them were in cutting of rootes in the groues, that they espied on the sudden an Indian that hunted the Deere, which finding himselfe so neere vpon them, was much

dismayed, but our men began to draw neere vnto him, and to vse him so courteously, that he became assured and followed them to Charles-fort, where euery man sought to doe him pleasure. Captaine Albert was very ioyfull of his comming, which after he had giuen him a shirt and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling: the Indian answered him that it was farther vp within the riuer, and that he was vassal of king Audusta: he also shewed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talke the Indian desired leaue to depart, because it drew toward night, which Captaine Albert granted him very willingly. Certaine dayes after the Captaine determined to saile toward Audusta, where being arriued, by reason of the honest entertaynment which he had giuen to the Indian, he was so courteously receiued, that the king talked with him of nothing else but of the desire which he had to become his friend: giuing him besides to vnderstand that he being his friend and allie, he should haue the amitie of foure other kings, which in might and authoritie were able to do much for his sake: Besides all this, in his necessitie they might be able to succour him with victuals. One of these kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppa, and the fourth Stalame. He told him moreouer, that they would be very glad, when they should vnderstand the newes of his comming, and therefore he prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The Captaine willingly consented vnto him, for the desire that he had to purchase friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very earely, and first arriued at the house of king Touppa, and afterward went into the other kings houses except the house of king Stalame. He receiued of each of them all the amiable courtesies that might be: they shewed themselues to be as affectioned friends vnto him as was possible, and offered vnto him a thousand small presents. After that he remained by the space of certaine daies with these strange kings he determined to take his leaue: and being come backe to the house of Audusta, he commanded al his men to goe aboord their

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Pinnesse: for he was minded to goe towardes the countrey of king Stalame, which dwelt toward the North the distance of 15 great leagues from Charles-fort. Therefore as they sailed vp the riuer they entred into a great current, which they followed so farre till they came at the last to the house of Stalame: which brought him into his lodging, where he sought to make them the best cheere he could deuise. He presented immediatly vnto Captaine Albert his bow and arrowes, which is a signe and confirmation of alliance betweene them. He presented him with Chamoys skinnes. The Captaine seeing the best part of the day was now past, tooke his leaue of king Stalame to return to Charles-fort, where hee arriued the day following. By this time the friendship was growne so great betweene our men and king Audusta, that in a manner all things were common betweene him and them: in such sort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew neere of the celebrating their feasts of Toya, which are ceremonies most strange to recite, he sent Ambassadours to our men to request them on his behalfe to be there present. Whereunto they agreed most willingly for the desire that they had to vnderstand what this might be. They imbarked themselues therefore and sailed towards the kings house, which was already come forth on the way towards them, to receiue them courteously, to bid them welcome and bring them to his house, where he sought to intreat them the best he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themselues to celebrate the feast the morrow after, and the king brought them to see the place, wherein the feast should be kept: where they saw many women round about, which laboured by al meanes to make the place cleane and neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were chosen to celebrate the feast, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of diuers colours, put themselues on the way to go from the kings house toward the place of Toya: whereunto

The feast of Toya largely described.

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The Indians trimming of themselues with rich feathers.

when they were come they set themselues in order, and followed three Indians, which in painting and in gesture were differing from the rest: each of them bare a Tabret in their hand, dancing and singing in lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the middest of the round circuit, being followed of others which answered them again. After that they had sung, danced, and turned 3 times, they fel on running like vnbridled horses, through the middest of the thickest woods. And then the Indian women continued all the rest of the day in teares as sad and woful as was possible: and in such rage they cut the armes of the yong girles, which they lanced so cruelly with sharpe shels of Muskles that the blood followed which they flang into the ayre, crying out three times, He Toya. The king Audusta had gathered all our men into his house, while the feast was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he saw them laugh. This he did, because the Indians are very angry when they are seene in their ceremonies. Notwithstanding one of our men made such shift that by subtile meanes he gatte out of the house of Audusta, and secretly went and hid himselfe behinde a very thicke bush, where at his pleasure, he might easily discry the ceremonies of the feast. They three that began the feast are named Iawas: and they are as it were three Priestes of the Indian law: to whom they giue credite and beliefe partly because that by kinred they are ordained to be ouer their Sacrifices, and partly also because they be so subtile magicians that anything that is lost is straightway recouered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reuerenced for these things, but also because they heale diseases by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and skill they haue. Those that ran so through the woodes returned in two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cherefull courage in the middest of the faire place, and to cheere vp their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reason of their too great age or by reason of their naturall indisposition and feeblenesse were not called to the feast. When all these dances were ended, they fell on eating

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with such a greedinesse, that they seemed rather to deuoure their meate then to eate it, for they had neither eaten nor drunke the day of the feast, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians sent for them all thither, shewing themselues very glad of their presence. While they remained certain time with the Indians, a man of ours got a yong boy for certaine trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their absence: which boy made him vnderstand by signes that the Iawas had made inuocations to Toya, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might speake with him and demand diuers strange things of him, which for feare of the Iawas he durst not vtter. They haue also many other ceremonies, which I will not here rehearse for the feare of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance.

Inuocations of the Iawas or Priests vnto Toya.

When the feast therefore was finished our men returned vnto Charles-fort: where hauing remained but a while their victualles beganne to waxe short, which forced them to haue recourse vnto their neighbours, and to pray them to succour them in their necessitie: which gaue them part of all the victualles which they had, and kept no more vnto themselues then would serue to sow their fieldes. They told them farther that for this cause it was needefull for them to retire themselues into the woods, to liue of Mast and rootes vntill the time of haruest, being as sory as might be that they were not able any farther to ayde them. They gaue them also counsell to goe toward the countrey of King Couexis a man of might and renowme in this prouince, which maketh his aboad toward the South abounding at all seasons and replenished with such quantitie of mill, corne, and beanes that by his onely succour they might be able to liue a very long time. But before they should come into his territories, they were to repayre vnto a king called Ouade the brother of Couexis, which in mill, beanes, and corne was no lesse wealthy, and withall is very liberall, and which would be very ioyfull if he might but

The Indians manner of liuing in the Winter time of Mast and rootes.

once see them. Our men perceiuing the good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings resolued to go thither; for they felt already the necessity which oppressed them. Therefore they made request vnto king Maccou, that it would please him to giue them one of his subiects to guide them the right way thither: whereupon he condescended very willingly, knowing [435] that without his fauour they should haue much ado to bring their interprize to passe. Wherefore after they had giuen order for all things necessary for the voyage, they put themselues to Sea, and sayled so farre that in the end they came into the countrey of Ouade, which they found to be in the riuer Belle. Being there arriued they perceiued a company of Indians, which assoone as they knew of their being there came before them. Assoone as they were come neere them, their guides shewed them by signes that Ouade was in this company, wherefore our men set forward to salute him. And then two of his sonnes which were with him, being goodly and strong men saluted them againe in very good sort, and vsed very friendly entertainment on their part. The king immediatly began to make an Oration in his Indian language of the great pleasure and contentment which he had to see them in that place, protesting that he would become so loyall a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithfull defendour against all them that would offer to be their enemies. After these speeches he led them toward his house, where he sought to entreate them very courteously. His house was hanged about with Tapistrie of feathers of diuers colours the height of a pike. Moreouer the place where the king tooke his rest was couered with white Couerlettes embroydered with deuises of very wittie and fine workemanship, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of Skarlet. They aduertised the king by one of the guides which they brought with them, how that (hauing heard of his great liberalitie) they had put to the Sea to come to beseech him to succour them with victuals in their great want and necessitie: and that in so doing, he should binde them all here-

after to remaine his faithfull friends and loyall defenders against all his enemies. This good Indian assoone ready to doe them pleasure, as they were to demand it, commanded his subiects that they should fill our Pinnesse with mil and beanes. Afterward he caused them to bring him sixe pieces of his Tapistry made like litle couerlets, and gaue them to our men with so liberal a minde, as they easily perceiued the desire which he had to become their friend. In recompence of all these giftes our men gaue him two cutting hookes and certaine other trifles, where-with he held himselfe greatly satisfied. This being done, our men tooke their leaue of the king, which for their farewell, sayd nothing els but that they should returne if they wanted victuals, and that they might assure themselues of him, that they should neuer want any thing that was in his power. Wherefore they imbarked themselues, and sayled towards Charles-fort, which from this place might be some fiue and twenty leagues distant. But as soone as our men thought themselues at their ease, and free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselues night and day in gathering together of victuals here and there: Lo, euen as they were asleepe, the fire caught in their lodgings with such furie, being increased by the winde, that the roome that was built for them before our mens departure, was consumed in an instant, without being able to saue any thing, sauing a little of their victualles. Whereupon our men being farre from all succours, found themselues in such extremitie, that without the ayd of Almighty God, the onely searcher of the hearts of men, which neuer forsaketh and thoughts those that seeke him in their afflictions, they had bene quite and cleane out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audusta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing the misfortune were very sorry for it. And then they vttered vnto their subiects the speedy diligence which they were to vse in building another house, shewing vnto them that the Frenchmen were their louing friends, and that they

The liberalitie of king Ouade.

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The fort set on fire by casualtie.

had made it euident vnto them by the gifts and presents which they had receiued: protesting that whosoeuer put not his helping hand vnto the worke with all his might, should be esteemed as vnprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Sauages feare aboue all things. This was the occasion that euery man began to endeauour himselfe in such sort, that in lesse then 12 houres, they had begun and finished a house which was very neere as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hookes, and hatchets, which they receiued of our men. Within a small while after this mischance, their victualls began to waxe short: and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themselues againe, they found that there was no better way for them then to returne againe to the King Ouade and Couexis his brother. Wherefore they resolued to send thither some of their companie the next day following: which with an Indian Canoa sayled vp into the countrey about 10 leagues: afterward they found a very faire and great riuer of fresh water, which they failed not to search out: they found therein great number of Crocodils, which [437] in greatnes passe those of the riuer Nilus: moreouer al along the bankes thereof, there grow mighty high Cypresses. After they had stayed a smal while in this place, they purposed to follow their iourney, helping themselues so wel with the tydes, that without putting themselues in danger of the continuall perill of the Sea, they came into the Countrey of Ouade: of whom they were most courteously receiued. They aduertised him of the occassion wherefore they came againe to visite him, and told him of the mischance, which happened vnto them since their last voyages: how they had not onely lost their houshold stuffe by casualtie of fire, but also their victuals which he had giuen them so bountifully: that for this cause they were so bolde as to come once againe vnto him, to beseech him to vouchsafe to succour them in such neede and necessitie.

Their second iourney to the countrey of Ouade.

After that the King had vnderstood their case, he sent messen-

gers vnto his brother Couexis, to request him vpon his behalfe to send him some of his mill and beanes, which thing he did: and the next morning, they were come againe with victuals, which the king caused to be borne into their Canoa. Our men would haue taken their leaue of him, finding themselues more then satisfied with this liberalitie. But for that day hee would not suffer them, but retained them, and sought to make them the best cheere hee could deuise. The next day very earely in the morning, he tooke them with him to shewe them the place where his corne grewe, and saide vnto them that they should not want as long as all that mil did last. Afterward he gaue them a certaine number of exceeding faire pearles, and two stones of fine Christal, and certaine siluer oare. Our men forgot not to giue him certaine trifles in recompence of these presentes, and required of him the place whence the siluer oare and the Christall came. He made them answere, that it came ten dayes iourney from his habitation vp within the countrey: and that the inhabitants of the countrey did dig the same at the foote of certaine high mountaines, where they found of it in very good quantitie. Being ioyfull to vnderstand so good newes, and to haue come to the knowledge of that which they most desired, they tooke their leaue of the king, and returned by the same saw, by which they came.

The place where christall groweth in very good quantitie ten dayes iourney from the riuer Belle.

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Behold therefore how our men behaued themselues very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune or rather the iust iudgement of God would haue it, that those which could not bee ouercome by fire nor water, should be vndone by their owne selues. This is the common fashion of men, which cannot continue in one state, and had rather to ouerthrow themselues, then not to attempt some new thing dayly. We haue infinite examples in the ancient histories, especially of the Romanes, vnto which number this litle handfull of men, being farre from theyr countrey and absent from their countreynmen, haue also added this present example. They entred therefore into partialities and dissentions, which began about a souldier named

Mutiny against the captaine, and the causes thereof.

Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands: which, as it was tolde me, was very cruelly hanged by his owne captaine, and for a smal fault: which captaine also vsing to threaten the rest of his souldiers which staied behind vnder his obedience, and peraduenture (as it is to be presumed) were not so obedient to him as they should haue bene, was the cause that they fell into a mutinie, because that many times he put his threatnings in execution: wherevpon they so chased him, that at the last they put him to death. And the principall occasion that mooued them thereunto was because he degraded another souldier named La Chere (which he had banished) and because he had not performed his promise: for hee had promised to send him victuals, from 8 dayes to 8 dayes, which thing he did not, but said on the contrary that he would be glad to heare of his death. He said moreouer, that he would chastise others also, and vsed so euil sounding speeches, that honestie forbiddeth me to repeat them. The souldiers seeing his madnes to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolued to kil him. Hauing executed their purpose, they went to seeke the banished, which was in a small Iland distant from Charles-fort about 3 leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home againe, they assembled themselues together to choose one to be gouernour ouer them whose name was Nicholas Barre a man worthy of commendation, and one who knew so well to quite himselfe of his charge, that all rancour and dissention ceased among them, and they liued peacably one with another. During this time, they began to build a smal Pinnesse, with hope to returne into France, if no succours came vnto them, as they [439] expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding necessitie, which is the maistress of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished, they thought of nothing else sauing how to furnish it with all things necessarie to vndertake the voyage. But they wanted those things that of all other were most needefull,

Captaine Albert slaine by his owne souldiers.

as cordage and sayles, without which the enterprise could not come to effect. Hauing no meanes to recouer these things, they were in worse case then at the first, and almost ready to fall into despayre. But that good God, which neuer forsaketh the afflicted did succour them in their necessitie.

As they were in these perplexities, king Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and shewed the King in what neede of cordage they stood: who promised them to returne within two dayes, and to bring so much as should suffice to furnish the Pinnesse with tackling. Our men being pleased with these good newes and promises, bestowed vpon them certaine cutting hookes and shirts. After their departure our men sought all meanes to recouer rosen in the woodes, wherein they cut the Pine tree round about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantitie to bray the vessell. Also they gathered a kind of mosse which groweth on the trees of this countrey, to serue to calke the same withall. There now wanted nothing but sayles, which they made of their owne shirtes and of their sheetes. Within few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small Pinnesse. Our men as glad as might be, vsed great liberalitie towards them, and at their leauing of the countrey, left them all the marchandise that remained, leauing them thereby so fully satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation in the worlde. They went forward therefore to finish the Brigandine, and vsed so speedie diligence, that within a short time afterward they made it ready furnished with all things. In the meane season the wind came so fit for their purpose that it seemed to inuite them to put to the Sea: which they did without delay, after they had set all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillerie, their forge, and other munitions of warre which Captaine Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But

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They put to sea without sufficient victuals.

being drunken with too excessiue ioy, which they had conceiued for their returning into France, or rather depriued of all foresight and consideration, without without regarding the inconstancie of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themselues to sea, and with so slender victuals, that the end of their enterprise became vnlucky and vnfortunate.

For after they had sayled the third part of their way, they were surprised with calmes which did so much hinder them, that in three weekes they sailed not aboue fiue and twentie leagues. During this time their victuals consumed, and became so short, that euery man was constrained to eate not past twelue graines of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelue peason. Yea, and this felicitie lasted not long: for their victualls failed them altogether at once: and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shooes and leather ierkins which they did eat. Touching their beuerage, some of them dranke the sea water, others did drinke their owne vrine: and they remained in such desperate necessitie a very long space, during the which part of them died for hunger. Beside this extreme famine, which did so grieuously oppresse them, they fell euery minute of an houre out of all hope euer to see France againe, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that on all sides entred into their Barke. And euery day they fared worse and worse: for after they had eaten vp their shooes and leather ierkins, there arose so boystrous a winde and so contrary to their course, that in the turning of a hande, the waues filled their vessel halfe full of water and brused it vpon the one side. Being now more out of hope then euer to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for casting out of the water which now was almost ready to drowne them. And as men resolued to die, euery one fell down backewarde, and gaue themselues ouer to the will of the waues. When as one of them a little hauing taken heart vnto him declared vnto them how litle way they had to sayle, assuring them that if the winde held, they should see land within

Their victuals vtterly consumed.

They drinke their vrine for want of fresh water.

three dayes. This man did so encourage them, that after they had throwne the water out of the Pinnesse they remained three dayes without eating or drinking, except it were of the sea water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled then they were before, seeing they could not descry any land. Wherefore in their extreme dispaire certaine among them made this motion that it was better that one man should dye, then that so many men should perish: they agreed therefore that one should die to sustaine the others. Which thing was executed in the person of La Chere, of whom we have spoken heretofore, whose flesh was diuided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitiful to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

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Extreme famine.

After so long time and tedious trauels, God of his goodnesse vsing his accustomed fauour, changed their sorow into ioy, and shewed vnto them the sight of land. Whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remaine a long time as men without sence: whereby they let the Pinnesse flote this and that way without holding any right way or course. But a small English barke boarded the vessell, in the which there was a Frenchman which had bene in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew them, and spake vnto them, and afterward gaue them meat and drinke. Incontinently they recouered their naturall courages, and declared vnto him at large all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long while what were best to be done, and in fine they resolued to put on land those that were most feeble, and to cary the rest vnto the Queene of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus you see in briefe that which happened to them which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida. And now will I go forward with the discourse of mine owne voyage.

The French succoured by an English Barke.

It seemeth hee meaneth the voyage intended by Stukely.

The second voyage vnto Florida, made and Written by Captaine Laudonniere, which fortified and inhabited there two Summers and one whole Winter.

The ciuill warres the cause why the Frenchmen were not supplied, which were left behinde in their first voyage.

After our arriuall at Diepe, at our comming home, from our first voyage (which was the twentieth of Iuly 1562) we found the ciuil warees begun,[117] which was in part the cause why our men were not succoured, as Captaine Iohn Ribault had promised them: whereof it followed that Captaine Albert was killed by his souldiers, and the countrey abandoned, as heretofore we haue sufficiently discoursed, and as it may more at large be vnderstood by those men which were there in person. After the peace was [442] made in France,[118] my Lord Admirall de Chastillon shewed vnto the king, that he heard no newes at all of the men which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida, and that it were pitty to suffer them to perish. In which respect the king was content he should cause 3 ships to be furnished, the one of sixe score tunnes, the other of 100, and the third of 60, to seeke them out, and to succour them.

Laudonniers second voyage to Florida, with three ships the 22 of Aprill 1564.

My Lord Admirall therefore being well informed of the faithfull seruice which I had done, aswell vnto his Maiestie as to his predecessors kings of France, aduertised the king how able I was to doe him seruice in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me chiefe Captaine ouer these 3 shippes, and charged me to depart with diligence to performe his commandenent, which for mine owne part I would not gainesay, but rather thinking my selfe happy to haue bene chosen out among such an infinite number of others, which in my iudgement were very well able to haue quitted themselues in this charge, I embarked my selfe at New Hauen the 22 of Aprill 1564, and sayled so, that we fell neere

[117] The masacre of Huguenots at Vassy had taken place on March 1st 1562; the battle of Dreux was fought in December.
[118] The temporary Peace of Amboise.

vnto the coast of England: and then I turned towards the South, to sayle directly to the fortunate Islands, at this present called the Canaries, one of which called the Isle Saluage (because as I thinke it is altogether without inhabitants) was the first that our ships passed. Sayling therefore on forward, we landed the next day in the Isle of Teneriffa, otherwise called the Pike, because that in the middest thereof there is an exceeding high mountaine, neere as high as that of Etna, which riseth vp like a pike, into the top whereof no man can go vp but from the middest of May vntill the middest of August, by reason of the ouer great colde which is there all the yere; which is a wonderfull strange thing, considering that it is not past 27 degrees and an half distant from the Equator. We saw it all couered ouer with snow, although it were then but the fift of May. The inhabitants in this Isle being heretofore pursued but by Spaniards, retired themselues into this mountaine, where for a space they made warre with them, and would not submit themselues to their obedience, neither by foule nor faire meanes, they disdained so much the losse of their Island. For those which went thither on the Spaniards behalfe, left their
[443] carkases there, so that not so much as one of them returned home to bring newes. Notwithstanding in the ende, the inhabitants not able to liue in that place according to their nature, or for want of such things as were necessary for the commoditie of their liuelyhood, did all die there. After I had furnished my selfe with some fresh water, very good and excellent, which sprang out of a rocke at the foote of this mountaine, I continued my course toward the West, wherein the windes fauoured me so well, that 15 dayes after our ships arriued safe and sound at the Antilles: and going on land at the Isle of Martinino, one of the first of them, the next day we arriued at Dominica, twelue leagues distant from the former.

Dominica is one of the fayrest Islands of the West, full of hilles, and of very good smell. Whose singularities desiring to know as we passed, and seeking also to refresh our selues with

fresh water, I made the Mariners cast anker, after wee had sayled about halfe along the coast thereof. As soone as we had cast anker, two Indians (inhabitants of that place) sayled toward vs in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call Ananas.[119] As they approched vnto our Barke, there was one of them which being in some misdoubt of vs, went backe againe on land, and fled his way with as much speede as he could possibly. Which our men perceiued and entred with diligence into the other Canoa, wherein they caught the poore Indian, and brought him vnto me. But the poore fellow became so astonied in beholding vs, that he knew not which way to behaue himselfe, because that (as afterward I vnderstood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniards hands, of whom he had bene taken once before, and which, as he shewed vs, had cut of his stones. At length this poore Indian was secure of vs, and discoursed vnto vs of many things, wherof we receiued very small pleasure, because we vnderstood not his minde but by his signes. Then he desired me to giue him leaue to depart, and promised me that he would bring me a thousand presents, whereunto I agreed on condition that he would haue patience vntill the next day, when I purposed to goe on land, where I suffered him to depart, after I had giuen him a shirte, and certaine small trifles, wherwith he departed very well contented from vs.

The place where we went on shore was hard by a very high Rocke, out of which there ran a litle riuer of sweet and excellent [444] good water: by which riuer we stayed certaine dayes to discouer the things which were worthy to be seene, and traffiqued dayly with the Indians: which aboue all things besought vs that none of our men should come neere their lodgings nor their gardens, otherwise that we should giue them great cause of iealousie, and that in so doing, wee should not want of their fruite which they call Ananas, whereof they offered vs very liberally, receiuing in

[119] Pine Apples.

recompence certaine things of small value. This notwithstanding, it happened on a day that certaine of our men desirous to see some new things in these strange countries, walked through the woods: and following still the litle riuers side, they spied two serpents of exceeding bignes, which went side by side ouerthwart the way. My souldiers went before them thinking to let them from going into the woods: but the serpents nothing at all astonied at these gestures glanced into the bushes with fearful hyssings: yet for all that, my men drew their swords and killed them, and found them afterward 9 greate foote long, and as big as a mans leg. During this combate, certaine others more vndiscreete went and gathered their Ananas in the Indians gardens, trampling through them without any discretion: and not therewithall contented, they went toward their dwellings; whereat the Indians were so much offended, that without, regarding any thing they rushed vpon them and discharged their shot, so that they hit one of my men named Marline Chaueau, which remained behind. We could not know whether hee were killed on the place, or whether he were taken prisoner: for those of his company had inough to doe to saue themselues without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant being aduertised, sent vnto me to know whether I thought good that he should lay an ambush for the Indians which had either taken or killed our man, or whether he should go directly to our dwellings to know the trueth. I sent vnto him after good deliberation herevpon, that he should not attempt any thing, and that for diuers occasions: but contrariwise that he should embark himselfe with al diligence, and consequently al they that were on land: which he did with speed. But as he sayled towards our ships he perceiued along the shore a great number of Indians which began to charge them with their arrowes: hee for his part discharged store of shot against them, yet was not able to hurt them, or by any meanes to surprise them: for which cause he quite forsooke them, and
[445] came vnto our ship. Where staying vntill the next day morning

we set sayle following our wonted course, and keeping the same, we discouered diuerse Isles conquered by the Spaniards, as the Isles of S. Christopher, and of the Saintes, of Monserrate, and La Redonda: Afterward we passed betweene Anguilla and Anegada, sayling toward New France. Where we arriued 15 dayes after, to witte, on Thurseday the 22 of Iune about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed neere a litte riuer, which is 30 degrees distant from the Equator, and 10 leagues aboue Cape François drawing toward the South, and aboue 30 leagues aboue the Riuer of May. After wee had strooken sayle and cast anker athwart the Riuer, I determined to goe on shore to discouer the same. Therefore being accompanied with Monsieur Ottigni, with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, and a certaine number of Gentlemen and souldiers, I embarked my selfe about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the euening. And being arriued at the mouth of the riuer, I caused the chanell to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although that farther within the same the water was there found reasonably deepe, which separateth it selfe into two great armes, whereof one runneth toward the South, and the other toward the North. Hauing thus searched the Riuer, I went on land to speake with the Indians who waited for vs vpon the shore, which at our comming on land came before vs, crying with a loud voyce in their Indian language, Antipola Bonassou, which is as much as to say, as brother, friend, or some such like thing. After they had made very much of vs, they shewed vs their Paracoussy, that is to say, their King and Gouernour, to whom I presented certaine toyes, wherewith he was well pleased. And for mine owne part, I prayse God continually, for the great loue which I haue found in these Sauages, which were sory for nothing, but that the night approached, and made vs retire vnto our ships.

Cape François betweene the riuer of Dolphins and the riuer of May, maketh the distance 30 leagues about which is but 10 leagues ouer land.

For though they endeuoured by al meanes to make vs tary with them, and shewed by signes the desire that they had to present vs with some rare things, yet neuerthelesse for many iust and reasonable occasions I would not stay on shore all night:

but excusing my selfe for all their offers, I embarked my selfe againe, and returned toward my ships. Howbeit, before my departure I named this Riuer, the riuer of Dolphines, because that at mine arriuall, I saw there a great number of Dolphines, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day the 23 of this moneth (because that toward the South I had not found any commodious place for vs to inhabite, and to build a fort) I gaue commandement to weigh anker, and to hoise our sailes to saile toward the riuer of May, where wee arriued two days after, and cast anker. Afterward going on land, with some number of Gentlemen and Souldiers to know for a certaintie the singularitie of this place, we espied the Paracoussy of the countrey, which came towards vs (this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Captaine Iohn Ribault) which hauing espied vs, cryed very far off, Antipola, Antipola: and being so ioyfull that he could not containe himselfe, he came to meet vs, accompanied then with two of his sonnes, as faire and mightie persons as might be found in al the world, which had nothing in their mouthes but this word, Amy, Amy: that is to say, friend, friend: yea, and knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to vse this speech vnto them. Their was in their trayne a great number of men and women, which stil made very much of vs, and by euident signes made vs vnderstand how glad they were of our arriuall. This good entertainment past, the Paracoussy prayed me to goe see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of Iohn Ribault (as we haue declared heretofore) as a thing which they made great account of.

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The riuer of Dolphins called Seloy by the Sauages.

Hauing yeelded vnto him and being come to the place where it was set vp, wee found the same crowned with crownes of Bay, and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of Mill which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola.[120] Then when they came

[120] *Marginal note*.—The pillar set vp before by Ribault crowned with garlands of Laurell and inuironed with small paniers full of corne, worshipped by the Sauages.

thither they kissed the same with great reuerence and besought vs to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more friendship with vs. This done, the Paracoussy tooke me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me vnderstand some great secret, and by signes shewed me very well vp within the riuer the limits of his dominion, and said that he was called Paracoussy Satourioua, which is as much as King Satourioua. His children haue the selfe same title of Paracoussy: [447]
The eldest is named Athore, a man, I dare say, perfect in beautie, wisedome, and honest sobrietie, shewing by his modest grauitie that he deserueth the name which be beareth, besides that he is gentle and tractable. After we had soiourned a certaine space with them, the Paracoussy prayed one of his sonnes to present vnto me a wedge of siluer, which hee did and that with a good wil: in recompence whereof I gave him a cutting hooke and some other better present: wherewith he seemed to be very well pleased. Afterward we tooke our leaue of them, because the night approched, and then returned to lodge in our shippes. Being allured with this good entertainment I failed not the next day to imbarke my selfe againe with my Lieutenant Ottigni and a number of souldiers to returne toward the Paracoussy of the riuer of May, which of purpose waited for vs in the same place, where the day before we conferred with him. We found him vnder the shadow of an arbour accompanied with fourescore Indians at the least, and apparelled at that time after the Indian fashion, to wit, with a great Harts skinne dressed like Chamois, and painted with deuices of strange and diuers colours, but of so liuely a portrature, and representing antiquity, with rules so iustly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith: the naturall disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided that without any ayd and fauour of artes, they are able by the helpe of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea euen of those which by their industry are able to aspire vnto things most absolute.

Then I aduertised Paracoussy Satourioua, that my desire was to discouer farther vp into the riuer, but that it should be with such diligence that I would come againe vnto him very speedily: wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was: and for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skinne, which I refused then, and promised to receiue it of him at my returne. For my part I gaue him certaine small trifles, to the intent to retain him in our friendship.

Departing from thence, I had not sayled three leagues vp the fiuer, still being followed by the Indians, which coasted me a long the riuer, crying still, Amy, Amy, that is to say, friende, friende: but I discovered an hill of meane height, neere which I went on land, hard by the fieldes that were sowed with mil, at one corner whereof there was an house built for their lodging, which keepe and garde the mill: for there are such numbers of Cornish choughes in this Countrey, which continually deuoure and spoyle the mill, that the Indians are constrained to keepe and watch it, otherwise they should be deceiued of their haruest. I rested my selfe in this place for certaine houres, and commanded Monsieur de Ottigni, and my Sergeant to enter into the woodes to search out the dwellings of the Indians: where after they had gone a while, they came vnto a Marish of Reeds, where finding their way to be stopped, they rested vnder the shadow of a mightie Bay tree to refresh themselves a little and to resolue which way to take. Then they discouered, as it were on the suddaine, fiue Indians halfe hidden in the woodes, which seemed somewhat to distrust our men, vntill they said vnto them in the Indian language Antipola Bonassou, to the end that vnderstanding their speech they might come vnto vs more boldely, which they did incontinently. But because they sawe, that the foure that went last, bare vp the traine of the skinne wherewith he that went foremost was apparelled our men imagined that the foremost must needes bee some man of greater qualitie then the rest, seeing that withal they called him Paracoussy, Paracoussy, wherfore, some of our company went

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Grosses.

towards him, and vsing him courteously shewed him, Monsieur de Ottigni, their Lieutenant, for whom they had made an harbour with Bay and Palme boughes after the Indian fashion, to the ende that by such signes the Sauages might thinke the Frenchmen had companied with such as they at other times.

The curtesie of the Floridians to the French.

The Indian Paracoussy drew neere to the French, and began to make him a long Oration, which tended to no other end, but that he besought the Frenchmen very earnestly to come and see his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and straight for pledge of better amitie, he gaue vnto my Lieutenant Ottigni, the very skinne that he was clad with.

Then he tooke him by the hande, leading him right toward the Marishes, ouer which the Paracoussy, Monsieur Ottigni, and certaine other of our men were borne vpon the Indians shouldiers: and the rest which could not passe because of the myre and reedes, went through the woodes, and followed a narrow path which led them foorth vntill they came vnto the Paracoussyes dwelling; out of which there came about fiftie Indians to receiue [449] our men gallantly, and to feast them after their manner. After which they brought at their entrance a great vessel of earth, made after a strange fashion full of fountaine water cleare and very excellent.

This vessell was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger which bare of this water in another little vessel of wood, and presented thereof to euery one to drinke, obseruing in doing the same, a certaine order and reuerence, which hee made to each of them, to whome hee gaue drinke. Our thirst well quenched by this meanes, and our men beeing sufficiently refreshed, the Paracoussy brought them to his fathers lodging, one of the oldest men that liued vpon the earth. Our men regarding his age, began to make much of him, vsing this speech, Amy, Amy, that is to say, friende, friende, whereat the olde sier shewed himselfe very glad.

Men of exceeding old age.

Afterward they questioned with him concerning the course

of his age: whereunto he made answere, shewing that he was the first liuing originall, from whence fiue generations were descended, as he shewed vnto them by another olde man that sate directly ouer against him, which farre exceeded him in age. And this man was his father, which seemed to be rather a dead carkeis then a liuing body: for his sinewes, his veines, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared so cleerely thorow his skinne, that a man might easily tell them, and discerne them one from another. Also his age was so great, that the good man had lost his sight, and could not speake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. Monsieur de Ottigni hauing seene so strange a thing, turned to the yoonger of these two olde men, praying him to vouchsafe to answere him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the olde man called a company of Indians, and striking twise vpon his thigh, and laying his hand vpon two of them, he shewed him by signes that these two were his sonnes: againe smiting vpon their thighes he shewed him others not so olde, which were the children of the two first, which he continued in the same maner vntill the fift generation. But though this olde man had his father aliue more olde then himselfe, and that both of them did weare their haire very long, and as white as was possible, yet it was tolde them, that they might yet liue thirtie or fortie yeeres more by the course of nature: although the younger of them both was not lesse then two hundred and fiftie yeeres olde. After he had ended his communication, hee commaunded two young Egles to be giuen to our men, which he had bred vp for his pleasure in his house. Hee caused also litle Paniers made of Palme leaues full of Gourds red and blew to be deliuered vnto them. For recompence of which presents he was satisfied with French toyes.

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Sauages in Florida of 250. yeres olde.

These two olde men caused our men to bee guided backe againe to the place from whence they came, by the young Paracoussy which had brought them thither. And hauing taken leaue of the Paracoussy, they came and sought me out in the place

where I stayed, and rehearsed vnto mee all that they had seene, praying mee also that I would rewarde their guide, which so frankely and heartely had receiued them into his house, which I would not faile to doe by any meanes.

Nowe was I determined to search out the qualities of the hill. Therefore I went right to the toppe thereof, where we found nothing else but Cedars, Palme, and Baytrees of so souereigne odour, that Baulme smelleth nothing like in comparison. The trees were enuironed rounde about with Vines bearing grapes in such quantitie, that the number would suffice to make the place habitable. Besides this fertilitie of the soyle for Vines, a man may see Esquine wreathed about the shrubs in great quantitie. Touching the pleasure of the place, the Sea may be seene plaine and open from it, and more then sixe leagues off, neere the Riuer Belle, a man may behold the medowes diuided asunder into Iles and Islets enterlacing one another: Briefly the place is so pleasant, that those which are melancholicke would be enforced to change their humour.

After I had stayed there a while, I imbarked againe my people to sayle towards the month of the Riuer, where wee found the Paracoussy, which according to his promise waited tor vs. Wherefore to content him, we went on shore, and did him that reuerence that on our part was requisite. Then hee gaue me the skinne so richly painted, and I recompensed him with somewhat of our marchandise. I forgat not to demaund of him the place whence the wedge of siluer came which he had giuen me before; whereunto he made me a very sudden answere, which notwithstanding I vnderstoode not, which he well perceiued. And then he shewed me by euident signes that all of it came from a place more within the Riuer by certaine dayes iourneyes from this place, and declared vnto vs that all that which they had thereof, they gat it by force of armes of the inhabitants of the place, named by them Thimogoa, their most ancient and naturall enemies, as he largely declared. Whereupon when I sawe with what affection he spake

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Siluer certain dayes iourney vp within the riuer of May. Thimogoa mortall enemies to Satourioua.

when he pronounced Thimogoa, I vnderstoode what he would say. And to bring my selfe more into his fauour, I promised to accompanie him with all my force, if hee would fight against them: which thing pleased him in such sorte, that from henceforth he promised himselfe the victorie of them, and assured mee that hee would make a voyage thither within a short space, would cause store of Mill to be prepared, and would commaund his men to make ready their Bowes, and furnish themselues with such store of arrowes, that nothing should bee wanting to giue battaile to Thimogoa. In fine hee prayed mee very earnestly not to faile of my promise, and in so doing hee hoped to procure mee Golde and Siluer in such good quantitie, that mine affaires shoulde take effect according to mine owne and his desire.

The matter thus fully resolued vpon, I tooke my leaue of him to returne vnto my shippes, where after wee had rested ourselues all the night following, we hoysed sayles the next day very earely in the morning, and sayled towarde the Riuer of Seine, distant from the Riuer of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our course towarde the North, we arriued at the mouth of Somme, which is not past sixe leagues distant from the Riuer of Seine: where wee cast Anker, and went on shoare to discouer that place as wee had done the rest. There wee were gratiously and courteously receiued of the Paracoussy of the Countrey, which is one of the tallest men and best proportioned that may bee founde. His wife sate by him, which besides her Indian beautie, wherewith shee was greatly endowed, had so vertuous a countenance and modest grauitie, that there was not one amongst vs but did greatly commend her; shee had in her traine fiue of her daughters of so good grace and so well brought vp, that I perswaded my selfe that their mother was their Mistresse, and had taught them well and straightly to preserue their honestie. After that the Paracoussy had receiued vs as I haue sayde, hee commaunded his wife to present mee with a certaine number of bullets of
[452] siluer, for his owne part bee presented mee with his bowe and

his arrowes, as hee had done vnto Captaine Iohn Ribault in our first voyage, which is a signe of a perpetuall amitie and alliance with those which they honour with suche a kinde of present. In our discoursing with one another, wee entred into speech as touching the exercise of armes. Then the Paracoussy caused a corselet to be set on end, and prayed me to make a proofe of our Harguebuzes and their bowes: but this proof pleased him very little; for assoone as he knew that our Harguebuzes did easily pearce that which all the force of their bowes could not hurt, he seemed to be sorie, musing with himselfe how this thing might be done. Neuerthelesse going about to dissemble in his minde that which his countenance could not doe by any meanes, he began to fall into another matter and prayed vs very earnestly to stay with him that night in his house or lodging, affirming that no greater happinesse could come vnto him then our long abode, which he desired to recompence with a thousand presents.

Laudionniers consultation with his company where it might be best for them to plant.

Neuerthelesse wee could not grant him this poynt, but tooke our leaue of him to returne to our shippes: where soone after I caused all my companie to be assembled, with the Masters and Pilots of my shippes, to consult together of the place whereof wee should make choice to plant our habitation. First I let them vnderstand, howe none of them were ignorant, that the part which was towarde the Cape of Florida, was altogether a marish Countrey, and therefore vnprofitable for our inhabitation: A thing which could yeelde neither profite to the King, nor any contentment or pleasure to vs, if peraduenture we would inhabite there. On the other side if wee passed further toward the North to seeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor conuenient: at the least if wee should giue credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the Hauen were one of the fairest of the West Indies: but that in this case the question was not so much of the beautie of the place, as of things necessary to sustaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was much more needefull for vs to plant in places plentifull of

victuall, then in goodly Hauens, faire, deepe and pleasaunt to the view. In consideration whereof that I was of opinion, if it seemed good vnto them, to seate our selues about the Riuer of May: seeing also that in our first voyage wee found the same
[453] onely among all the rest to abounde in Maiz and corne, besides the Golde and Siluer that was found there: a thing that put me in hope of some happie discouerie in time to come.

After I had proposed these things, euery one gaue his opinion thereof: and in fine all resolued, namely those which had beene with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seate themselues rather on the Riuer of May then on any other, vntill they might heare newes out of France. This point being thus agreed vpon, wee sayled toward the Riuer, and vsed such diligence, that with the fauor of the windes wee arriued there the morrow after about the breake of day, which was on Thursday the 29. of the moneth of Iune. Hauing cast anker, I embarked all my stuffe and the souldiers of my companie, to sayle right toward the opening of the Riuer: wherein we entred a good way vp and found a Creeke of a reasonable bignesse, which inuited vs to refresh our selues a little, while wee reposed our selues there. Afterward wee went on shoare to seeke out a place plaine without trees, which wee perceiued from the Creeke.

But because wee found it not very commodious for vs to inhabite there: wee determined to returne vnto the place which wee had discouered before, when wee had sayled vp the Riuer. This place is ioyning to a mountaine, and it seemed vnto vs more fit and commodious to build a fortresse, then that where we were last. Therefore we tooke our way towards the forests being guided therein by the young Paracoussy which had ledde vs before to his fathers lodging. Afterward we found a large plaine couered with high Pinetrees distant a little from the other: vnder which wee perceiued an infinite number of Stagges which brayed amidst the plaine, athwart the which we passed: then wee discouered a little hill adioyning vnto a great vale very greene

and in forme flat: wherein were the fairest meadowes of the world, and grasse to feede cattel. Moreouer it is inuironed with a great number of brookes of fresh water, and high woodes, which make the vale more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the viewe thereof at mine ease, I named it at the request of our souldiers, The Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward. Anon hauing gone a little forward, we met an Indian woman of tall stature, which also was a Hermaphrodite, who came before vs with a great vessel full of cleere fountaine water, wherewith she greatly refreshed vs. For we were exceeding faint by reason of the ardent heate which molested vs as we passed through [454] those high woods. And I beleeue that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not bene for the great desire which we had to make vs resolute of our selues, we had taken vp our lodging all night in the wood. Being therefore refreshed by this meane, wee gathered our spirits together, and marching with a cheerefull courage, wee came to the place which wee had chosen to make our habitation in: whereupon at that instant neere the riuers brinke we strowed a number of boughes and leaues, to take our rest on them the night following, which wee found exceeding sweete, because of the paine which before we had taken in our trauell.

On the morrow about the breake of day, I commaunded a trumpet to be sounded, that being assembled we might giue God thankes for our fauourable and happie arriuall. There we sang a Psalme of thankesgiuing vnto God, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodnesse toward vs his poore seruants, and ayde vs in all our enterprises, that all might turne to his glory and the aduancement of our King. The prayer ended, euery man began to take courage.

They begin their planting with prayer to God.

Afterward hauing measured out a piece of ground in forme of a triangle, wee indeuoured our selues of all sides, some to bring earth, some to cut fagots, and others to raise and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a shouell,

or cutting hooke, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plaine by cutting downe the trees, as for the building of the Fort, which we did hasten with such cheerfulnesse, that within few dayes the effect of our diligence was apparant: in which meane space the Paracoussy Satourioua our neerest neighbour, and on whose ground wee built our Fort, came vsually accompanyed with his two sonnes and a great number of Indians to offer to doe vs all courtesie. And I likewise for my part bestowed diuers of our trifles frankely on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more desirous of our friendship, in such sort, that as the dayes increased, so our amitie and friendship increased also.

After that our Forte was brought into forme, I began to build a Grange to retire my munition and things necessarie for the defence of our Fort: praying the Paracoussy to command his subiects to make vs a couering of Palme leaues, and this to the ende that when that was done, I might vnfraight my shippes, and put vnder couerture those things that were in them. Suddenly the Paracoussy commaunded in my presence all the Indians of his companie to dresse the next day morning so good a number of Palme leaues, that the Grange was couered in lesse then two dayes: so that businesse was finished. For in the space of those two dayes, the Indians neuer ceased from working, some in fetching Palme leaues, others in interlacing of them: in such sort that their Kings commandement was executed as he desired.

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In Florida they couer their houses with Palme leaues.

The forme of the Fort Caroline.

Our Fort was built in forme of a triangle. The side toward the West, which was toward the lande, was inclosed with a little trench and raised with turues made in forme of a Battlement of nine foote high: the other side which was toward the Riuer, was inclosed with a Pallisado of plankes of timber after the maner that Gabions are made. On the South side there was a kinde of bastion within which I caused an house for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and sand, sauing about two or three foot high with turfes, whereof the battlements were made.

In the middest I caused a great Court to be made of eighteene paces long and broad, in the middest whereof on the one side drawing toward the South I builded a Corps de gard, and an house on the other side toward the North, which I caused to bee raised somewhat too high: for within a short while after the wind beat it down: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high stages in this Countrey, by reason of the windes whereunto it is subiect. One of the sides that inclosed my Court, which I made very faire and large, reached vnto the Grange of my munitions: and on the other side towardes the Riuer was mine owne lodging, round about which were galleries all couered. The principall doore of my lodging was in the middest of the great place, and the other was towarde the Riuer. A good distance from the Fort I built an Ouen to auoyde the danger against fire, because the houses are of Palme leaues, which will soone be burnt after the fire catcheth holde of them, so that with much adoe a man shall haue leasure to quench them. Loe here in briefe the description of our Fourtresse, which I named Caroline in the honour of our Prince King Charles.

High building is not good for this Countrey.

Note.

After wee were furnished with that which was most necessarie, I would not lose a minute of an houre, without imploying of the same in some vertuous exercise: therefore I charged Monsieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant, a man in trueth worthy of all honour for his honestie and vertue, to search vp within the Riuer, what this Thimogoa might be, whereof the Paracoussy Satourioua had spoken to vs so often at our comming on shoare. For execution hereof the Paracoussy gaue him two Indians for his guides, which taking vpon them to lead him in this voyage, seemed to goe vnto a wedding, so desirous they were to fight with their enemies.

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Being imbarked they hoised sayle, and hauing sayled about twentie leagues, the Indians which still looked on this side and that side to espie some of their enemies, discouered three Canoas. And immediatly they began to crie Thimogoa, Thimogoa, and spake nothing else but to hasten forward to goe fight with them:

The first voyage twentie leagues.

which the Captaine seemed to be willing to doe, to content them. When they came to boord them, one of the Indians gat holde of an Halbert, another of an Coutelas in such a rage, that hee would haue leapt into the water to haue fought with them alone. Neuerthelesse Ottigni would not let them doe it, for while hee deferred to boord them, he gaue the others respite to turne the prowes of their Canoas toward the shoare, and so to escape into the woods. Againe the meaning of Ottigni was not to make warre vpon them of Thimogoa, but rather to make them friendes, and to make them thenceforth to liue in peace one with another if it were possible, hoping by this meane to discouer dayly some new thing, and especially the certaine course of the Riuer. For this purpose he caused the barke to retire, wherein were the two Indians his guides, and went with his men towards the Canoas which were on the Riuers side. Being come vnto them, he put certaine trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing caused the Indians which were fled away to returne to their boats, and to understand by this signe, that those of our Barke were none of their enemies, but rather come onely to traffique with them. Wherefore being thus assured of vs, they called to our men to come neere vnto them: which they did incontinently and set foote on lande, and spake freely vnto them, with diuers ceremonies ouer long to recount. In the ende Ottigni demaunded of them by signes if they had any Golde or Siluer among them. But they tolde him they had none as then: and that if he would send one of his men with them, they would bring him without danger into a place where they might haue some. Ottigni seeing them so willing, deliuered them one of his men which seemed very resolute, to vndertake this voyage: this fellow stayed with them vntill tenne of the clocke the next morning, so that Captaine Ottigny somewhat offended with his long stay, sayled ten great leagues further vp the Riuer: although he knew not which way he should goe, yet he went so farre vp that hee espied the Boate wherein his souldier was: which

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Mayrra a king rich in golde and siluer.

reported vnto him, that the Indians would haue carried him three great dayes iourney further, and told him that a King named Mayrra rich in Gold and Siluer, dwelt in those quarters, and that for small quantitie of marchandise enough might be had of him: yet that hee would not hazard himselfe without his leaue, and that he brought but a very little Golde. This being done, our men returned toward our Fort Caroline, after they had left the souldier with the Indians to informe himselfe more and more of such things as he might discouer more at leasure.

The second voyage.

Fifteene dayes after this voyage to Thimogoa, I dispatched Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant also to returne againe into this Countrey, and to seeke out the souldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being therefore imbarked, they sayled two whole dayes: and before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the Riuers side, which were expressly sent vnto that place to descry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to surprise them, as they did vsually.

When they perceiued Captaine Vasseur, they knew incontinently that he was none of their enemies, and therefore made no difficultie to come neere vnto the Barke, and shewed him by signes that the Souldier which they sought was not in that place, but was at that present in the house of King Molloua which was vassall vnto another great King named by them Olata Ouae Vtina: and that if the Captaine would sayle thitherward, hee should come thither very quickly: wherewith he was content, and caused his men to rowe to that part which the Indians shewed him: whereat they were so glad, that they ranne quickly before by land to declare his arriuall, which was at the lodging of king Molloua, after he had rowed not past halfe a league. While king Molloua had ended intertaining Captaine Vasseur and his men, the souldier came in with fiue or sixe pounds weight of siluer which he had trucked and traffiqued with Indians. [458]

This King caused bread to bee made, and fish to bee dressed

after the Indian fashion to feast our men: to whom, while they were at meate, hee made a discourse of diuers other kings his friends and allies, reckoning vp to the number of nine of them by name, to wit, Codecha, Chilili, Eclauou, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omittaqua, Aequara, Moquoso: all which with him to the number of more then fortie, hee assured vs to bee the vassals of the most renowned Olata Ouae Vtina.

This done, hee went about likewise to discouer the enemies of Ouae Vtina, in which number he placed at the first the Paracoussy Satourioua Monarch of the confines of the riuer of May, which hath vnder his obeysance thirtie other Paracoussies, whereof there were ten which were all his brethren, and that therefore hee was greatly esteemed in those partes: then hee named three others no lesse puissant then Satourioua, whereof the first dwelt two dayes iourney from his lord Olata Ouae Vtina, and ordinarily made warre vpon him, whose name was Potanou, a man cruell in warre, but pitifull in the execution of his furie. For hee tooke the prisoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like vnto a seale, and so imprinted as if it had bene touched with an hotte yron, then hee let them goe without any more hurt. The two others were named Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua, being great Lords, and abounding in riches and principally Onatheaqua, which dwelt neere vnto the high mountaines, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, and infinite quantitie of a kinde of slate stone, wherewith they made wedges to cleaue their wood. The occasion which (as he sayd) mooued Pontanou to wage warre against Olata Ouae Vtina, was the feare that he had, lest he and his companions should get of that hard stone in his Countrey, wherewith they headed their arrowes, and could not get it in any neerer place.

An exceeding rich place.

Besides all this, Molloua recited to Captaine Vasseur, that the kings allies the vassals of the great Olata, armed their brests, armes, thighes, legs and foreheads with large plates of gold and siluer: and that by this meanes the arrowes that were discharged

vpon them could do them no maner of hurt at all, but rather were broken against them. Hereupon Captaine Vasseur inquired whether the Kings Onetheaqua and Houstaqua were like vnto vs. For by the description that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or no: but Molloua tolde him that [459] they were not, but that they were Indians like the rest, sauing that they painted their faces with blacke and that the rest as Molloua painted them with red. Then my Lieutenant Vasseur, and my Seargent promised him that one day I should march with my forces into those Countreys, and that ioyning my selfe with his Lord Olata, I would subdue the inhabitants of the highest of those mountaines. Hee was very glad of this speach, and answered that the least of these Kings which hee had named should present vnto the Generall of these succours the height of two foot of gold and siluer, which by force of armes they had already gotten of those two Kings, Onatheaqua, and Houstaqua.

Some paint their faces with blacke, and some with red.

The good cheere being done, and the discourses ended, my men imbarked themselves againe, with intention to bring mee those good newes vnto the Fort Caroline. But after they had sayled a very long while downe the Riuer, and were come within three leagues of vs, the tyde was so strong against them, that they were constrained to goe on lande, and to retire themselues because of the night, vnto the dwelling of a certaine Paracoussy named Molona, which shewed himselfe very glad of their arriuall: for hee desired to know some newes of Thimogoa, and thought that the French men went thither for none other occasion but for to inuade them. Which Captaine Vasseur perceiuing, dissembled so wel, that he made him beleeue that he went to Thirmogoa with none other intention, but to subdue them, and to destroy them with the edge of the sworde without mercy, but that their purpose had not such successe as they desired, because that the people of Thimogoa being aduertised of this enterprise, retired into the woods, and saued themselues by flight: that neuerthelesse they had taken some as they were fleeing away,

which carried no newes thereof vnto their fellowes.

The Paracoussy was so glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked Vasseur of the beginning and maner of his execution, and prayed him that hee would shew him by signes howe all things passed. Immediatly Francis la Caille the Sergeant of my band tooke his sword in his hand, saying, that with the point thereof he had thrust through two Indians which ranne into the woods, and that his companions had done no lesse for their partes. And that if fortune had so fauoured them, that they had not beene discouered by the men of Thimogoa, they had had a victorie
[460] most glorious and worthie of eternall memorie. Hereupon the Paracoussy shewed himselfe so well satisfied, that he could not deuise how to gratifie our men, which hee caused to come into his house to feast them more honourably; and hauing made Captaine Vasseur to sit next him, and in his owne chaire (which the Indians esteeme for the chiefest honour) and then vnderneath him two of his sonnes, goodly and mightie fellowes, hee commanded all the rest to place themselues as they thought good. This done, the Indians came according to their good custome, to present their drinke Cassine to the Paracoussy, and then to certaine of his chiefest friends, and the Frenchmen. Then hee which brought it set the cup aside, and drew out a little dagger stucke vp in the roofe of the house, and like a mad man he lift his head aloft, and ranne apace, and went and smote an Indian which sate alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying with a loud voyce, Hyou, the poore Indian stirring not at all for the blowe, which he seemed to endure patiently. He which held the dagger went quickly to put the same in his former place, and began againe to giue vs drinke as hee did before: but he had not long continued, and had scarce giuen three or foure thereof, but he left his bowle againe, tooke the dagger in his hand, and quickly returned vnto him which hee had strocken before, to whom he gaue a very sore blow on the side, crying Hyou, as he had done before: and then hee went to put the dagger in his place, and set himselfe downe among the

rest. A little while after he that had bene stricken fell downe backwards, stretching out his armes and legs, as if hee had bene ready to yeeld vp the latter gaspe. And then the younger sonne of the Paracoussy apparelled in a long white skinne, fell downe at the feete of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly halfe a quarter of an houre: after, two other of his brethren clad in like apparell, came about him that was so stricken, and began to sigh pitifully. Their mother bearing a little infant in her armes came from another part, and going to the place where her sonnes were, at the first shee vsed infinite numbers of outcries, the one while lifting vp her eyes to heauen, another while falling downe vnto the ground, shee cryed so dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would haue moued the most hard and stony heart in the world with pitie. Yet this sufficed not, for there came in a companie of young gyrles, which did neuer leaue weeping for a long while in the place where the Indian was fallen downe, whom afterward they tooke, and with the saddest gestures they could deuise, carried him away into another house a little way [461] off from the great hall of the Paracoussy, and continued their weepings and mournings by the space of two long houres: in which meane while the Indians ceased not to drinke Cassine, but with such silence that one word was not heard in the parlour.

Vasseur being grieued that he vnderstood not these ceremonies, demanded of the Paracoussy what these things meant: which answered him slowly, Thimogoa, Thimogoa, without saying any more. Being more displeased then he was before with King Malica. so sleight an answere, he turned vnto another Indian the Paracoussyes brother, who was a Paracoussy as well as his brother, called Malica, which made him a like answere as hee did at the first, praying him to aske no more of these matters, and to haue patience for that time. The subtil old Paracoussy prayed him within a while after to shew him his sword, which he would not denie him, thinking that hee would haue held the fashion of his weapons: but he soone perceiued that it was to another

ende: for the old man holding it in his hand, behelde it a long while on euery place, to see if he could finde any blood vpon it, which might shew that any of their enemies had bene killed: for the Indians are woont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies haue beene defeated, with some blood vpon them, for a token of their victories. But seeing no signe thereof vpon it, he was vpon the point to say vnto him that he had killed none of them of Thimogoa: when as Vasseur, preuenting that which hee might obiect, declared and shewed vnto him by signes, the maner of his enterprise, adding, that by reason of the two Indians which he had slaine, his sword was so bloudy, that hee was inforced to wash and make it cleane a long while in the Riuer: which the olde man beleeued to be like to be true, and made no maner of replie thereunto.

Vasseur, La Caille, and their other companions went out of the hal to goe into the roome whither they had carried the Indian; there they found the Paracoussy sitting vpon tapestries made of small reedes, which was at meate after the Indian fashion, and the Indian that was smitten hard by him, lying vpon the selfe same tapistry, about whom stoode the wife of the Paracoussy, with all the young damsels which before bewailed him in the hall: which did nothing else but warme a great deal of mosse instead of napkins to rub the Indians side. Hereupon our men asked the Paracoussy againe for what occasion the Indian was so persecuted in his presence: hee answered, that this was nothing else but a kinde of ceremonie, whereby they would call to minde the death and persecutions of the Paracoussies their ancestours executed by their enemie Thimogoa: alleaging moreouer that as often as he him selfe, or any of his friends and allies returned from the Countrey, without they brought the heads of their enemies or without bringing home some prisoner, hee vsed for a perpetuall memorie of his predecessors, to beate the best beloued of his children with the selfe same weapons wherewith they had beene killed in times past: to the ende that by renewing of the wound

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They lappe mosse about their woundes and vse it instead of napkins.

their death should be lamented afresh. Now when they were thus informed of those ceremonies, they thanked the Paracoussy for their good intertainement which they had receiued, and so setting saile came to me vnto the fort: where they declared all vnto me as I haue recited it heretofore. The eight and twentieth day of Iuly our shippes departed to returne into France. And within a while, about two moneths after our arriuall in Florida, the Paracoussy Satourioua sent certaine Indians vnto mee to know whether I would stande to my promise which I had made him at my first arriuall in that Countrey, which was that I should shewe my selfe friend to his friendes, and enemie vnto his enemies, and also to accompany him with a good number of Harquebuzes, when he should see it expedient and should finde a fit occasion to go to warre. Now seeing he rested vpon this promise, hee prayed mee not to deferre the same: seeing also that making accompt thereof, hee had taken such good order for the execution of his enterprise, that he was ready, and was furnished with all things that were necessary for the voyage: I made him answere, that for his amitie I would not purchase the enmitie of the other, and that albeit I would yet notwithstanding I wanted meanes to doe it. For it behoued mee at that present to make prouision of victuals and munition for the defence of my Fort. On the other side, that my Barkes were nothing ready, and that this enterprise would require time: Moreouer, that the Paracoussy Satourioua might holde himselfe ready to depart within three moneths, and that then I would thinke of fulfilling my promise to him.

The returne of their shippes toward France the 28 of Iuly.

The Indians caried this answere to their Paracoussy, which was litle pleased with it, because hee could not deferre his execution or expedition, aswell because all his victuals were ready, as also because tenne other Paracoussies were assembled with him for the performance of this enterprise. The ceremonie which this Sauage vsed before hee embarked his armie deserueth not to be forgotten. For when hee was set downe by the Riuers side, being compassed about with tenne other Paracoussies, hee commaund-

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The ceremonie which they vse before they goe to warre.

ed water to be brought him speedily. This done, looking vp into heauen, hee fell to discourse of diuers things with gestures that shewed him to be in exceeding great choller, which made him one while shake his head hither and thither, and by and by with I wote not what furie to turne his face toward the Countrey of his enemies, and to threaten to kill them. Hee oftentimes looked vpon the Sunne, praying him to graunt him a glorious victory of his enemies. Which when hee had done by the space of halfe an houre, he sprinkled with his hand a litle of the water which hee helde in a vessel vpon the heads of the Paracoussies, and cast the rest as it were in a rage and despite into a fire which was there prepared for the purpose. This done hee cried out thrise, He Thimogoa, and was followed by at least fiue hundred Indians, which were there assembled, which cried all with one voyce, He Thimogoa. This ceremonie, as a certaine Indian tolde mee familiarly signified nothing else, but that Satourioua besought the Sunne to graunt vnto him so happy a victory, that he might shed his enemies blood, as he had shed that water at his pleasure. Moreouer that the Paracoussies which were sprinkled with a part of that water, might returne with the heads of their enemies, which is the onely and chiefe triumph of their victories.

The Paracoussy Satourioua had no sooner ended his ceremonies and had taken a viewe of all his company, but he embarked himselfe, and vsed such diligence with his Almadies or boates, that the next day two houres before the Sunnes set, he arriued on the territories of his enemies about eight or tenne leagues from their villages. Afterward causing them all to goe on land, hee assembled his counsell, wherein it was agreed that fiue of the Paracoussies should saile vp the Riuer with halfe of the troupes, and by the break of day should approch vnto the dwelling of their eniemie: for his owne part, that hee would take his iourney through the woods and forrests as secretly as hee coulde: that when they were come thither as well they that went by water as hee which went by land should not faile by the breake

Consultation before they assault their enemies.

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of the day to enter into the village, and cut them all to pieces, except the women and little children.

How they vse their enemies which they take in war.

These things which were thus agreed vpon, were executed with as great fury as was possible: which when they had done they tooke the heads of their enemies which they had slaine, and cut off their haire round about with a piece of their sculles: they tooke also foure and twentie prisoners, which they led away, and retired themselues immediatly vnto their Boates which wayted for them. Being come thither, they beganne to sing praises vnto the Sunne, to whom they attributed their victorie. And afterwards they put the skins of those heads on the end of their iauelings, and went altogether toward the territories of Paracoussy Omoloa, one of them which was in the company. Being come thither, they diuided their prisoners equally to each of the Paracoussies, and left thirteene of them to Satourioua, which straightway dispatched an Indian his subject, to carry newes before of the victory to them which stayed at home to guard their houses, which immediately beganne to weepe. But assoone as night was come, they neuer left dancing and playing a thousand gambols, in honour of the feast.

Their maner of triumph.

The next day the Paracoussy Satourioua came home, who before he entred into his lodging caused all the haire skuls of his enemies to bee set vp before his doore, and crowned them with branches of Lawrell, shewing by this glorious spectacle the triumph of the victory which hee had obtained. Straight way beganne lamentation and mournings, which assoone as the night beganne were turned into pleasures and dances.

After that I was aduertised of those things, I sent a Souldier vnto Satourioua, praying him to send mee two of his prisoners: which hee denied mee, saying that hee was nothing beholding vnto mee, and that I had broken my promise, against the oath which I had sworn vnto him at my arriuall. Which when I vndentoode by my Souldier, which was come hacke with speede, I deuised howe I might be reuenged of this Sauage, and to

make him know how dearly this bolde brauado of his should cost him: therefore I commaunded my Sergeant to provide mee twentie souldiers to goe with mee to the house of Satourioua:
[465] Where after I was come and entred into the hall without any maner of salutation, I went and sate downe by him, and stayed a long while without speaking any woorde vnto him, or shewing him any signe of friendship, which thing put him deeply in his dumpes: besides that certaine Souldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had giuen expresse commaundement to suffer no Indian to goe foorth: hauing stood still about halfe an houre with this countenance, at length I demaunded where the prisoners were which hee had taken at Thimogoa, and commaunded them presently to bee brought vnto mee.

Whereunto the Paracoussy angry at the heart, and astonied wonderfully, stoode a long while without making any answere, notwithstanding at last hee answered me very stoutly, that being afraide to see vs comming thither in such warrelike manner they fled into the woods, and that not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any meanes to bring them againe. Then I seemed to make as though I understood not what he saide, and asked for his prisoners againe, and for some of his principall allies. Then Satourioua commaunded his sonne Athore to seeke out the prisoners, and to cause them to be brought into that place, which thing he did within an houre after.

After they were come to the lodging of the Paracoussy, they humbly saluted mee, and lifting vp their hands before me, they would haue fallen downe prostrate as it were at my feet: but I would not suffer them, and soone after ledde them away with me vnto my owne Fort. The Paracoussy being wonderfully offended with this brauado, bethought himselfe by all meanes how hee might be reuenged of vs. But to giue vs no suspition thereof, and the better to couer his intention, hee sent his messengers oftentimes vnto vs bringing alwayes with them some kinde of
Excellent Pumpions. presents. Among others one day hee sent three Indians, which

brought vs two baskets full of great Pompions, much more excellent then those which we haue in France, and promised me in their Kings behalfe, that during mine abode in that Countrey, I should neuer want victuals: I thanked them for their Kings good will, and signified vnto them the great desire which I had, aswell for the benefit of Satourioua, as for the quiet of his Subjects, to make a peace betweene him and those of Thimogoa: which thing coulde not choose but turne to their great benefite, seeing that being allied with the Kings of those parts, hee had an open [466]
passage against Onatheaqua his ancient enemie, which otherwise he could not set vpon. Moreouer that Olata Ouae Vtina was so mightie a Paracoussy, that Satourioua was not able to withstand his forces: but being agreed together they might easily ouerthrow all their enemies, and might passe the confines of the farthest Riuers that were towards the South. The messengers prayed mee to haue patience vntil the morowe, at what time they would come againe vnto me to certifie me of their Lords inclination: which they failed not to doe, aduertising me that Paracoussy Satourioua was the gladdest man in the world to treate of this accord (although indeed hee was quite contrary) and that he besought mee to be diligent therein, promising to obserue and performe whatsoever I should agree vpon with those of Thimogoa: which things the messengers also rehearsed vnto the prisoners which I had ledde away. After they were departed, I resolued within two dayes to sende backe againe the prisoners to Olata Ouae Vtina, whose subiects they were: but before I embarked them, I gaue them certaine small trifles, which were little kniues or tablets of glasse, wherein the image of King Charles the ninth was drawen very liuely, for which they gaue me very great thankes, as also for the honest entertainment which was giuen them at the Fort Caroline. After this they embarked themselues, with Captaine Vasseur, and with Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne, which I had sent of purpose to remaine a certaine time with Ouae Vtina, hoping that the fauour of this great Paracoussy would serue my

turne greatly to make my discoueries in time to come. I sent with him also one of my Sergeants, and sixe gallant Souldiers.

A wonderfull lightning the 29. of August.

Thus things passed on this maner, and the hatred of Paracoussy Satourioua against mee did still continue, vntill that on the nine and twentieth of August a lightning from heauen, fell within halfe a league of our Fort, more worthy I beleeue to be wondered at, and to bee put in writing, then all the strange signes which haue bene seene in times past, and whereof the histories haue neuer bene written. For although the medowes were at that season all greene, and halfe couered ouer with water, neuerthelesse the lightning in one instant consumed aboue fiue hundred acres therewith, and burned with the ardent heate thereof all the foules which tooke their pastime in the meddowes, which thing continued for three dayes space, which caused vs not a little to
[467] muse, not being able to iudge whereof this fire proceeded: for one while wee thought that the Indians had burnt their houses, and abandoned their places for feare of vs: another while wee thought that they had discouered some shippes in the Sea, and that according to their custome they had kindled many fires here and there, to signifie that their Countrey was inhabited: neuerthelesse being not assured, I determined to sende to Paracoussy Serrany to knowe the trueth thereof. But euen as I was vpon the point to sende one by boate to discouer the matter, sixe Indians came vnto mee from Paracoussy Allimacany, which at their first entrie made vnto mee a long discourse, and a very large and ample oration (after they had presented mee with certaine baskets full of Maiz, of Pompions and of Grapes) of the louing amity which Allimacany desired to continue with mee, and that he looked from day to day when it would please mee to employ him in my seruice. Therefore considering the seruiceable affection that hee bare vnto mee, hee found it very strange, that I thus discharged mine Ordinance against his dwelling, which had burnt vp an infinite sight of greene medowes, and consumed euen downe vnto the bottome of the water, and came so neere vnto his man-

The Sauages thinke the lightning to be discharging of the Christians Ordinance.

sion, that hee thought hee saw the fire in his house: wherefore hee besought mee most humbly to commaund my men that they would not shoote any more towards his lodging, otherwise that hereafter he should be constrained to abandon his countrey, and to retire himselfe into some place further off from vs.

Laudonnier vsed the present occasion to his profite.

Hauing vnderstood the foolish opinion of this man, which notwithstanding coulde not choose but be very profitable for vs, I dissembled what I thought thereof for that time, and answered the Indians with a cheerefull countenance, that the relation which they made vnto mee of the obedience of their Paracoussy did please mee right well, because that before hee had not behaued himselfe in such sort towards mee, especially when I summoned him to sende mee the prisoners of great Olata Ouae Vtina which he detained, whereof notwithstanding he made no great accompt, which was the principall cause whereof I had discharged mine Ordinance against him: not that I meant to reach vnto his house (as I might haue done easily, if it had pleased me) but that I was content to shoote the halfe way to make him knowe my force: assuring him furthermore, that on condition that he would [468] continue in his good affection, no more Ordinance should be discharged against him hereafter; and besides that I would become his faithfull protectour against his greatest enemies.

The Indians contented with mine answere returned to assure their Paracoussy, which notwithstanding the assurance withdrewe himselfe from his dwelling twentie or fiue and twentie leagues off and that for the space of more then two moneths. After that three dayes were expired, the fire was quite extinguished. But for two dayes after there followed such an excessiue heate in the aire, that the Riuer neere vnto which we planted our habitation, became so hoat, that I thinke it was almost ready to seeth. For there died so great abundance of fish, and that of so many diuers sorts, that in the mouth of the Riuer onely there were founde dead ynough to haue loaden fiftie Carts, whereof there issued a putrefaction in the aire, which bred many dangerous diseases

A wonderfull heate.

Fiftie cart load of fish dead in the Riuer with this heat.

amongst vs, inasmuch that most of my men fell sicke, and almost ready to ende their dayes. Yet notwithstanding it pleased our mercifull God so to prouide by his prouidence, that all our men recouered their health without the losse of any one of them.

The thirde voyage the tenth September. Mayarqua a place 80 leagues vp the Riuer of May.

Monsieur de Arlac, Captaine Vasseur, and one of my Sergeants, being embarked with their tenne Souldiers about the tenth of September to cary backe the prisoners vnto Vtina, sailed so farre vp the Riuer, that they discouered a place called Mayarqua distant from our Fort about fourescore leagues, where the Indians gaue them good entertainetment, and in many other villages which they found. From this place they rowed to the dwelling of Paracoussy Vtina, which after hee had feasted them according to his abilitie and power, prayed Monsieur de Arlac and all his Souldiers to stay a while with him, to ayde and assist him in battaile against one of his enemies, called Potanou, whereunto Monsieur de Arlac consented willingly. And because hee knew not how long he might haue occasion to stay in these parts, hee sent mee Captaine Vasseur and the Barke backe againe, which brought home onely fiue Souldiers with him.

King Patanou.

The Indians maner of war.

Nowe because the custome of the Indians is alwayes to wage war by surprise, Vtina resolued to take his enemie Potanou in the morning by the breake of the day: to bring this to passe, hee made his men to trauaile all the night, which might be in number two hundred persons, so well aduised, that they prayed our French-shot to be in the fore-front, the ende (as they saide) that the noyse of their pieces might astonish their enemies: notwithstanding they coulde not march so secretly, but that those of the village of Potanou, distant from the dwelling of Vtina about fiue and twentie leagues, were ware of them: which suddenly employed and bestowed all their endeuour to defend their village enclosed all with trees, and issued out in great companies: but finding themselues charged with shotte, (a thing wherewith they neuer had bene acquainted) also beholding the Captaine of their bande fall downe dead in the beginning of their skirmish, with a shot

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Two hundreth Indians.

of an Harquebuse which strooke him in the forehead, discharged by the hande of Monsieur de Arlac, they left the place: and the Indians of Vtina gate into the village, taking men, women, and children prisoners. Thus Paracoussy Vtina obtained the victory by the ayde of our men, which slew many of his enemies, and lost in his conflict one of their companions, wherewith Vtina was very much grieued. Eight or tenne dayes after, sent Captaine Vasseur backe againe with a Barke to fetch home Monsieur de Arlac and his Souldiers, which at their returne brought mee certaine presents from Vtina, as some siluer, a small quantitie of golde painted skinnes, and other things, with a thousand thankes, which the Paracoussy gaue me, which promised that if in any enterprise of importance I should haue neede of his men, he would furnish mee with three hundreth and about.

Vtina getteth the victory of Potanou by the helpe of the French.

While I thus trauailed to purchase friends, and to practise one while with one here, an other while with another there, certaine Souldiers of my company were suborned vnder hand by one named La Roquette of the Countrey of Perigort, which put in their heads that hee was a great Magician, and that by the secrets of Art-magicke he had discouered a Mine of golde and siluer farre vp within the Riuer, whereby (vpon the losse of his life,) euery Souldier should receiue in ready Bullion the value of tenne thousand Crownes, beside and aboue fifteene hundred thousand should be reserued for the Kings Maiestie: wherefore they allied themselues with La Roquette and another of his confederates, whose name was Le Genre, in whom notwithstanding I had great affiance. This Genre exceeding desirous to enrich himselfe in those parts, and seeking to be reuenged, because I would not giue him the carriage of the Paquet into France, secretly enfourmed the Souldiers that were already suborned by La Roquette, that I would depriue them of this great gaine, in that I did set them dayly on worke, not sending them on euery side to discouer the Countreys: therefore that it were a good deede, after they had made mee vnderstande so much, to seeke meanes to dis-

La Roquettes conspiracie.

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Monsieur de Genre.

Gienres message to Laudoniere in the Souldiers name.

patch me out of the way, and to choose another Captaine in my place, if I would not giue them victuals according to their disordinate appetite. Hee also brought mee word hereof himselfe, making a large discourse vnto mee of the good affection of the Souldiers, which all besought mee that I would conduct them to the Countrey where the Mine was: I made him answere that all could not goe thither, and that it was necessary before their departure to settle our Fortresse in such estate, that those which which were to stay at home behind should remaine in securitie against the Indians which might surprise them. Furthermore, that their manner of proceeding seemed strange vnto mee, for that they imagined, that the Kings Maiestie was at the charges of our voyage for none other ende, but onely to enrich them at their first arriuall, in as much as they shewed themselues much more giuen vnto couetousnesse, then vnto the seruice of their Prince: But seeing mine answere tended vnto none other ende but to make our Fortresse strong and defensible, they determined to trauaile in the worke, and made an ensigne of olde linnen, which ordinarily they bare vpon the rampart when they went to woorke, alwayes wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to incourage themselues to worke the better. But as I perceiued afterwards, and that by the confession of Genre sent mee in letters which he writ to mee of that matter, these gentle Souldiers did the same for none other ende, but to haue killed mee and my Lieutenant also, if by chance I had giuen them any hard speeches.

His answere.

A dangerous practice against the Captaine and his Lieute'nt.

About the twentieth of September, as I came home from the woods and coppises to finish the building of my Fort, (and that according to my vsual maner, I marched first to giue encouragement vnto my Souldiers) I chafed my selfe into such sort, that I fell into a sore and grieuous sicknesse, whereof I thought I should haue died: During which sicknesse, I called Le Genre often vnto mee, as one that I trusted aboue all others, and of whose conspiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this meane

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Laudonniers sicknesse.

Laudonniers Apothecarie.

while assembling his complices, sometime in his chamber and sometime in the woods to consult with them, hee spake vnto them to choose another Captaine besides mee, to the intent to put mee to death: but being not able by open force to execute his mischieuous intention, hee gate him vnto mine Apothecarie praying him instantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receiue one or two dayes after, some drugge that should make mee pitch ouer the pearch, or at the least that hee would giue him a little Arsenike or Quicke Siluer, which hee himselfe would put into my drinke. But the Apothecarie denied him, as did in like maner Master S. which was Master of the fire-workes. Thus wholly disappointed of both his meanes, hee with certaine others resolued to hide a little barrell of gunne powder vnderneath my bed, and by a traine to set it on fire.

Captaine Bourdet arriued in Florida the 4. of September.

Vpon these practises a Gentleman which I had dispatched to returne into France, being about to take his leaue of me, aduertised me that Gienre had giuen him a booke full of all kinde of lewde inuectiues and slanders against me, against Monsieur de Ottigny, and against the principal of my company: vpon which occasion, I assembled all my Souldiers together, and Captaine Bourdet with all his, which on the fourth of September arriued in the roade, and were come into our Riuer. In their presence I caused the contents of the booke to bee read alowde, that they might beare record of the vntruths that were written against mee. Gienre, which had gotten him into the woods for feare of being taken, (where he liued for a while after with the Sauages by my permission,) writ vnto mee often, and in many of his letters confessed vnto mee, that hee had deserued death, condemning himselfe so farrefoorth, that he referred all to my mercie and pitie.

The 4. voyage the 7. of Nouember.

The seuenth or eighth day of Nouember, after I had caused sufficient prouision of such victuals as were needefull to bee made, I sent two of my men, to wit, La Roche Ferriere, and another towarde King Vtina, to discouer euery day more and more

[472] of the Countrey: where he was the space of fiue or sixe moneths, during which hee discouered many small villages, and among others one named Hostaqua, the King whereof being desirous of my friendship, sent vnto me a quiuer made of Luserns skinne full of arrowes, a couple of bowes, foure or fiue skinnes painted after their maner, and a cheine of Siluer weying about a pounde weight. In recompence of which presents I sent him two whole sutes of apparell, with certaine cutting hookes or hatchets.

After these things therefore in this sort passed, about the tenth of this moneth, Captaine Bourdet determined to leaue mee and returne into France. Then I requested him, yea rather was exceeding importunate with him, to carry home with him some sixe or seuen Souldiers, whom I could not trust by any meanes: which hee did for my sake, and would not charge himselfe with Gieure, which offered him a great summe of money, if it would please him to carry him into France: hee transported him onely to the other side of the Riuer. Three dayes after his departure thirteene Mariners which I had brought out of France suborned by certaine other Mariners which Captaine Bourdet had left me, stole away my Barkes in maner following. These Mariners of Captaine Bourdet put mine in the head, that if they had such Barkes as mine were, they might gaine very much in the Iles of the Antilles, and make an exceeding profitable voyage. Hereupon they beganne deuise howe they might steale away my Barkes, and consulted that when I should command them to goe vnto the village of Sarauahi distant about a league and a halfe from our Fort, and situated vpon an arme of the Riuer, (whither according to my maner I sent them dayly to seeke clay, to make bricke and morter for our houses) they would returne no more, but would furnish themselues with victuals as well as they might possibly: and then would embarke themselues all in one vessell, and would goe their way: as indeede they did. And that which was worse, two Flemish Carpenters, which the saide Bourdet had left mee, stole away the other Barke, and before their departure cut the

One of his Barks stolne away by his Mariners.

Another of his Barks stolne away by two Carpenters.

cables of the Barke, and of the ship boate, that it might goe away with the tyde, that I might not pursue them: so that I remained without either Barke or boate, which fell out as vnluckily for mee as was possible. For I was ready to imbarke my selfe with all speede, to discouer as farre vp our Riuer, as I might by any meanes. Nowe my Mariners, (as I vnderstood afterwards) tooke a Barke that was a passenger of the Spaniards neere the Isle of Cuba, wherein they founde a certaine quantitie of golde and siluer, which they seazed vpon. And hauing this bootie they lay a while at Sea, vntill their victuals beganne to faile them: which was the cause, that oppressed with famine they came vnto Hauana the principall Towne of the Isle of Cuba: whereupon proceeded that mischiefe which hereafter I will declare more at large. When I saw my Barkes returned not at their wanted houre, and suspecting that which fell out in deed, I commanded my Carpenters with all diligence to make a little boat with a flat bottome, to searce those Riuers for some newes of these Mariners. The boate dispatched within a day and a night, by reason that my Carpenters found planks and timber ready sawed to their hands, as commonly I caused my Sawyers to prouide it, I sent men to seeke some newes of my thieues: but all was in vaine. Therefore I determined to cause two great Barkes to be built, ech of which might be thirtie fiue, or thirtie sixe foote long in the keele.

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One of these Mariners named Francis Iean betrayed his own countrey men to the Spaniard, and brought them into Florida.

A Saw-mill necessary here.

The thirde sedition.

And now the worke was very well forwarde which I set my workemen about, when ambition and auarice, the mother of all mischiefe, tooke roote in the hearts of foure or fiue souldiers which could not away with the worke and paines taking: and which from henceforward (namely one Fourneaux, and one La Croix, and another called Steuen le Geneuois, the three principall authors of the sedition) beganne to practise with the best of my troupe, shewing them that it was a vile thing for men of honest parentage, as they were, to moyle themselues thus with abiect and base worke, seeing they had the best occasion of the worlde

offered them to make themselues all riche: which was to arme the two Barkes which were in building, and to furnish them with good men: and then to saile vnto Peru, and the other Isles of the Antilles, where euery Souldier might easily enrich himselfe with tenne thousand Crownes. And if their enterprise should bee misliked withall in France, they should bee alwayes able, by reason of the great wealth that they should gaine, to retire themselues into Italy, vntill the heate were ouerpassed, and that in the meane season some warre would fall out, which would cause all this to be quite forgotten.

By Peru the French meane the coast of Carthagena and Nombre de Dios.

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This word of riches sounded so well in the eares of my Souldiers, that in fine, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affaires, they grew to the number of threescore and sixe: which to colour their great desire which they had to goe on stealing, they caused a request to bee presented vnto mee by Francis de la Callie Sergeant of my company, contayning in sum a declaration of the small store of victuals that was left to maintaine vs, vntil the time that shippes might returne from France: for remedy whereof they thought it necessary to sende to New Spaine, Peru, and all the Isles adioyning, which they besought mee to be content to graunt. But I made them answere, that when the Barkes were finished, I would take such good order in generall, that by meanes of the Kings marchandise, without sparing mine owne apparell, wee would get victuals of the inhabitants of the Countrey: seeing also that wee had ynough to serue vs for foure moneths to come. For I feared greatly, that vnder pretence of searching victuals, they would enterprise somewhat against the King of Spaines Subiects, which in time to come might iustly bee layde to my charge, considering that at our departure out of France, the Queene had charged me very expresly, to doe no kinde of wrong to the King of Spaines Subiects, nor any thing whereof he might conceiue any ielousie.

The captaines charge at his setting forth.

They made as though they were content with this answere. But eight dayes after, as I continued in working vpon our Fort,

and on my Barkes, I fell sicke. Then my seditious companions forgetting all honour and duetie, supposing that they had found good occasion to execute their rebellious enterprise, beganne to practise afresh their former designes, handling their businesse so well, during my sicknesse, that they openly vowed that they would seaze on the Corps de gard, and on the Fort, yea, and force mee also, if I woulde not consent vnto their wicked desire. My Lieutenant being hereof aduertised, came and tolde mee that he suspected some euill practise: and the next day in the morning I was saluted at my gate with men in complet harnesse, what time my Souldiers were about to play mee a shrewde tricke: then I sent to seeke a couple of Gentlemen whom I most trusted, which brought mee word that the Souldiers were determined to come to me to make a request vnto me: But I tolde them that this was not the fashion to present a request vnto a Captaine [475] in this maner, and therefore they should send some few vnto me to signifie vnto mee what they would haue. Hereupon the fiue chiefe authors of the sedition armed with Corslets, their Pistolles in their handes already bent, prest into my chamber saying vnto mee, that they would goe to New Spaine to seeke their aduenture. Then I warned them to bee well aduised what they meant to doe: but they foorthwith replyed, that they were fully aduised already, and that I must graunt them this request. Seeing then (quoth I) that I am enforced to doe it, I will sende Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant, which will make answere and giue mee an accompt of euery thing that shall be done in this voyage: And to content you, I thinke it good that you take one man out of euery chamber, that they may accompany Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant. Whereupon, blaspheming the Name of God, they answered that they must goe thither: and that there lacked nothing, but that I should deliuer them the armour which I had in my custodie, for feare least I might vse them to their disaduantage (being so villanously abused by them:) wherein notwithstanding I would not yeeld vnto them. But they tooke

Landonniere kept 15. dayes prisoner by his owne souldiers.

all by force, and caried it out of my house, yea and after they had hurt a Gentleman in my chamber, which spake against their doings, they layd hands on mee, and caried me very sicke, as I was, prisoner into a shippe which rode at ancker in the middest of the Riuer, wherein I was the space of fifteene dayes attended vpon with one man onely without permission for any of my seruants to come to visite mee: from euery one of whom, as also from the rest that tooke my part, they tooke away their armour. And they sent mee a passeport to signe, telling me plainely after I had denied them, that if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the shippe. Thus was I constrained to signe their Passe-port, and forthwith to grant them certaine mariners, with Trenchant an honest and skilfull Pilot. When the barks were finished, they armed them with the kings munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, asmuch as they needed, and chose one of my Sergeants for their Captain, named Bertrand Conferrent, and for their Ensigne one named La Croix. They compelled Captaine Vasseur to deliuer them the flag of his ship. Then hauing determined so saile vnto a place of the Antilles
[476] called Leauguaue, belonging vnto the king of Spaine, and there to goe on land on Christmasse night, with intention to enter into the Church while the Masse was sayd after midnight, and to murder all those that they found there, they set saile the eight of December. But because the greatest part of them by this time repented them of their enterprise, and that now they began to fall into mutinies among themselues, when they came foorth of the mouth of the riuer, the two barks diuided themselues: the one kept along the coast vnto Cuba, to double the Cape more easily, and the other went right foorth to passe athwart the Isles of Lucaya: by reason whereof they met not vntill sixe weekes after their departure. During which time the barke that tooke her way along the coast, wherein one of the chiefe conspiratours named De Orange was Captaine, and Trenchant his Pilot, neere vnto a place called Archaha, tooke a Brigantine laden with a

certaine quantity of Cassaui, which is a kinde of bread made of rootes, and yet neuerthelesse is very white, and good to eate, and some little wine, which was not without some losse of their men: for in one assault that the inhabitants of Archaha made vpon them, two of their men were taken, to wit, Steuen Gondeau, and one named Grand Pré, besides two more that were slaine in the place, namely Nicolas Master and Doublet: yet neuerthelesse they tooke the Brigantine, wherein they put all their stuffe that was in their owne Barke, because it was of greater burthen and better of saile then their owne. Afterward they sailed right vnto the Cape of Santa Maria nere to Leauguaue, where they went on land to calke and bray their ship which had a great leake. In this meane while they resolued to saile to Baracou, which is a village of the Isle of Iamaica: where at their arriuall they found a carauel of fifty or three score tunnes burden, which they tooke without any body in it: and after they had made good cheere in the village the space of fiue or sixe dayes, they embarked themselues in it, leauing their second ship: then they returned to the Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a Patach, which they tooke by force after a long conflict. In this Patach the gouernour of Iamaica was taken, with great store of riches, aswell of golde and siluer as of merchandise and wine, and many other things; wherewith our seditious companions not content, determined to seeke more in their carauell, and their gouernour of Iamaica also. After they were come to Iamaica, they missed of another carauel which did saue it selfe in the hauen. The gouernour being fine and subtile, [477] seeing himselfe brought vnto the place which he desired and where he commanded, obtained so much by his faire words, that they which had taken him let him put two little boyes which were taken with him into a little cocke boat, and send them to his wife into the village, to aduertise her that she should make prouision of victuals to send vnto him. But in stead of writing vnto his wife, he spake vnto the boyes secretly that with all diligence she should send the vessels that were in the hauens neere that place

to succour and rescue him. Which she did so cunningly, that on a morning about the breake of the day, as our seditious companions were at the hauens mouth (which reacheth aboue two leagues vp within the land) there came out of the hauen a malgualire which maketh saile both forward and backward, and then two great shippes, which might be ech of them of fourescore or an hundred tunnes a piece, with good store of ordinance, and well furnished with men: at whose comming our mutinous fellowes were surprised, being not able to see them when they came, as well because of the darknesse of the weather, as also by reason of the length of the hauen, considering also they mistrusted nothing. True it is that fiue or six and twenty that were in the brigantine discouered these ships when they were nere them, which seeing themselues pressed for want of leasure to weagh their anker, cut their cable, and the trumpeter which was in it aduertised the rest: whereupon the Spanyards seeing themselues descried, discharged a volley of canon shot against the French men, which they followed by the space of three leagues, and recouered their own ships: the brigantine which escaped away, passed in the sight of the Cape des Aigrettes, and the Cape of S. Anthony situate in the Isle of Cuba, and from thence passed within the sight of Hauana; but Trenchant their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certaine other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elsewhere we haue declared) desired nothing more then to returne to me: wherefore these men agreed together (if peraduenture the wind serued them well) to passe the chanell of Bahama, while their seditious companions were asleepe: which they did accomplish with such good successe, that in the morning toward the breake of the day about the fiue and twentieth of March they arriued vpon the coast of Florida: where knowing the fault which they had committed, in a kinde of mockery they counterfaited the Iudges: but they played not this
[478] pranke vntill they had tippled well of the Wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the Iudge, another presented

my person: one other after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: Make you your causes as good as it pleaseth you, but if when you come to the fort Caroline the Captaine cause you not to be hanged, I will neuer take him for an honest man: others thought that my choller being passed, I would easily forget this matter. Their saile was no sooner descried vpon the coast, but the king of the place named Patica, dwelling eight leagues distant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, sent an Indian to aduertise me that he had descried a shippe vpon the coast, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon the brigantine oppressed with famine, came to an anker at the mouth of the Riuer of May, when at the first blush we thought they had bene shippes come from France; which gaue vs occasion of great ioy: but after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was aduertised that they were our seditious companions that were returned. Therefore I sent them word by Captaine Vasseur and my Seargeant, that they should bring vp their brigantine before the fortresse: which they promised to doe. Now there was not aboue two leagues distance from the mouth of the riuer where they cast anker vnto the fortresse. The next day I sent the same Captaine and Sergeant with thirty souldiers, because I saw they much delayed their comming. Then they brought them: and because certaine of them had sworne at their departure, that they would neuer come againe within the fort, I well pleased they should keep their oth. For this purpose I waited for them at the riuers mouth, where I made my barks to be built and commanded my Sergeant to bring the foure chiefe authours of the mutiny on shore: whom I caused immediatly to be put in fetters: for my meaning was not to punish the rest, considering that they were suborned, and because my counsell expressly assembled for this purpose had concluded that these foure only should die, to serue for an example to the rest In the same place I made an Oration vnto them in this maner.

The returne of part of Laudonnieres seditious souldiers.

My friends, you know the cause why our king sent vs vnto

Laudonnieres oration to his mutinous souldiers.

this countrey: you know that he is our naturall Prince, whom we are bound to obey according to the commandement of God, in such sort, that we ought neither to spare our goods nor our liues
[479] to do those things that concerne his seruice: ye know, or at least you cannot be ignorant, that besides this generall and naturall obligation, ye haue this also ioyned thereunto, that in receiuing of him reasonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow those whom he hath established ouer you to be your gouernours, and to command you in his name, hauing for this purpose giuen him an oth of fidelitie, which you cannot by any meanes reuoke for any faire apparance which you haue to doe the contrary: for this is reason that seeing you liue vpon his charges on this condition (this is reason I say) that you should be faithfull vnto him. Notwithstanding you haue had more regard vnto your vnbridled affections then vnto vertue, which inuited you, to the obseruance of your oth, in such sort that being become contemners of all honesty, you haue passed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawfull for you. Whereupon it is fallen out that while you thought to escape the iustice of men, you could not auoid the iudgement of God, which as a thing by no meanes to be auoided hath led you, and in spight of you hath made you to arriue in this place, to make you confesse how true his iudgements are, and that he neuer suffereth so foule a fault to escape vnpunished.

The sentence of death.

After that I had vsed vnto them these or the like speeches, following that which wee had agreed vpon in councell, in respect of the crimes which they had committed, aswel against the kings Maiesty as against mee which was their Captaine, I commanded that they should be hanged. Seeing therefore that there was no starting hole, nor meanes at all to saue themselues from this arrest, they tooke themselues vnto their prayers: yet one of the foure, thinking to raise a mutiny among my souldiers, sayd thus vnto them: What, brethem and companions, will you suffer vs to die so shamefully? And taking the word out of his mouth, I sayd vnto him, that they were not companions of authours of sedition

and rebels vnto the kings seruice. Heerevpon the souldiers be- Execution.
sought me not to hang them, but rather let them be shot thorow, and then afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged vpon certaine gibbets along the hauens mouth: which I caused presently to be put into execution. Loe here what was the end of my mutinous souldiers, without which I had alwayes liued peaceably, and enioyed the good desire which I had to make an happy and quiet voyage. But because I haue spoken of nothing but their accident and aduentures which happened vnto [480]
them after their departure, without making any mention of our fort, I will returne vnto the matters from which I digressed, to declare that which fell out after their departure. First, I beganne to consider to the ende I might confirme and make myselfe more constant in mine affliction, that these murmurers could not ground their sedition vpon want of victuals: for from the time of our arriuall, euery souldier dayly vnto this day, and besides vntill the eight and twentieth day of February, had a loafe of bread weighing two and twenty ounces. Againe I recounted with my selfe that all new conquest by sea or by land are ordinarily troubled with rebellions, which are easie to be raised, as well in respect of the distance of place, as in respect of the hope that the souldiers haue to make their profit, as we may be well informed both by ancient histories and also by the troubles which lately happened vnto Christopher Columbus, after his first discouery, to Francis Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro in Peru, and to Fernando Cortes. An hundred thousand other things came vnto my minde, to incourage and confirme me. My Lieutenant Ortigny, and my Sergeant of my band came to seeke me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and caried me from thence in a barke assoone as our rebels were departed. After I was come vnto the fort I caused Laudonniere setteth things in order after his returne out of prison to the fort.
all my company that remained, to be assembled in the midst of the place before the Corps de garde, and declared vnto them the faults which they that had forsaken vs had committed, praying them to beare them in memory, to beare witnesse thereof when

need should require. Foorthwith I ordained new Captaines to command the troups; and prescribed them an order, according whereunto they were to gouerne themselues from thence forward, and to enter into their watch: for the greatest part of the souldiers, of whom I had the best opinion, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they promised mee all with one accord to obey mee most humbly, and to doe whatsoeuer I should command them, though it were to die at my feet for the Kings seruice; wherein assuredly they neuer after failed: so that I dare say, after the departure of my mutinous companions I was as well obeyed as euer was Captaine in place where he commanded. The next day after my returne vnto the fort, I assembled my men together againe, to declare vnto them that our fort was [481] not yet finished, and that it was needfull that all of vs should put thereto our helping hands, to assure our selues against the Indians: wherein hauing willingly agreed vnto mee, they raised it all with turfes from the gate vnto the riuer which is on the West side. This done, I set my Carpenters on worke to make another barke of the same bignesse that the others were of: I commanded the Sawyers that they should prepare plancks, the Smithes to prepare yron and nailes, and certaine others to make coales: so that the barke was finished in eighteene dayes. Afterward I made another lesser then the first, the better to discouer vp the riuer. In this meane space the Indians visited me, and brought me dayly certaine presents, as: Fish, Deere, Turki-cocks, Leopards, little Beares, and other things according to the place of their habitation. I recompensed them with certaine Hatchets, Kniues, Beads of glasse, Combes, and Looking-glasses. Two Indians came vnto me one day to salute me on the behalfe of their King, whose name was Marracou, dwelling from the place of our fort some forty leagues toward the South, and tolde mee that there was one in the house of King Onathaqua which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the house of King Mathiaca another man whose name they knew not, which was not of their nation:

Reparation of the West side of the fort.

whereupon I conceiued that these might be some Christians. Wherefore I sent to all the kings my neighbours to pray them, that if there were any Christian dwelling in their countreys, they would finde meanes that he might be brought vnto mee, and that I would make them double recompense. They which loue rewards, tooke so much paine, that the two men, whereof we haue spoken, were brought vnto the fort vnto me. They were naked, wearing their haire long vnto their hammes as the Sauages vse to do, and were Spanyards borne, yet so well accustomed to the fashion of the countrey, that at the first sight they found our maner of apparell strange; After that I had questioned of certaine matters with them, I caused them to be apparelled, and to cut their haire; which they would not loose, but lapped it vp in a linnen cloth, saying that they would cary it into their countrey to be a testimony of the misery that they had indured in the Indies. In the haire of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to the value of fiue and twenty crownes, which he gaue vnto me. And examining them of the places where they had bene, and how they came thither, they answered me that fifteene yeeres past, three shippes, in one of which they were, were cast away ouer against a place named Calos vpon the Flats which are called The Martyres, and that the king of Calos recouered the greatest part of the riches which were in the sayd shippes, trauelling in such sort that the greatest part of the people was saued, and many women; among which number there were three or foure women maried, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this king of Calos. I desired to learne what this king was. They answered me, that he was the goodliest and the tallest Indian of the countrey, a mighty man, a warrier, and hauing many subiects vnder his obedience. They tolde me moreouer, that he had great store of golde and siluer, so farre foorth that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man, and as large as a tunne: all which wealth the Spanyards fully perswaded themselues that they could cause me to recouer, if I were able to

Two Spanyards brought vnto Laudonniere by the Sauages.

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Calos a place uopn the Flats called The Martyres neere the Cape of Florida.

march thither with an hundred shot, besides that which I might get of the common people of the countrey, which had also great store thereof. They further also aduertised me, that the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of golde as broad as a sawcer, and in such number that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men ware the like also. The greatest part of these riches was had, as they sayd, out of the Spanish shippes, which commonly were cast away in this straight; and the rest by the traffique which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the countrey: Finally, that he was had in great reuerence of his subiects; and that hee made them beleeue that his sorceries and charmes were the causes that made the earth bring foorth her fruit: and that hee might the easier perswade them that it was so, he retired himselfe once or twise a yeere to a certaine house, accompanied with two or three of his most familiar friends, where hee vsed certaine inchantments; and if any man intruded himselfe to goe to see what they did in this place, the king immediatly caused him to be put to death. Moreouer, they tolde me, that euery yeere in the time of haruest, this Sauage king sacrificed one man, which was kept expresly for this purpose, and taken out of the number of the Spanyards which by tempest were cast away vpon that coast. One of these two declared vnto me, that hee had serued him a long time for a messenger; and that oftentimes by his commandement he had visited a king named Oathcaqua, distant from Calos foure or fiue dayes iourney, which alwayes remained his faithfull friend: but that in the midway there was an Island situate in a great lake of fresh water named Sarrope, about fiue leagues in bignesse, abounding with many sorts of fruits, specially in Dates, which growe on the Palme trees, whereof they make a woonderfull traffique; yet not so great as a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, so good to make bread of, that it is vnpossible to eate better, and that for fifteene leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith: which is the cause that the inhabitants of the Isle gaine of their

neighbours great wealth and profit: for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Besides that, they are taken for the most warlike men of all that countrey, as they made good proofe when the king of Calos, hauing made alliance with Oathcaqua, was depriued of Oathcaquaes daughter, which he had promised to him in mariage. He tolde me the whole matter in this sort: As Oathcaqua well accompanied with his people caried one of his daughters, exceeding beautifull, according to the colour of the countrey, vnto king Calos, to giue her vnto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this Isle aduertised of the matter, layed an ambush for him in a place where he should passe, and so behaued themselues that Oathcaqua was discomfited, the betrothed yoong spouse taken, and all the damosels that accompanied her: which they caried vnto their Isle; which thing in all the Indians countrey they esteeme to be the greatest victory: for afterward they marry these virgins, and loue them aboue all measure. The Spanyard that made this relation, tolde mee that after this defeat he went to dwell with Oathcaqua, and had bene with him full eight yeeres, euen vntill the time that he was sent vnto me. The place of Calos is situate vpon a riuer which is beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the Southwest: and the dwelling of Othcaqua is on this side the Cape toward the North, in a place which we call in the Chart Cannaueral, which is in 28 degrees.

About the fiue and twentieth of Ianuary Paracoussy Satourioua my neighbour sent me certaine presents by two of his subiects, to perswade me to ioyne with him, and to make warre vpon Ouae Vtina; which was my friend: and further besought me to retire certaine of my men which were with Vtina; for whom if [484]
it had not beene, he had oftentimes set vpon him, and defeited him. He besought me heerein by diuers other kings his allies, which for three weekes or a moneths space sent messengers vnto mee to this end and purpose: but I would not grant vnto them that they should make warre vpon him; yea rather contrariwise I endeaured to make them friends; wherein they condescended

vnto mee, so farre foorth that they were content to allow of any thing that I would set downe: wherevpon the two Spanyards which of long time knew well the nature of the Indians, warned me that in any case I should not trust vnto them, because that when they shewed good countenance and the best cheere vnto men, then was the time that they would surprise and betray them; and that of their nature they were the greatest traitours and most deepe dissemblers of the world. Besides I neuer trusted them but vpon good ground, as one that had discouered a thousand of their crafts and subtilties, aswell by experience as by reading of the histories of late yeres. Our two barks were not so soone finished, but I sent Captaine Vasseur to discouer along the coast lying toward the North, and commanded him to saile vnto a riuer, the king whereof was called Audusta, which was lord of that place, where those of the yere 1562 inhabited. I sent him two sutes of apparell, with certaine hatchets, kniues, and other small trifles, the better to insinuate my selfe into his friendship. And the better to win him, I sent in the barke with captaine Vasseur a souldier called Aimon, which was one of them which returned home in the first voyage, hoping that king Audusta might remember him. But before they were imbarked I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, which remained alone in those parts, when Nicholas Masson and those of the first voyage imbarked themselues to returne into France. They vnderstood at their arriuall there, that a barke passing that way had caried away the same souldier: and afterward I knew for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had caried him to Hauana. The king Audusta sent me backe my barke full of mill, with a certaine quantity of beanes, two stags, some skinnes painted after their maner, and certaine pearles of small value, because they were burnt: and sent me word that if I would dwel in his quarters, he would giue me a great countrey: and that after he had gathered his mill, he would spare me as much as I would haue. In the meane while there came vnto our fort a

The Floridians great traitours and dissemblers.

Nicholas Masson otherwise called Nicolas Barre.

King Audustas great humanity.

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flocke of stocke-doues in so great number that for the space of seuen weeks together, that euery day wee killed with harquebush shot two hundred in the woods about our fort.[121] After that Captaine Vasseur was returned, I caused the two barks to be furnished againe with souldiers and mariners, and sent them to cary a present from me vnto the widow of king Hiocaia, whose dwelling was distant from our fort about twelue leagues Northward. She courteously receiued our men; sent me backe my barks full of mill and acornes with certaine baskets full of the leaues of Cassine, wherewith they make their drinke. And the place where this widow dwelleth is the most plentifull of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant. It is thought that the queene is the most beautifull of all the Indians, and of whom they make most account: yea, and her subjects honour her so much, that almost continually they beare her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot. Within a few dayes after the returne of my barks, she sent to visit me by her Hiatiqui, which is as much to say, as her interpreter. Now while I thought I was furnished with victuals vntill the time that our ships might come out of France (for feare of keeping my people idle) I sent my two barks to discouer along the riuer, and vp toward the head thereof, which went so far vp that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place named Mathiaqua, and there they discovered the entrance of a lake, vpon the one side whereof no land can be seene, according to the report of the Indians, which had oftentimes climed on the highest trees in the countrey to see land, and notwithstanding could not discerne any: which was the cause that my men went no further, but returned backe; and in comming home went to see the Island of Edelona, situated in the midst of the riuer, as faire a place as any that may be seene thorow the world: for in the space of some three leagues, that it may conteine in length and bredth, a man may see an exceeding rich countrey,

The widow of King Hioacaia, or Hihouhacara.

This queenes name was Nia Cubicani.

The fift voyage vp the riuer of May.

[121] *Marginal note*.—Peter Martyr writeth cap. 1. decad. 7. that the like flocks of pigeons are in the isles of the Lucayos.

and maruellously peopled. At the comming out of the village of
[486] Edelano to go vnto the riuers side a man must passe thorow an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad: on both sides wherof great tres are planted, the boughes whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together so artificially that a man would thinke it were an arbour made of purpose, as faire I say, as any in all christendome, although it be altogether natural. Our men departing from this place rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, and lastly they came vnto Coya: where leauing their barks in a little creeke of the riuer with men to guard them, they went to visit Vtina, which receiued them very courteously: and when they departed from his house, he intreated them so earnestly, that sixe of my men remained with him: of which number there was one gentleman, named Groutald, which after he had abode there about two moneths, and taken great paines to discouer the countrey, with another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came vnto me to the fort, and tolde me that he neuer saw a fairer countrey. Among other things, he reported vnto me that he had seene a place named Hostaqua, and that the king thereof was so mighty, that he was able to bring three or foure thousand Sauages to the field; with whom if I would ioyne and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the rest of the inhabitants vnto our obedience: besides that this king knew the passages vnto the mountaine of Apalatci, which the French men desired so greatly to atteine vnto, and where the enemy of Hostaqua made his abode; which was easie to be subdued, if so be wee would enter into league together. The king sent me a plate of a minerall that came out of this mountaine, out of the foot whereof there runneth a streame of golde or copper, as the Sauages thinke, out of which they dig vp the sand with an hollow and drie cane of reed vntill the cane be full; afterward they shake it, and finde that there are many small graines of copper and siluer among this sand: which giueth them to vnderstand, that some rich mine must needs be in the

mountaine. And because the mountaine was not past fiue or sixe dayes iourney from our fort, lying toward the Northwest, I determined assoone as our supply should come out of France, to remooue our habitation vnto some riuer more toward the North, that I might be nerer therevnto. One of my souldiers whose name was Peter Gamby, which had remained a long space before in this countrey to learne the languages and traffique with the Indians, at the last came to the village of Edelano, where hauing gotten together a certaine quantitie of golde and siluer, and purposing to returne vnto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoa (which is a vessell made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians vse to fish withal, and to row vpon the riuers) which this lord of Edelano granted him. But being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoa, to murder him and bring him the merchandise and the gold which he had. Which the two traitours villanously executed: for they knockt him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing of the fire in the canoa to see the fish. The Paracoussy Vtina sent certeine dayes afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteene of my shot, to inuade his enemy Potanou, and sent me word, that this enemy once vanquished, he would make me passage, yea, and would conduct me vnto the mountaines in such sort, that no man, should be able to hinder me. Then I assembled my men to demand their aduice, as I was woont to do in all mine enterprises. The greater part was of opinion, that I should do well to send succour vnto this Paracoussy, because it would be hard for me to discouer any further vp into the countrey without his helpe: and that the Spanyards when they were imployed in their conquests, did alwayes enter into alliance with some one king to ruine another. Notwithstanding, because I did alwayes mistrust the Indians, and that the more after the last aduertisement that the Spanyards had giuen me, I doubted lest the small number which Vtina demanded might incurre some danger; wherefore I

sent him thirty shot vnder the charge of my Lieutenant Ottigny, which stayed not aboue two dayes with Vtina, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the custome of the countrey are caried by women and yoong boyes, and by hermaphrodites. Vtina setting forward with three hundred of his subiects, hauing ech of them their bowe and quiuer full of arrowes, caused our thirty shot to be placed in the foreward, and made them march all the day, vntill that the night approching, and hauing not gone past halfe the way, they were inforced to lie all night in the woods, nere a great lake, and there to incampe themselues: they separated themselues by sixe and sixe, making ech of them a fire about the place where their king lay, for whose guard they ordeined a certeine number of those archers, in whom he put most confidence. Assoone as day was come, the campe of the Indians marched within three leagues of Potanou: there king Vtina requested my Lieutenant to grant him foure or fiue of his men to go and discouer the countrey; which departed immediatly, and had not gone farre, but they perceiued vpon a lake, distant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians which fished in a canoa. Now the custome is that when they fish in this lake, they haue alwayes a company of watchmen, armed with bowes and arrowes to guard the fishers. Our men being hereof aduertised by those of the company, durst not passe any further, for feare of falling into some ambush: wherefore they returned towards Vtina, which suddenly sent them backe with a greater company to surprise the fishers before they might retire and aduertise their king Potanou of the comming of his enemies. Which they could not execute so politikely, but that two of them escaped; the third also did the best he could to saue himselfe by swimming, in which meane while he was stayed with shot of arrowes, and they drew him starke dead vnto the banks side, where our Indians flayed off the skinne of his head, cut off both his armes in the high way, reseruing his haire for the triumph, which their king hoped to make for the defeat of his enemy.

Vtina, fearing least Potanou aduertised by the fishers which were escaped, should put himselfe in armes to withstand him valiantly, asked counsell of his Iawa, which is asmuch to say in their language as his Magician, whether it were best to goe any further. Then this Magician made certeine signes, hidious and fearefull to beholde, and vsed certeine words: which, being ended, he sayd vnto his king, that it was not best to passe any further, and that Potanou accompanied with two thousand Indians at the least stayed in such and such a place for him, to bidde him battell: and besides this, that all the sayd Indians were furnished with cords to binde the prisoners which they made full account to take.

This relation caused Vtina to be vnwilling to passe any further: whereupon my Lieutenant being as angry as euer he might be, because hee had taken so great paines without doing of any thing of account, sayd vnto him, that hee would neuer thinke well of him nor of his people, if hee would not hazzard himselfe: and that if he would not doe it, at the least, that he would giue him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Heereupon Vtina was ashamed, and seeing the good affection of Monsieur de Ottigny determined to go forward: and he failed not to finde his enemies in the very place which the Magician had named: where the skirmish beganne, which lasted three long houres; wherein without doubt Vtina had beene defeated, vnlesse our harquebusiers had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battell, and slaine a great number of the souldiers of Potanou, vpon which occasion they were put to flight. Wherewithall Vtina being content for the present, caused his people to retire and returne homeward to the great discontentment of Monsieur de Ottigny, which desired nothing more, then to pursue his victorie. After he was come home to his house he sent messengers to eighteene or twentie villages of other kings his vassals, and summoned them to be present at the feasts and dances which he purposed to celebrate because of his victorie. In the meane while Monsieur de Ottigny

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The prediction of the Magician found true.

Vtina hath 18 or 20 kings to his Vassals.

refreshed himselfe for two dayes: and then taking his leaue of the Paracoussi, and leauing him twelue of his men to see that Potamou, bethinking himselfe of his late losse, should not come to burne the houses of Vtina, he set forward on his way to come vnto me vnto our Fort, where he vp and told me how euery thing had passed: and withall that he had promised the twelue souldiers, that he would come backe againe to fetch them. Then the kings my neighbours all enemies to Vtina, being aduertised of the returne of my Lieutenant, came to visite me with presents and to enquire how things had passed, praying me all to receiue them into my fauour, and to become enemie to Vtina, which notwithstanding I would not grant them for many reasons that mooued me.

A custome of the Indians to leaue their houses for 3 or 4 moneths and to liue in the woods.

The Indians are wont to leaue their houses and to retire themselues into the woods the space of three moneths, to wit Ianuary, February, and March: during which time by no meanes a man can see one Indian. For when they goe on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themselues, liuing vpon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that during this time, we could get no victuals by their meanes: and had it not beene that I had made good prouision thereof, while my men had store, vntill the end of Aprill (which was the time when at the vttermost, we hoped to haue had succour out of France) I should haue beene greatly amazed. This hope was the cause that the souldiers tooke no great care to looke well vnto their victuals, although I deuided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the countrey, without reseruing vnto my selfe any more then the least souldier of al the company. The moneth of May approching and no manner of succour come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, constrained to eate the rootes of the earth and certaine sorrell which we found in the fields. For although the Sauages were returned by this time vnto their villages, yet they succoured vs with nothing but certaine fish, without which assuredly wee had perished with famine. Besides

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They looke for succour out of France by the end of April at the vttermost.

they had giuen vs before the greatest part of their maiz and of their beanes for our marchandise. This famine held vs from the beginning of May vntill the middest of Iune. During which time the poore souldiers and handicraftsmen became as feeble as might be, and being not able to worke did nothing but goe one after nothing in Centinel vnto the clift of an hill, situate very neere vnto the Fort, to see if they might discouer any French ship. In fine being frustrated of their hope, they assembled altogether, and came to beseech me to take some order that they might returne into France, considering that if we let passe the season to embarke our selues, we were neuer like to see our countrey, where it could not be chosen but that some troubles were fallen out, seeing they had broken their promise made vnto vs, and that no succour was come from thence. Thereupon it was consulted and resolued by all the company, that the barke Breton should be trimmed vp, whereof Captaine Vasseur had charge. But because the ship was not bigge enough to receiue vs all, some thought good to build the Brigandine two deckes higher, which our mutinous souldiers had brought backe, and that 25 men should hazard themselues to passe therein into France. The rest being better aduised said that it should be farre better to build a faire ship vpon the keele of the Galiote which I had caused to be made, promising to labour couragiously therupon. Then I enquired of my shipwrights to knowe in what space they could make this shippe readie. They assured the whole company that being furnished with all things necessarie they would make it readie by the 8. of August. Immediatly I disposed of the time to worke vpon it, I gaue charge to Monsieur de Ottigny my Lieutenant to cause timber necessary for the finishing of both the vessels to be brought, and to Monsieur de Arlac my Standart-bearer to goe with a barke a league off from the Fort to cut downe trees fit to make plankes, and to cause the sawiers which he carried with him to saw them: and to my Sergeant of the company to cause fifteene or sixteene men to labour in making coales: and

Extreme famine for sixe weekes space.

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to Master Hance keeper of the Artillery, and to the gunner to gather store of rosen to bray the vessels: wherein he vsed such diligence, that in lesse then 3 weekes he gathered 2 hogs-heads of the same together. There remained now but the principal, which was to recouer victuals to sustaine vs while our worke endured: which I vndertooke to doe with the rest of my company and the Mariners of the ship. To this end I embarked my selfe making vp the thirtieth in my great barke, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, hauing with vs no prouision at all of victuals: whereby it may easily he gathered how simply those of our Fort were prouided. True it is that certaine souldiers being better husbandes then the rest, and hauing made some prouision of mast, solde a little measure thereof for fifteene and twentie sous vnto their companions. During our voyage we liued of nothing else but raspices, of a certaine round graine little and blacke, and of the rootes of palmitos which we got by the riuer sides: wherein after we had sayled a long time in vaine, I was constrained to returne to the Fort: where the souldiers beginning to be wearie of working, because of the extreme famine which did consume them, assembled themselues and declared vnto me, that seeing we could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient for the sauing of their liues, to seaze vpon the person of one of the Kings of the Countrey: assuring themselues that one being taken, the subiects would not suffer our men to want victuals. I made them answere that this enterprise was not rashly to be attempted: But that wee ought to haue good regarde vnto the consequence that might insue thereof. Hereupon they replyed vnto me, that seeing the time was past of our succour from France, and that we were resolued to abandon the Countrie, that there was no danger to constraine the Sauages to furnish vs with victuals: which for the present I would not grant vnto them, but promised them assuredly
[492] that I would send to aduertise the Indians that they should bring me victuals for exchange of marchandise and apparell: which they also did for the space of certaine daies, during which they

The vile nature of the Indians.

brought of their mast and of their fish: which these Indians being traiterous and mischieuous of nature and knowing our exceeding strange famine, sold vs at so deere a price, for that lesse then nothing they had gotten from vs all the rest of our marchandise which remained. And which was worse, fearing to be forced by vs and seeing that they had gotten all from vs, they came no neere to our Fort then the shot of an Harquebuze. Thither they brought their fish in their little boats, to which our poore souldiers were constrained to goe, and oftentimes (as I haue seene) to giue away the very shirts from their backs to get one fish. If at any time they shewed vnto the Sauages the excessiue price which they tooke, these villaines would answere them roughly and churlishly: if thou make so great account of thy merchandise, eat it, and we will eat our fish: then fell they out laughing and mocked vs with open throat. Whereupon our souldiers vtterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their foolish arrogancy. Notwithstanding considering the importance hereof, I tooke paines to appease the impatient souldier: for I would not by any meanes enter into question with the Sauages, and it suffised me to delay the time. Wherefore I deuised to send vnto Vtina, to pray him to deale so farre foorth with his subiects, as to succour me with mast and maiz: which he did very sparingly, sending me 12 or 15 baskets of mast, and two of pinocks, which are a kind of little greene fruits which grow among the weedes in the riuer, and are as big as cheries: yea, and this was not but by giuing of them in exchange twise as much marchandise and apparell as they were worth. For the subiectes of Vtina perceiued euidently the necessitie wherein we were, and began to vse the like speech vnto vs, as the others did: as it is commonly seene that neede altereth mens affections. While these things were in doing, a certaine breathing space presented it selfe for Vtina gaue me to vnderstand that there was a king his subiect whose name was Astina, which he determined to take prisoner, and to chastise him for his disobedience: that

for this cause if I would giue him aide with a certaine number of my souldiers, he would bring them to the village of Astina, where there was meanes to recouer mast and maiz. In the meane
[493] season he excused himselfe vnto me because he had sent me no more maiz, and sent me word that the little store he had left was scarcely sufficient for his seede-corne. Now being relieued, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not faile to send him the men which he had desired of me, which neuerthelesse were very euill intreated: for he deceiued them, and in stead of leading them against Astina, he caused them to march against his other enemies. My Lieutenant which had the charge of this enterprise with Captaine Vasseur, and my Sergeant was determined to be reuenged of Vtina and to cut him to pieces and his people: and had it not bene that they feared to do any thing against my wil, without all doubt they would haue put their enterprise in execution. Therefore they would not passe any further without aduertising me thereof. Wherefore being come backe againe vnto the Fort, angry and pricked deeply to the quicke for being so mocked, they made their complaints vnto me, declaring vnto me that they were almost dead for hunger. They told the whole matter to the rest of the souldiers, which were very glad that they had not entred into that action, and resolued, assembling themselues againe together, to let me vnderstand that they did persist in their first deliberation, which was, to punish the boldnesse and maliciousnes of the Sauages, which they could no longer endure, and were determined to take one of their kings prisoner: which thing I was enforced to grant vnto them to the ende to auoid a greater mischiefe, and the sedition which I fore-saw would ensue, if I had made refusall thereof. For, sayd they, what occasion haue you to deny vs, considering the necessitie wherein we are, and the small account that they make of vs. Shall it not be lawfull for vs to punish them for the wrongs which they doe vnto vs, besides that we know apparently how little they respect vs? Is not this sufficient although there were no necessitie

at all, since they thus delude vs, and haue broken promise with vs? After I had therefore resolued with them to seaze vpon the person of Vtina, which besides that he had giuen vs occasion hereof, was also most able to help vs to recouer victualls, I departed with fiftie of my best souldiers all embarked in two Barkes and wee arriued in the dominions of Vtina, distant from our Fort about 40 or 50 leagues: then going on shore we drew towards his village situated 6 leagues from the riuer, where we tooke him prisoner, howbeit not without great cries and alarmes, and led him away in our barkes, hauing first signified vnto his Father in law and his chiefe subiects, that in that I had taken him, it was not for any desire that I had to doe him any harme, but onely to relieue my necessitie and want of victuals which oppressed me, and that in case they would helpe me to some, I would find meanes to set him againe at libertie: that in the meane space I would retire myselfe into my Barkes (for I feared least they would there assemble themselues together, and that some mischiefe might thereof insue) where I would stay for him two dayes to receiue his answere: notwithstanding that my meaning was not to haue any thing without exchange of marchandise. This they promised they would doe. And in very deede the very same euening, his wife accompanied with all the women of the village came vnto the riuers brinke, and cryed vnto me to enter into the barke, to see her husband and her sonne, which I held both prisoners. I discovered the next day fiue or sixe hundred Indian archers, which drew neere vnto the riuer side, and came to me to signifie vnto me how that during the absence of their king, their enemie Potanou, being thereof aduertised, was entred into their village and had set all on fire. They prayed me that I would succour them: neuerthelesse in the mean while they had one part of their troope in ambush, with intent to set vpon me if I had come on land, which was easie for me to discerne. For seeing that I refused so to doe, they greatly doubted that they were discouered, and sought by all meanes to remooue out of my

Vtina taken prisoner in his village by Laudonniere and 50 of his souldiers.

minde that euill opinion which I had conceiued of them. They brought mee therefore fish in their little boates and of their meale of Mast, they made also of their drinke which they call cassine, which they sent to Vtina and we.

Now albeit I had gotten this point of them that I held their king prisoner, yet neuerthelesse I could not get any great quantity of victuals for the present: the reason was, because they thought that after I had drawen victuals from them, I would put their king to death. For they measured my wil according to their custome whereby they put to death all the men prisoners that they take in warre. And thus being out of all hope of his libertie, they assembled themselues in a great house, and hauing called all the people together they proposed the election of a new king, at which time the Father in lawe of Vtina set one of the kings young sonnes vpon the Royall throne: and tooke such paynes that euery man did him homage by the maior part of the voyces. This election had like to haue bene the cause of great troubles among
[495] them. For there was a kinsman of the kings neere adioyning, which pretended a Title to the kingdome, and in deede he had gotten one part of the subiects: notwithstanding this enterprise could not take effect, forasmuch as by a common consent of the chiefe, it was consulted and concluded, that the sonne was more meete to succeede the Father then any other. Now all this while I kept Vtina with me, to whom I had giuen some of mine apparell to cloth him, as I had likewise done vnto the sonne. But his subiects which before had an opinion that I would haue killed him, being aduertised of the good entertainment which I vsed towards him, sent two men which walked along the riuer, and came to visite him, and brought vs some victuals. These two men at their comming were receiued by me with all courtesie, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While these things thus passed, there arriued from all quarters many Sauages of the countries adioyning, which came to see Vtina, and sought by all meanes to perswade me to put him to death, offering

that if I would do so, they would take order that I should want no victuals. There was also a king my neighbour whose name Note. was Saturioua, a subtile and crafty man and one that shewed by proofe that he was greatly practised in affaires. This King sent me ordinarily messengers vnto me, to pray me to deliuer Vtina vnto him: and to win me the more easily, he sent twise seuen or eight baskets of Maiz or of Mast thinking by this means to allure me, and to make me come to composition with him: in the end notwithstanding when he saw he lost his time, he ceased to visite me with ambassages and victuals: and in the meane while I was not able with the same store of victuals which I had, so well to proportion out the trauaile vpon the ships which we built to returne into France, but that in the end we were constrained to endure extreme famine, which continued among vs all the moneth of May: for in this latter season, neither Maiz nor Beanes, nor Note. Mast was to be found in the villages, because they had employed all for to sowe their fields, insomuch that we were constrayned to eate rootes, which the most part of our men punned in the morters which I had brought with me to beate gunnepowder in, and the graine which came to vs from other places: some tooke the wood of Esquine, beate it, and made meale thereof, which they boyled with water, and eate it: others went with their harquebusies to [496] seeke to kill some foule. Yea this miserie was so great, that one was found that gathered vp among the filth of my house, all the fish bones that he could finde, which he dried and beate into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among vs, for our bones eftsoones beganne to cleaue so neere vnto the skinne, that the most part of the souldiers had their skinnes pierced thorow with them in many partes of their bodies: in such sort that my greatest feare was, least the Indians would rise vp against vs, considering that it would haue bene very hard for vs to haue defended our selues in such extreme decay of all our forces, besides the scarsitie of all victuals, which fayled vs all at once. For the very riuer had

not such plentie of fish as it was wont, and it seemed that the land and water did fight against vs. Now as we were thus vpon termes of dispayre, about the end of the moneth of May and the beginning of Iune, I was aduertised by certaine Indians that were my neighbours, that in the high Countrey vp aboue the riuer, there was new Maiz, and that that countrey was most forward of all. This caused me to take vpon me to go thither with a certaine number of my men, and I went vp the riuer to a place called Enecaque: where I met the sister of Vtina in a village where she made vs very good cheere and sent vs fish. We found that which was tolde vs to be true: for the maiz was now ripe: but by this good lucke one shrewde turne happened vnto me. For the most part of my souldiers fell sicke with eating more of it then their weakened stomackes could digest. We had also beene the space of foure dayes since we departed from our Fort, without eating any thing, sauing little pinockes, and a little fish, which we got of the fishers which wee met sometimes along the riuer. And yet this was so little that certaine souldiers eate priuily little whelpes which were newly whelped. The next day I purposed to go into the Ile of Edelano to take the king which had caused one of my men to be slaine, as I haue mentioned before: but being aduertised of my departing out of my Fort, and of the way which I tooke vp the riuer, he feared that I went foorth with a purpose to be reuenged of the euill turne which he played: so that when I came thither I found the houses emptie, for he was retyred a little before with all his people: and I could not by any meanes keepe my souldiers, being angry because they had lost one of their companions, from setting the village on fire. At my departure from thence I passed backe againe by Enecaque, where I gathered as much maiz as I could possibly: which with great diligence I conueied to our Fort to succour my poore men, which I had left in great necessitie. They therefore seeing me a farre off comming, ranne to that side of the riuer where they thought I would come on land: for hunger so pinched them to the heart, that

New corne by the end of May in Florida.

A little greene fruite that groweth in the riuers as big as cheries.

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they could not stay vntill the victuals were brought them to the Fort. And that they well shewed assoone as I was come, and that I had distributed that little maiz among them, which I had giuen to ech man, before I came out of the barke: for they eate it before they had taken it out of the huske. But seeing my selfe in this extreme nede, I tooke paines day by day to seeke some villages where there was some food. And as I trauailed this way and that way, it happened that two of my Carpenters were killed by the two sonnes of king Emola, and by one whose name was Casti, as they went on walking to the village called Athore. The cause of this murder was, because they could not refraine themselues as they walked through the fields from gathering a little maiz, which as they were doing, they were taken in the maner: wherof I was presently aduertised by an Indian which a little before had brought me a present from Nia Cubacani Queene of a village, and neighbour to our Fort. Vpon receipt of this aduertisement, I sent my Sergeant with a number of souldiers which found nothing else but the 2 dead corpses, which they buried and returned without doing any other exploit, because the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they should be punished for such a foule fact. As these things thus passed, and that by this time we had almost driuen out the moneth of May, two subjects of king Vtina came vnto me with an Hermaphrodite, which shewed mee that by this time the maiz was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Whereupon Vtina signified vnto me that in case I would carrie him home to his house, he would take such good order that I should haue plentie of maiz and beanes: and withall, that the field which he had caused to be sowen for me, should be reserued to my vse. I consulted with my men concerning this matter, and found by the aduice of all my company, that it was best to grant him his request, saying that he had meanes to succour vs with food sufficient to serue our turnes for our embarkement, and [498] that therefore I might do well to carry him home. Wherefore I caused the two barks forthwith to be made readie, wherein I

Two Carpenters killed for gathering the Indians maize.

sailed to Patica, a place distant from his village 8 or 9 leagues, where I found no bodie, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not shew themselues, albeit Vtina shewed himselfe vnto them, for as much as they imagined that I should be constrained to let him go. But seeing no body to shew themselues, I was constrained to hazard one of my men which had bene acquainted with the state of the countrie, to whom I deliuered the young sonne of Vtina, and commanded him to goe with diligence to the village of Vtina, vnto his father in law and his wife, to aduertise them that if they would haue their king againe, they should bring me victuals vnto the side of the little riuer whither I was gone. At my mans comming euery one made much of the little childe, neither was there a man that thought not himselfe well appaide to touch him. His father in law and his wife hearing of these newes came presently towards our barkes, and brought bread which they gaue vnto my souldiers, they held me there three dayes, and in the meane while did all that they could to take me: which presently I discouered, and therefore stood diligently vpon my gard. Wherefore perceiuing they could not haue their purpose, and that they were already discouered, they sent to aduertise me that as yet they could not helpe me to victuals, and that the corne was not yet ripe. Thus I was constrained to returne and to carry backe Vtina home, where I had much adoe to saue him from the rage of my souldiers: which perceiuing the maliciousnes of the Indians, went about to haue murdered him. Moreouer it seemed they were content that they had gotten the sonne, and that they cared not greatly for the father. Now my hope fayling me on this side, I deuised to send my men to the villages where I thought the maiz was by this time ripe; I went to diuers places, and continued so doing 15 daies after, when as Vtina besought me again to send him vnto his village, assuring himselfe that his subiects would not sticke to giue me victuals: and that in case they refused so to do, he was content that I should do what I thought good with him. I vndertooke this voyage the second time, the two barkes

furnished as before. At my comming vnto the little riuer, we found his subiects there, which failed not to come thither with some quantitie of bread, beanes, and fish, to giue my souldiers. Neuerthelesse returning againe to their former practise they sought all meanes to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the imprisonment of their king if they might haue gotten the victorie of me. But after that they sawe the small meanes, which they had to annoy me, they returned to intreaties, and offered that if I would giue them their king with certaine of my souldiers, they would conduct them vnto the village, and that the subiects seeing him, would be more willing to giue vs victuals. Which thing notwithstanding I would not grant vnto them (mistrusting their subtilitie, which was not so couert,) vntill they had first giuen me two men in pledge with charge that by the next day they should bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gaue mee two men which I put in chaines for feare they should escape away, as I knew well they were instructed to doe. Foure dayes were spent in these conferences, at the end whereof they declared vnto me, that they could not fully and wholly performe their promise: and that the vttermost that they could doe for the present, was to cause ech subiect to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to doe so on condition that I would send them their two pledges within ten dayes. As my Lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him aboue all things to take heede he fell not into the Indians hands: because I knew them to be very subtill and craftie to enterprize and execute any thing to our disaduantage. He departed therefore with his troope, and came to the small riuer whereinto we were accustomed to enter to approch as neere as we could vnto the village of Vtina, being sixe French leagues distant from thence. There he went on shore, put his men in good array, and drew streight towards the great house that was the kings, where the chiefe men of the countrey were assembled, which caused very great store of victuals to be brought now one and then another, in doing whereof they spent notwithstanding

three or foure dayes: in which meane while they gathered men together, to set vpon vs in our retreit. They vsed therefore many meanes to holde vs still in breath. For one while they demanded their pledges, another while (seeing my Lieutenant would not yeeld to them, vntill such time as they had brought the victuals vnto the boats; according to the agreement passed betwene vs) they signified vnto him that the women and young children were afraide out of all measure to see fire in their matches so neere their harquebuses: and that therefore they most earnestly besought them to put them out, that they might more easily get people ynough to carry the victuals, and that they for their partes would leaue their bowes and arrowes, and would be contented that their seruants should carrie them. This second request was as flatly denied them as the former: For it was an easie matter to smel out their intention. But while these things were thus in handling, Vtina by no meanes was to be seene, but hid and kept himselfe secret in a little house apart, where certaine chosen men of mine went to see him shewing themselues agreeued with him for the long delayes of his subiectes: whereunto he answered, that his subiectes were so much incensed against vs, that by no meanes possible he was able to keepe them in such obedience as he willingly would haue done, and that he could not hold them from waging of warre against Monsieur de Ottigny. That he also called to minde, that euen while he was prisoner, at what time our men ledde him into his Countrey to obtaine some victuals, he saw along the high wayes arrowes stucke vp, at the endes whereof long haires were fastened, which was a certaine signe of open warre proclaimed, which arrowes the Captaine also carried with him to the fort. He said further that in respect of the good will he bare to the Captaine, he forewarned his Lieutenant that his subiectes were determined to cut downe the trees, and cause them to fall a thwart the little riuer where the boates were, to keepe them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their ease, and that if it thus fell out, he assured him for

his part he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And that which much more augmented the suspition of warre was, that as my messengers departed from Vtina, they heard the voyce of one of my men which during the voyage had alwayes beene among the Indians, and whom as yet they would neuer render, vntill they had gotten their pledges home. This poore fellow cryed out amaine because two Indians would haue carried him into the woods to haue cut his throat: whereupon he was succoured and deliuered. These admonitions being well vnderstoode, after ripe deliberation thereof Monsieur de Ottigny resolued to retire himselfe the seuen and twentieth of Iuly. Wherefore he set his souldiers in order, and deliuered to ech of them a sacke full of mill: and afterward hee marched toward his barkes, thinking to preuent the enterprise of the sauages. There is at the comming forth of the village a great alley about three or foure hundred paces long, which is couered on both sides with great trees. My Lieutentent disposed his men in this alley and set them in such order as they desired to march: for he was well assured that if there were any ambush, it would be at the comming out of the trees. Therefore he caused Monsieur de Arlac mine Ensigne to march some what before with 8 harquebusiers to discouer whether there were any danger; besides he commanded one of my Sergeants and Corporals to march on the out side of the alley with foure harquebusiers while he himselfe conducted the rest of his company through it. Now as he suspected, so it fell out: for Monsieur de Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which saluted him with an infinite number of their arrowes, and with such furie that it was easie to see with what desire they sought to charge vs. Howbeit they were so well sustained in the first assault which mine Ensigne gaue them, that they which fell downe dead, did somewhat abate the choler of those which remained aliue. This done my Lieutenant hasted to gaine ground in such sort as I haue already said. After he had marched about foure hundred paces, he was charged afresh

with a newe troope of Sauages which were in number about 300, which assayled him before, while the rest of the former set vpon him behind. This second assault was so valiantly sustained, that I may iustly say that Monsieur de Ottigny so well discharged his dutie as was possible for a good Captaine to doe. And so it stood them vpon: for he had to deal with such kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knewe so well to behaue themselues in this conflict, as if Ottigny had not preuented their practise, he had beene in danger to haue beene defeated. Their maner in this fight was, that when two hundred had shot, they retyred themselues and gaue place to the rest that were behind, and all the while had their eye and foote so quicke and readie, that assoone as euer they saw the harquebuze laide to the cheeke, so soone were they on the ground, and eftsoone vp to answere with their bowes and to flie their way, if by chance they perceiued we went about to take them: for there is nothing that they feare so much, because of our swords and daggers. This conflict continued and lasted from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntill the night departed them. And if Ottigny had not bethought himselfe to cause his men to breake the arrowes which they found in their way, and so to depriue the Sauages of the meanes to beginne againe, without all doubt he should haue had very much to do: for by this mean they lacked arrowes, and so were constrayned to retire themselues. During the time of the conflict they cryed and made signes that they were the Captaines and Lieutenants friends: and that they fought for none other cause but to be reuenged on the Souldiers, which were their mortall enemies. My Lieutenant being come vnto his boates tooke a reuiew of his companie, and found two men wanting which were killed, of whom the one was called Iames Sale, and the others name was Mesurer. He found moreouer 22 of them wounded, which with much adoe he caused to be brought vnto the boates. All the mill that he found among his company came but to two mens burdens, which he deuided

equally among them. For assoone as the conflict began, euery man was constrained to leaue his sacke to put his hand to his weapon. In this meane while I remained at the Forte, and caused euery man diligently to trauell, hoping that my Lieutenant would bring vs victuals. But seeing the time consume away, I began to suspect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was assured immediately after at their returne. Seeing therefore mine hope frustrate on that side, I made my prayer vnto God, and thanked him of his grace which hee had shewed vnto my poore souldiers which were escaped: Afterward I thought vpon newe meanes to obtaine victuals, aswell for our returne into France, as to driue out the time vntill our embarking. I was aduertised by certaine of our company, which vsually went on hunting into the woods and through the villages, that in the village Sarauahi situated on the other side of the riuer, and two leagues distant from the Forte, and in the village Emoloa there were fields wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was thereof in those partes in great abundance. Wherefore I caused my boates to be made ready, and sent my Sergeant thither with certaine Souldiers which vsed such diligence, that wee had great store of mill. I sent also to the Riuer which the Sauages call Iracana, named by Captaine Ribault the Riuer of Somme, where Captaine Vasseur and my Sergeant arriued with two boates and their ordinary furniture, and found there a great assembly of the Lords of the Countrey, among whome was Athore the sonne of Satourioua, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, which were there assembled to make merrie: because in this place are the fairest maids and women of the countrey. Captaine Vasseur in my name gaue certaine small trifles to all the Lords, to the Queene, to the maids and women of the villages. Wherevpon the boates were foorthwith laden with mill, after they had made our men as good cheere as they could deuise. The Queene sent me two small Mats so artificially wrought as it was vnpossible to make better. Nowe finding ourselues by this meane sufficiently furnished with victuals, we beganne each of vs in his place, to

trauaile and vse such diligence, as the desire to see our natiue countrey might mooue vs. But because two of our Carpenters were slaine by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned) Iohn de Hais, master Carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired vnto me and tolde me that by reasom of want of men hee was not able to make me vp the ship against the time that he had promised me: which speech caused a mutinie among the souldiers that very hardly he escaped killing: howbeit I appeased them as well as I could, and determined to worke no more from thencefoorth vpon the shippe, but to content our selues to repaire the Brigandine which I had. So we began to beate downe all the houses that were without the Fort, and caused coles to be made of the timber thereof: likewise the souldiers beate downe the pallisade which was toward the waters side, neither was I euer able to keepe them from doing it. I had also determined to beat downe the Fort before my departure and to set it on fire, for feare least some new-come guest should haue enioyed and possessed it. In the meane while there was none of vs to whom it was not an extreme griefe to leaue a countrey, wherein wee had endured so great trauailes and necessities, to discouer that which we must forsake through our owne countreymens deficit. For if wee had bene succoured in time and place, and according to the promise that was made vnto vs, the warre which was betweene vs and Vtina, had not fallen out, neither should wee haue had occasion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie, aswell with merchandise and apparel, as with promise of greater matters, and with whom I so behaued myself, that although sometimes I was constrained to take victuals in some few villages, yet I lost not the alliance of eight Kings and Lords my neighbours, which continually succoured and ayded me with whatsoeuer they were able to afford. Yea this was the principall scope of all my purposes, to winne and entertaine them, knowing how greatly their amitie might aduance our enterprise, and principally while I discouered

the commodities of the countrey, and sought to strengthen my selfe therein. I leaue it to your cogitation to thinke how neere it went to our hearts, to leaue a place abounding in riches (as we were throughly enformed thereof) in comming whereunto, and doing seruice vnto our Prince, we left our owne countrey, wiues, children, parents, and friends, and passed the perils of the sea and were therein arriued, as in a plentifull treasure of all our hearts desire. As ech of vs were much tormented in minde with these or such like cogitations, the third of August I descried foure sayles in the sea, as I walked vpon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apaid: I sent immediately one of them which were with me to aduertise those of the Fort thereof, which were so glad of those newes, that one would haue thought them to bee out of their wittes to see them laugh and leape for ioy. After these ships had cast anker, we descried that they sent one of their ship boates to land: whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed with diligence to send to meete them, and to know who they were. In the meane while, fearing lest they were Spaniards, I set my souldiers in order and in readinesse, attending the returne of Captaine Vasseur and my Lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, which brought me word that they were Englishmen: and in trueth they had in their company one whose name was Martine Atinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their seruice, which on the behalfe of Master Iohn Hawkins their Generall came to request mee that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in great neede, signifying vnto me that they had bene aboue fifteene dayes on the coast to get some. Hee brought vnto mee from the Generall two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheate: which greatly refreshed me, forasmuch as for seuen moneths space I neuer tasted a drop of wine: neuerthelesse it was all diuided among the greatest part of my souldiers. This Martine Atinas had guided the Englishmen vnto our coast, wherewith he was acquainted: for in the yeere 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore

the Generall sent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his request, hee signified the same vnto the Generall, which the next day following caused one of his small shippes to enter into the riuer, and came to see me in a great shipboate, accompanied with gentlemen honourably apparelled, yet vnarmed. He sent for great store of bread and wine, to distribute thereof to euery one: On my part I made him the best cheere I could possibly, and caused certaine sheepe and poultry to be killed, which vntill this present I had carefully preserued hoping store the countrey withall. For notwithstanding all the necessities and sicknesse that happened vnto me, I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed: by which meanes in a short time I had gathered together aboue an hundred pullets. Nowe three dayes passed, while the English General remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to see him, and asked me whether he were my brother: I tolde him he was so, and signified vnto them, that he was come to see me and ayde me with so great store of victuals, that from thence forward I should haue no neede to take any thing of them. The bruite hereof incontinently was spread ouer all the countrey, in such sort as Ambassadours came vnto me from all parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their masters desired to make alliance with me: and euen they, which before sought to make warre against me, came to offer their friendship and seruice vnto me: Whereupon I receiued them and gratified them with certaine presents. The General immediately vnderstood the desire and vrgent occasion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offred to transport me and all my company home: whereunto notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occasion he made so large an offer. For I knewe not how the case stood betweene the French and the English: and although hee promised me on his faith to put mee on land in France, before hee would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt least he would attempt somewhat in Florida in the name of his mistresse. Wherfore I flatly refused his offer: whereupon there

arose a great mutinie among my souldiers, which sayd that I sought to destroy them all, and that the Brigandine, wherof I spake before, was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the yeere wherein wee were. The bruite and mutiny increased more and more: for after that the Generall was returned to his ships, he told certaine gentlemen and souldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheere with him, hee declared, I say vnto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we should be able to passe safely in those vessels which we had: and that in case we should enterprise the same, we should no doubt be in great ieopardy: notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leaue me a small ship to transport the rest. The souldiers were no sooner come home, but they signified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently consented together that in case I would not accept the same, they would embarke themselues with him and forsake mee, so that he would receiue them according to his promise. They therefore assembled themselues all together and came to seeke me in my chamber, and signified vnto me their intention, wherunto I promised to answere within one houre after. In which meane space I gathered together the principall members of my company, which after I had broken the matter with them, answered me all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuse this offer, nor contemne the occasion which presented it selfe, and that they could not thinke euill of it in France, if being forsaken, as we were, we aided our selues with such means as God had sent vs. After sundry debatings of this matter, in conclusion I gaue mine aduise, that wee ought to deliuer him the price of the ship which he was to leaue vs, and that for my part I was content to giue him the best of my stuffe, and the siluer which I had gathered in the countrey. Wherupon notwithstanding it was determined that I should keepe the siluer, for feare lest the Queene of England seeing the same, should the rather bee encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired: that it

was far better to carie it into France to giue encouragement vnto our Princes not to leaue off an enterprise of so great importance for our commonwealth, and that seeing wee were resolued to depart, it was farre better to giue him our Artillerie, which otherwise we should be constrained to leaue behinde vs, or to hide it in the ground by reason of the weakenesse of our men, being not able to embarke the same. This point being thus concluded and resolued on, I went myselfe vnto the English Generall, accompanied with my Lieutenant, and Captaine Vasseur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the Pilot, and my Sergeant, all men of experience in such affaires, and knowing sufficiently how to driue such a bargaine. We therefore tooke a view of the ship which the Generall would sell, whom we drew to such reason, that he was content to stand to mine owne mens iudgement, who esteemed it to be worth seuen hundreth crownes, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I deliuered him in earnest of the summe, two bastards, two mynions, one thousand of iron, and one thousand of powder. This bargain thus made, he considered the necessity wherin we were, hauing for all our sustenance but mill and water: wherupon being mooued with pitie, he offered to relieue me with 20 barels of meale, sixe pipes of beanes, one hogshead of salt, and a hundred of waxe to make candels. Moreouer forasmuch as he sawe my souldiers goe bare foote, he offered me besides fifty paires of shoes, which I accepted and agreed of a price with him, and gaue him a bill of mine hand for the same, for which vntill this present I am indebted to him. He did more then this: for particularly he bestowed vpon my selfe a great iarre of oyle, a iarre of viniger, a barrell of Oliues, and a great quantitie of Rice, and a barrell of white Biscuit. Besides he gaue diuers presents to the principall Officers of my company according to their qualities: so that I may say that we receiued as many courtesies of the Generall as it were possible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtlesse he hath wonne the reputation of a good and charitable man, deseruing to be esteemed asmuch

of vs all as if he had saued all our liues. Incontinent after his departure I spared no paine to hasten my men to make biscuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hoope my caske to take in water needfull for the voyage. A man may well thinke what diligence we vsed, in respect of the great desire we had to depart, wherein we continued so well that the fifteenth day of August the biscuit, the greatest part of our water, and all the souldiers stuffe was brought aboord: so that from that day forward wee did nothing but stay for good windes to driue vs to France: which had freed vs from an infinite number of mischiefes which afterward we suffred, if they had come as we desired: but it was not Gods good pleasure, as shall appeare hereafter. Being thus in readinesse to set sayle, we bethought ourselues that it would doe well to bring certaine men and women of the countrey into France, to the ende that if this voyage should be taken in hand againe they might declare vnto their Kings the greatnesse of our King, the excellencie of our Princes, the goodnesse of our Countrey, and the maner of liuing of the Frenchmen: and that they might also learne our language, to serue our turnes thereby in time to come. Wherein I tooke so good order, that I found meanes to bring away with me the goodliest persons of all the countrey, if our intentions had succeeded as I hoped they would haue done. In the mean season the Kings my neighbours came often to see and visite me: which, that after they vnderstoode that I would returne into France, demaunded of mee whether I meant to returne againe or no, and whether it should be in short time. I signified vnto them that within tenne Moones (so they call their Moneths) I would visite them againe with such force, that I would be able to make them Conquerors ouer all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leaue them my house, that I would forbid my souldiers to beate downe the Fort and their lodgings, and that I would leaue them a boate to ayde them withall in their warre against their enemies. Which I made as though I would grant vnto them, to the ende I might alwaies remaine their friend

vntil my last departure.

The third voyage of the Frenshmen made by Captaine Iohn Ribault vnto Florida.

The arriual of Captaine Iohn Ribault at the Fort the 28 of August 1565.

As I was thus occupied in these conferences, the winde and the tide serued well to set sayle, which was the eight and twentieth of August, at which instant Captaine Vasseur which commanded in one of my shippes, and Captaine Verdier which was chiefe in the other, now ready to goe foorth, began to descry certaine sayles at sea, whereof they aduertised mee with diligence: whereupon I appointed to arme foorth a boate in good order to goe and discrie and know what they were. I sent also to the Centinels, which I caused to be kept on a little knappe, to cause certaine men to climbe vp to the toppe of the highest trees the better to discouer them. They descried the great boate of the shippes, which as yet they could not perfectly discerne, which as farre as they could iudge, seemed to chase my boate, which by this time was passed the barre of the riuer: so that we could not possibly iudge whether they were enemies which would haue caried her away with them: for it was too great a ken to iudge the trueth thereof. Vpon this doubt I put my men in order and in such array as though they had beene enemies: and in deede I had great occasion to mistrust the same: for my boate came vnto their ship about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and sent me no newes all that day long to put me out of doubt who they should be. The next day in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke I saw seuen boates (among which mine owne was one) full of souldiers enter into the riuer, hauing euery man his harquebuze and morion on his head, which marched all in battaile along the cliffes where my centinels were, to whom they would make no kind of answere, notwithstanding all the demandes that were made vnto them, insomuch as one of my souldiers was constrained to bestowe a shot at them without

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doing hurt neuerthelesse to any of them, by reason of the distance betweene him and the boates. The report hereof being made vnto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend ourselues, if they had beene enemies, as in trueth we thought them to haue bene: likewise I caused two small field pieces which I had left me, to be trimmed in such sort, as if in approching to the Fort they had not cryed that it was Captaine Ribault, I had not failed to haue discharged the same vpon them. Afterward I vnderstoode that the cause why they entred in this maner, proceeded of the false reports which had bene made vnto mine Lord Admirall by those which were returned into France in the first shippes. For they had put in his head, that I played the Lord and the King, and that I would hardly suffer that any other saue my selfe should enter in thither to gouerne there. Thus we see how the good name of the most honest is oftentimes assayled by such, as hauing no meanes to win themselues credit by vertuous and laudable endeauours, thinke by debasing of other mens vertues to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which neuerthelesse is one of the most notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of warre which are placed in gouernment. For it is very hard yea vtterly vnpossible, that in gouerning of a company of men gathered out of diuers places and sundry Nations, and namely [510] such as we know them to be in our warres, it is, I say, vnpossible but there will be alwayes some of euil conditions and hard to be ruled, which easily conceiue an hatred against him, which by admonitions and light corrections endeauoureth to reduce them to the discipline of warre. For they seeke nothing else, but for a small occasion grounded vpon a light pretext to sound into the eares of great lords that which mischieuously they haue contriued against those, whose execution of iustice is odious vnto them. And albeit I will not place my selfe in the ranke of great and renowmed Captaines, such as liued in times passed, yet we may iudge by their examples, how hurtfull backbiters haue beene vnto

False reports of Laudonniere to the Admirall of France.

The danger of back-biting.

Alcibiades banished by backbiters.

commonwealths. I will onely take Alcibiades for witnesse in the commonwealth of the Athenians, which by this meane was cast into banishment, whereupon his citizens felt the smart of an infinite number of mischiefes: insomuch as in the end they were constrained to call him home againe, and acknowledge at length the fault they had committed in forgetting his good seruices, and rather beleeuing a false report, then hauing had regard vnto so many of his notable exploits which in former time hee had atchieued. But that I loose not my selfe in digressing so farre in this my iustification, I will returne againe to my first course.

Laudonnieres receiuing of Captaine Ribault.

Being therfore aduertised that it was Captaine Ribault, I went foorth of the Fort to goe to meete him, and to do him all the honour I could by any means, I caused him to be welcommed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my shot whereunto he answered with his. Afterward being come on shore and receiued honourably with ioy, I brought him to my lodging, reioycing not a little because that in his company I knew a good number of my friends, which I intreated in the best sorte that I was able, with such victuall as I could get in the countrey, and that small store which I had left me, with that which I had of the English Generall. Howbeit I marueiled not a little when as all of them with one voyce began to vtter vnto me these or the like speeches. My Captaine, we praise God that we haue found you aliue, and chiefly because we know that the reports which haue beene made of you are false. These speeches mooued me in such sort, that I would needes out of hand know more, mistrusting some euill. Wherefore hauing accosted Captaine Iohn Ribault, and going both of vs aside [511] together out of the Fort, he signified vnto me the charge which he had, praying mee not to returne into France, but to stay with him my selfe and my company, and assured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replyed that out of this place I would do him all seruice: that for the present I could not nor ought not to accept this offer, since he was come for no other intent then to occupie the place

which I before possessed, that I could haue no credite to be there commanded: that my friends would neuer like of it, and that he would hardly giue me that counsaile, if in good earnest I should demand his aduise therein. He made me answere that he would not command me, that we should be companions, and that he would build another fortresse and that he would leaue mine owne vnto me. This notwithstanding I fully aduertised him that I could not receiue a greater comfort then the newes which he brought me to returne into France: and farther that though I should stay there, yet it must needes be that one of vs both was to command with title of the Kings Lieutenant, that this could not well agree together: that I had rather haue it cast in my teeth to be the poorest begger in the world, then to be commanded in that place, where I had endured so much to inhabite and plant there, if it were not by some great Lord or Knight of the order: and that in these respects I prayed him very hartily to deliuer me the letters which my Lord Admirall had written vnto me, which he performed.

The contents of those letters were these.

Letters of the Lord Admirall vnto Laudonniere.

Captaine Laudonniere, because some of them which are returned from Florida speake indifferently of the Countrey, the King desireth your presence, to the end, that according to your tryall, he may resolue to bestow great cost thereon, or wholly to leaue it: and therefore I send Captaine Iohn Ribault to bee gouernour there, to whom you shall deliuer whatsoeuer you haue in charge, and informe him of all things you haue discouered. And in a postscript of the letter was thus written. Thinke not, that whereas I send for you, it is for any euill opinion or mistrust that I haue of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit, and assure your selfe that during my life you shall find me your good Master.

CHASTILLON.

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Accusations against him.

Now after I had long discoursed with Captaine Ribault, Captaine la Grange accosted mee, and told me of an infinite number

of false reports which had bene made of mee to my great hinderance: and among other things he informed me, that my Lord Admirall tooke it very euill that I had caried a woman with mee: likewise that some bodie had tolde him that I went about to counterfeit the King, and to play the tyrant: that I was too cruell vnto the men that went with mee: that I sought to be aduanced by other meanes then by my Lord Admirall: and that I had written to many Lords of the Court, which I ought not to haue done. Whereunto I answered, that the woman was a poore chambermayd, which I had taken vp in an Inne, to ouersee my houshold businesse, to looke to an infinite sort of diuers beasts, as sheepe and poultrie which I caried ouer with me to store the countrey withall: that it was not meete to put a man to attend this businesse: likewise, considering the length of the time that I was to abide there, mee thought it should not offend any body to take a woman with me, aswell to help my souldiers in their sickenesses, as in mine owne, whereinto I fell afterward. And how necessary her seruice was for vs, ech one at that time might easily perceiue: That all my men thought so well of her, that at one instant there were sixe or seuen which did demand her of mee in mariage; as in very deede one of them had her after our returne. Touching that which was sayd that I playd the King, these reports were made, because I would not beare with any thing which was against the duety of my charge, and the Kings seruice. Moreouer, that in such enterprises it is necessary for a Gouernour to make himselfe knowen and obeyed, for feare least euery body would become a master, perceiuing themselues far from greater forces. And that if the tale-tellers called this rigour, it rather proceeded of their disobedience, then of my nature lesse subiect to cruelty then they were to rebellion. For the two last points, that I had not written to any of the Lords of the Court but by the aduice and commandement of my Lord Admirall, which willed me at my departure to send part of such things as I should find in the countrey vnto the Lords of the Counsel: to the end that

Laudonnieres answere thereunto.

being mooued by this meane, they might deale with the Queene mother for the continuance of this enterprise: that hauing bene so small time in the countrey, continually hindred with building of fortresses, and vnlading of my ships, I was not able to come [513] by any newe or rare things to send them, wherupon I thought it best to content them in the meane while with letters, vntill such time as I might haue longer space to search out the Countrey, and might recouer something to sende them: the distribution of which letters I meant not otherwise but to referre to my Lord Admirals good pleasure: that if the bearer had forgot himselfe so farre, as that he had broken the couering of the letters, and presented them himselfe for hope of gaine, it was not my commandement. And that I neuer honoured noble man so much, nor did to any man more willing and faithfull seruice then to my Lord Admirall, nor euer sought aduancement but by his meanes. You see how things passed for this day. The next day the Indians came in from all parts, to know what people these were: to whom I signified that this was he which in the yeere 1562. arriued in this countrey, and erected the pillar which stood at the entrie of the riuer. Some of them knew him: for in trueth he was easie to be knowen by reason of the great bearde which he ware. He receiued many presents of them which were of the villages neere adioyning, among whom there were some that he had not yet forgotten. The kings Homoloa, Serauahi, Alimacani, Malica, and Casti came to visit him and welcome him with diuers gifts according to their manner. I aduertised them that hee was sent thither by the king of France, to remaine there in my roome, and that I was sent for. Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might stand with his good pleasure, to cause the merchandise that hee had brought with him to be deliuered them, and that in fewe daies they would bring him to the mountaines of Apalatcy, whither they promised to conduct me, and that in case they performed not their promise, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In those mountaines, as they sayd, is found redde copper, which they call in their

Five Indian kings.

The mountaines of Apalatcy wherein are mines of perfect gold. Sieroa Pira red mettall.

language Sieroa Pira, which is as much to say as red mettall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very instant I shewed to Captaine Ribault, which caused his gold-finer to make an assay thereof, which reported vnto him that it was perfect golde. About the time of these conferences, commings and goings of the kings of the countrey, being weakened with my former trauaile, and fallen into a melancholy vpon the false reports that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall feuer, which held me eight or nine dayes: during which time Captaine Ribault caused his victuals to be brought on shore, and bestowed the most part thereof in the house which my lieutenant had built about two hundred pases without the forte: which hee did to the ende they might bee the better defended from the weather, and likewise to the intent that the meale might bee neerer to the bake-house, which I had built of purpose in that place, the better to auoide the danger of the fire, as I sayd before. But loe howe oftentimes misfortune doth search and pursue vs, euen then when we thinke to be at rest! loe see what happened after that captaine Ribault had brought vp three of his small ships into the riuer, which was the fourth of September! Sixe great Spanish ship arriued in the rode, where foure of our greatest ships remained, which cast anker, assuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chiefe captaines of the enterprise did, and called them by all their names and surnames. I report me to you if it could be otherwise but these men before they went out of Spaine must needs be informed of the enterprise and of those that were to execute the same. About the breake of day they began to make toward our men: but our men which trusted them neuer a deale, had hoysed their sayles by night, being ready to cut the strings that tyed them. Wherefore perceiuing that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to doe them any pleasure and knowing wel that their furniture was too smal to make head against them, because that the most part of their men were on shore, they cut their cables, left their ankers, and set saile. The Spaniards seeing

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Good meanes to auoid the danger of fire.

The Spaniards undermining and surprizing of the French.

themselues discouered, lent them certaine volleis of their great ordinance, made saile after them, and chased them all day long: but our men got way of them still toward the sea. And the Spaniards seeing they could not reach them, by reason that the French ships were better of saile then theirs, and also because they would not leaue the coast, turned backe and went on shore in the riuer Seloy,[122] which we cal the riuer of Dolphines 8 or 10 leagues distant from the place where we were. Our men therefore finding themselues better of saile then they, followed them to discry what they did, which after they had done, they returned [515] vnto the riuer of May, where Captaine Ribault hauing descried them, embarked himselfe in a great boat to know what newes they had. Being at the entry of the riuer he met with the boat of captaine Cousets ship, wherin there was a good number of men which made relation vnto him of all the Spaniards doings: and how the great ship named the Trinitie had kept the sea, and that she was not returned with them. They told him moreouer that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the riuer of Dolphins, and the other three remained in the rode; farther that they had put their souldiers, their victuals and munition on land. After he vnderstood these newes hee returned to the fortresse, and came to my chamber where I was sick, and there in the presence of the Captaines, La Grange, S. Marie, Ottigny, Visty, Yonuille, and other gentlemen, he propounded, that it was necessary for the kings seruice, to embarke himselfe with all his forces, and with the three ships that were in the rode to seeke the Spanish fleete, whereupon he asked our aduise. I first replyed, and shewed vnto him the consequence of such an enterprise, aduertising him among other things of the perilous flawes of windes that rise on this coast, and that if it chanced that hee were driuen from the shore, it would be very hard for him to recouer it againe, that in the meane while they which should stay in the Forte should be

[122] *Marginal note*.—The Riuer Seloy or the riuer of Dolphins but 8 or 10 leagues ouer land from the fort: but it is thirty doubling the Cape by sea.

in feare and danger. The Captaines, Saint Marie, and La Grange declared vnto him farther, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprise in execution, that it was farre better to keepe the land, and do their best indeuour to fortifie themselues: And that after that the Trinitie (which was the principall ship) were returned, there would be much more likelyhood to enterprise this voyage. This notwithstanding he resolued to vndertake it, and that which more is, after he vnderstoode by king Emola, one of our neighbours which arriued vpon the handling of these matters, that the Spaniards in great numbers were gone on shore, which had taken possession of the houses of Seloy, in the most part whereof they had placed their Negroes, which they had brought to labour, and also lodged themselues and had cast diuers trenches about them. Thus for the considerations which he had, and doubting (as he might well doe) that the Spanyards would encampe themselues there to molest vs, and in the ende to chase vs out of the Countrey, he resolued and continued in his embarkment, caused a Proclamation to be made, that all souldiers that were vnder his charge should presently with their weapons embarke them, and that his two ensignes should march: which was put in execution. He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my Lieuteuant, mine ensigne, and my sergeant, and to let all my good souldiers, which I had, goe with him, which I denied him, because my selfe being sicke, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon he answered me that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would returne the morrow after, that in the meane space Monsieur de Lys should stay behind to looke to all things. Then I shewed vnto him that he was chiefe in this Countrey, and that I for my part had no further authoritie: that therefore hee would take good aduisement what hee did, for feare least some inconuenience might ensue. Then he tolde me that he could doe no lesse, then to continue this enterprise, and that in the letter which he had receiued from my Lord Admirall, there was a postcript, which hee shewed mee written in these

wordes: Captain Iohn Ribault, as I was enclosing vp this letter, I receiued a certaine aduice, that Don Pedro Melendes departeth from Spaine to goe to the coast of Newe France: see you that you suffer him not to encroch vpon you, no more then he would that you should encroch vpon him. You see (quoth he) the charge that I haue, and I leaue it vnto your selfe to iudge, if you could do any lesse in this case, considering the certaine aduertisement that we haue, that they are already on lande, and will inuade vs. This stopped my mouth. Thus therefore confirmed or rather obstinate in this enterprise, and hauing regard rather vnto his particular opinion then vnto the aduertisements which I had giuen him, and the inconueniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himselfe the eight of September, and tooke mine ensigne and eight and thirtie of my men away with him. I report mee to those that know what warres meane, if when an ensigne marcheth, any souldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind, to forsake his ensigne: Thus no man of commandement stayed behind with mee, for ech one followed him as chiefe, in whose name straight after his arriuall, all cries and proclamations were made. Captaine Grange, which liked not very well of this enterprise, was vnto the tenth of the month with mee and would not haue gone aborde, if it had not beene for the instant requestes that Captaine Ribault made vnto him, which staid two dayes in the rode attending vntill La Grange was come vnto him; who being come abord, they set sayle altogether, and from that time forward I neuer saw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the tenth of September, there arose so great a tempest accompanied with such stormes, that the Indians themselues assured me that it was the worst weather that euer was seene on the coast: wherevpon two or three dayes after, fearing least our shippes might be in some distresse, I sent for Monsieur du Lys vnto mee, to take order to assemble the rest of our people to declare vnto them what neede wee had to fortifie our selues: which was done accordingly: and then I gaue them to

vnderstand the necessity and inconueniences whereinto we were like to fall, aswel by the absence of our ships, as by the neernesse of the Spanyards, at whose hand we could looke for no lesse then an open and sufficient proclaimed war, seeing that they had taken land and fortified themselues so neere vnto us. And if any misfortune were fallen vnto our men which were at Sea, we ought to make a full account with ourselves that wee were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many wayes afflicted as we were. Thus euery one promised mee to take paines: and therefore considering that their proportion of victuals was small and that so continuing, they would not be able to doe any great worke, I augmented their allowance: although that after the arriuall of Captaine Ribault my portion of victuals was allotted vnto mee as vnto a common souldier, neither was I able to giue so much as part of a bottell of wine to any man which deserued it: for I was so farre from hauing meanes to doe so, that the Captaine himselfe tooke two of my boates, wherein the rest of the meale was, which was left me of the biscuits which I caused to bee made to returne into France: so that if I should say that I receiued more fauour at the handes of the Englishmen, beeing Strangers vnto mee, I should say but a trueth. Wee beganne therefore to fortifie our selues and to repaire that which was broken downe, principally toward the water side, where I caused three score foote of trees to be planted, to repaire the Palissado with the plankes which I caused to bee taken of the ship that I had builded. Neuerthelesse notwithstanding all our diligence and truaille, wee were neuer able fully to repaire it by reason of the stormes which commonly did vs so great annoy, that wee could not finish our inclosure. Perceiuing myselfe in such extremitie I tooke a muster of the men, which captaine Ribault had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapon: I found nine or tenne whereof not past two or three had euer drawen sword out of the scabbard, as I thinke. Let them which haue bene bold to say, that I had men ynough left me, so that I

had meanes to defend my selfe, giue eare a little vnto mee, and if they haue eyes in their heads, let them see what men I had. Of the nine there were foure but yong striplings, which serued Captaine Ribault and kept his dogs, the fift was a cooke: among those that were without the fort, and which were of the foresaid company of Captaine Ribault, there was a Carpenter of threescore yeeres olde, one a Beere brewer, one olde Crosse-bowe maker, two Shoomakers, and foure or fiue men that had their wiues, a player on the virginals, two seruants of Monsieur du Lys, one of Monsieur de Beauhaire, one of Monsieur de la Grange, and about fourescore and fiue or sixe in all, counting aswel Lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troupe so sufficient to defend themselues, and so couragious as they haue esteemed them to be: and for my part I leaue it to others consideration to imagine whether Captaine Ribault woulde haue left them with me to haue borrowed my men, if they had bene such. Those that were left me of mine owne company were about sixeteene or seuenteene that coulde beare armes, and all of them poore and leane: the rest were sicke and maymed in the conflict which my Lieutenant had against Vtina. This view being taken, wee set our watches, whereof wee made two Centinels, that the Souldiers might haue one night free. Then wee bethought our selues of those which might bee most sufficient, among whome wee choose two, one of whom was named Monsieur Saint Cler, and the other Monsieur de la Vigne, to whom we deliuered candles and Lanterns to goe round about the fort to viewe the watch because of the foule and foggie weather. I deliuered them also a sandglasse or clocke, that the Centinels might not be troubled more one then another. In the meane while I ceased not, for all the foule weather nor my sickenesse which I had, to ouersee the Corps de garde. The night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth of September La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he vsed all endeauour, although it rayned without ceasing. When the day was therefore come, and that he saw that it rayned still

worse then it did before, hee pitied the Centinels so too moyled and wette: and thinking the Spanyardes would not haue come in such a strange time, hee let them depart, and to say the trueth, he went himselfe vnto his lodging. In the meane while one which had something to doe without the fort, and my trumpet which went vp vnto the rampart perceiued a troupe of Spanyards which came downe from a little knappe. Where incontinently they beganne to cry alarme, and the Trumpetter also: Which assoone as euer I vnderstoode, foorthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and gatte mee into the middest of the Court, where I beganne to crie vpon my souldiers. Some of them which were of the forward sort went toward the breach, which was on the Southside, and where the munitions of the artillerie lay, where they were repulsed and slaine. By the selfe same place two ensignes entred, which immediately were planted on the wals. Two other ensignes also entred on the other side toward the West, where there was another breach: and those which were lodged in this quarter, and which shewed themselues, were likewise defeated. And as I went to succour them which were defending the breach on the southwest side, I encountred by chance a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men and were now entred, which draue me backe vnto the court of the fort: being there I espied with them one called Francis Iean, which was one of the Mariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spanyards thither. Assoone as he sawe me, he began to say, This is the Captaine. This troupe was led by a captaine whose name as I thinke, was Don Pedro Melendes: these made certain pushes at me with their pikes which lighted on my target. But perceiuing that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already wonne, and their ensignes planted on the ramparts, and that I had neuer a man about me, sauing one only whose name was Bartholomew, I entred into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not bene for a tent that was set vp, I had bin

taken: but the Spanyards which followed me were occupied in cutting of the cordes of the tent, and in the meane while I saued my selfe by the breach which was on the West side neere vnto my Lieutenants lodging, and gate away into the woods: where I found certain of my men which were escaped, of which number there were three or foure which were sore hurt. Then spake I thus vnto them: Sirs, since it hath pleased God that this mischance is happened vnto vs, we must needs take the paines to get ouer the marshes vnto the ships which are at the mouth of the riuer. Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods, the rest followed me through the reedes in the water, where being able to go no farther by reason of my sicknesse which I had, I sent two of my men which were with me, which could swim well, vnto the ships to aduertise them of that which had happened, and to send them word to come and helpe me. They were not able that day to get vnto the ships to certifie them thereof: so I was constrained to stand in the water vp to the shoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would neuer forsake me. The next morning, being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betooke me to my prayers with the souldier which was with mee, whose name was Iohn du Chemin: for I felt my selfe so feeble, that I was afraid I should die suddenly: and in trueth if he had not imbraced me in both his armes, and so held me vp, it had not bene possible to saue me. After we had made an ende of our prayers, I heard a voyce, which in my iudgement was one of theirs which I had sent, which were ouer against the ships and called for the ship boat, which was so in deed: and because those of the ships had vnderstanding of the taking of the fort by one called Iohn de Hais, master Carpenter, which fled vnto them in a shallop; they had set saile to run along the coast to see if they might saue any: wherin doubtlesse they did very well their endeuour. They went straight to the place where the two men were which I had sent, and which called them. Assoone as they had receiued them in and vnderstood where I was, they

came and found me in a pitifull case. Fiue or sixe of them tooke me and caried me into the shallop: for I was not able by any means to go on foot. After I was brought into the shallop some of the Mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would haue caried me presently to their ships to giue me a little Aqua vitae. Howbeit I would not goe thither, vntill I had first gone with the boat along the reeds, to seeke out the poore soules which were scattered abroad, where we gathered vp 18 or 20 of them. The last that I took in was the nephew of the Treasurer le Beau. After we were al come to the ship, I comforted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat againe with speed to see if they could find yet any more. Vpon her returne, the Mariners told mee how that captaine Iames Ribault which was in his ship about two muskets shot distant from the fort, had parled with the Spaniards, and that Francis Iean came vnto his ship, where hee staied a long space, whereat they greatly marueiled, considering hee was the cause of this enterprise, how hee would let him escape. After I was come into the ship called the Greyhound, captaine Iames Ribault and captaine Valuot came to see me: and there we concluded to returne into France. Now forasmuch as I found the ship vnfurnished of Captaine, Pilot, Master, and Masters-mate, I gaue aduice to choose out one of the most able men among al the mariners, and that by their owne voices. I tooke also sixe men out of another small ship, which we had sunke because it wanted ballast and could not be saued. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I was myselfe embarked, and made one, which had bene Masters mate in the foresaid small ship, Master of mine. And because I lacked a pilot, I prayed Iames Ribault that he would grant me one of the foure men that he had in his ship, which I should name vnto him, to serue me for a Pilot: he promised to giue me them, which neuerthelesse he did not at the instant when wee were ready to depart, notwithstanding all the speech I vsed to him, in declaring that it was for the kings seruice. I was constrained

to leaue the ship behind me which I had bought of the English Captaine, because I wanted men to bring her away. For captaine Iames Ribault had taken away her furniture: I tooke away her ordinance onely, which was all dismounted, whereof I gaue nine pieces to Iames Ribault to carie into France, the other fiue I put into my ship. The 25 of September wee set sailes to returne into France, and Captain Iames Ribault and I kept company all that day and the next vntill three or foure a clock in the afternoone: but because his ship was better at bowline then ours, he kept him to the wind and left vs the same day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marueilous flawes of wind. And about the eight and twentieth of October in the morning at the breake of the day we discried the Isle of Flores, one of the Açores, where immediatly vpon our approching to the load we had a mightie gust of wind which came from the Northeast, which caused vs to beare against it foure dayes: afterward the wind came South and Southeast, and was alwayes variable. In all the time of our passage we had none other foode sauing biscuit and water. About the tenth or eleuenth of Nouember, after we had sailed a long time, and supposing we were not farre from land, I caused my men to sound, where they found threescore and fifteene fathoms water, whereat we all reioyced, and praised God because we had sailed so prosperously. Immediatly after I caused them to set saile again and so we continued our way: but forasmuch as we had borne too much toward the Northeast we entred into Saint Georges chanell, a place much feared of all Sailers, and whereas many ships are cast away: But it was a faire gift of God that we entred in it when the weather was cleare. We sailed all the night, supposing wee had bene shot into the narrow Sea betweene England and France, and by the next day to reach Diepe, but we were deceiued of our longing: for about two or three of the clocke after midnight as I walked vpon the hatches, I descried land round about me, whereat wee were astonied. Immediatly I caused them to strike saile and sound: we found we had not

vnder vs past 8 fathoms of water, whereupon I commanded them to stay till breake of day: which being come, and seeing my Mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approch vnto it. Being neere thereunto I made them cast anker, and sent the boat on shore to vnderstand in what Countrey we were. Word was brought me that we were in Wales a prouince of England. I went incontinently on land, where after I had taken the ayre, a sicknesse tooke mee whereof I thought I should haue dyed. In the meane while I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of a small towne called Swansey, where I found merchants of S. Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certaine apparel for my selfe and part of my company that was with me: and because there were no victuals in the ship, I bought two Oxen, and salted them, and a tunne of Beere which I deliuered into his hands which had charge of the ship, praying him to cary it into France, which he promised me to doe: for mine owne part I purposed with my men to passe by land, and after I had taken leaue of my Mariners, I departed from Swansey, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the Lord of the place, vnderstanding what I was, stayed me with him for the space of 6 or 7 dayes, and at my departure mooued with pitie to see me goe on foot, especially being so weake as I was, gaue me a litle Hackny. Thus I passed on my iourney first to Bristoll and then to London, where I went to doe my duty to Monsieur de Foix, which for the present was the kings Ambassador, and holpe me with mony in my necessitie. From thence I passed to Caleis, afterward to Paris, where I was informed that the king was gone to Molins to soiourne there: incontinently, and with all the hast I could possibly make, I gate me thither with part of my company. Thus briefly you see the discourse of all that happened in New France since the time it pleased the kings Maiesty to send his subiects thither to discouer those parts. The indifferent and vnpassionate readers may easily weigh the truth of my doings, and be vpright iudges of the endeuour which I there vsed. For

mine owne part I wil not accuse nor excuse any: it sufficeth mee to haue followed the trueth of the history, whereof many are able to beare witnesse, which were there present. I will plainly say one thing, That the long delay that Captaine Iohn Ribault vsed in his embarking, and the 15. daies that he spent in rouing along the coast of Florida, before he came to our fort Caroline, were the cause of the losse that we susteined. For he discouered the coast the 14 of August, and spent the time in going from riuer to riuer, which had bene sufficient for him to haue discharged his ships in, and for me to haue embarked my selfe to returne into France. I wote well that al that he did was vpon a good intent: yet in mine opinion he should haue had more regard vnto his charge, then to the deuises of his owne braine, which sometimes hee printed in his head so deeply, that it was very hard to put them out: which also turned to his vtter vndoing: for hee was no sooner departed from vs, but a tempest tooke him, which in fine wrackt him vpon the coast, where all his shippes were cast away, and he with much adoe escaped drowning, to fall into their hands which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

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The fourth voyage of the Frenchmen into Florida, vnder the conduct of Captaine Gourgues, in the yeere, 1567.

Captaine Gourgues a Gentleman borne in the Countrey neere Bourdeaux incited with a desire of reuenge, to repaire the honour of his nation, borowed of his friends and sold part of his owne goods to set forth and furnish three ships of indifferent burthen with all things necessary, hauing in them an hundred and fiftie souldiers, and fourescore chosen Mariners vnder Captaine Cazenoue his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois Master ouer the Mariners. He set forth the 22 of August 1567. And hauing

endured contrary winds and stormes for a season, at length hee arriued and went on shore in the Isle of Cuba. From thence he passed to the Cape of Saint Antony at the end of the Ile of Cuba, about two hundred leagues distant from Florida, where the captaine disclosed vnto them his intention which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leaue him being so neere the enemie, so well furnished, and in such a cause: which they all sware vnto him, and that with such courage that they would not stay the full Moone to passe the chanell of Bahama, but speedily discouered Florida, where the Spanyards saluted them with two Canon shot from their fort, supposing that they had beene of their nation; and Gourgues saluted them againe to entertaine them in this errour that hee might surprise them at more aduantage, yet sailing by them, and making as though he went to some other place vntil he sailed out of sight of the place, so that about euening, hee landed 15 leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the Riuer Tacatacourou, which the Frenchmen called Seine, because they thought it to bee like Seine in France. Afterward perceiuing the shore to bee couered with Sauages with their bowes and arrowes, (besides the signe of peace and amitie which he made them from his ships) he sent his Trumpetter, to assure them, that they were come thither for none other ende but to renew the amitie and ancient league of the French with them. The Trumpetter did his message so well (by reason he had bene there before vnder Laudonniere) that he brought backe from king Satourioua, the greatest of all the other kings, a kidde and other meat to refresh vs, besides the offer of his friendship and amitie. Afterward they retired dansing in signe of ioy, to aduertise all the kings Satouriouaes kinsmen to repaire thither the next day to make a league of amitie with the Frenchmen. Whereupon in the meane space our generall went about to sound the chanel of the riuer to bring in his ships, and the better to traffike and deale with the Sauages, of whom the chief the next day in the morning presented themselues, namely the great king

The chanell of Bahama betweene Florida and the Isles of Lucayos.

The Frenchmens landing at the riuer Tacatacourou.

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Satourioua, Tacatacourou, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopilé, Molloua, and others his kinsmen and allies, with their accustomed weapons. Then sent they to intreat the French generall to come on shore, which he caused his men to do with their swords and harquebusies, which he made them leaue behind, in token of mutuall assurance, leauing his men but their swords only, after that the Sauages complaining thereof had left and likewise sent away their weapons at the request of Gourgues. This done Satourioua going to meet him, caused him to sit on his right hand in a seat of wood of lentisque couered with mosse made of purpose like vnto his owne. Then two of the company pulled vp the brambles and other weeds which were before them, and after they had made the place very cleane, they all sate round about them on the ground. Afterward Gourgues being about to speake, Satourioua preuented him, declaring at large vnto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Sauages, their wiues and children had receiued of the Spanyards since their comming into the Countrey and massacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall desire if we would assist them throughly to reuenge so shame full a treason, aswell as their owne priuate griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne vnto the Frenchmen. Whereupon Gourgues giuing them his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gaue them certaine presents of daggers, kniues, looking glasses, hatchets, rings, belles, and such other things, trifles vnto vs, but precious vnto these kings: which moreouer, seeing his great liberality, demanded eche one a shirt of him to weaire onely on their festiuall dayes, and to be buried in at their death. Which things after they had receiued, and Satourioua had giuen in recompense to Captaine Gourgues two chaines of siluer graines which hung about his necke, and ech of the kings certaine deere skinnes dressed after their manner, they retired themselues dancing and very iocund, with promise to keep all things secret, and to bring vnto the sayd place good companies of their subiects all well [526]

Complaints of the Sauages against the Spanyards.

Peter de Bré had liued about two yeeres with Satourioua.

armed to be auenged throughly on the Spanyards. In the meane space Gourgues very narrowly examined Peter de Bré borne in Newhauen, which being but a young stripling escaped out of the fort into the woods while the Spanyards murdered the rest of the French, and was afterward brought vp with Satourioua, which at that time bestowed him on our generall, whose aduise stoode him in great steade: Whereupon he sent to discouer the fort and the estate of the enemies by certaine of his men, being guided by Olotacara Satouriouaes nephew which hee had giuen him for this purpose and for assurance of Estampes a gentleman of Cominges, and others which he sent to descry the state of the enemies. Moreouer he gaue him a sonne of his starke naked as all of them are, and his wife which he loued best of all the rest, of eighteene yeeres olde, apparelled with the mosse of trees, which for 3 dayes space were in the ships, vntill our men returned from discrying the state of the enemie, and the kings had furnished their preparation at their rende-uous. Their marching being concluded, and the Sauages rende-uous being appointed them beyond the riuer Salincani, of our men called Somme, they all dranke with great solemnitie their drinke called Cassine, made of the iuice of certaine hearbs (as they are wont to do, when they go to any place of danger,) which hath such force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirst for 24 houres, and Gourgues was faine to make as though he dranke thereof for company. Afterward they lift vp their handes and sware all that they would neuer forsake him. Olotocara followed him with pike in hand. Being all met at the riuer of Sarauahi, not without great trouble, by reason of the raine and places full of water which they must needes passe, which hindred their passage, they were distressed with famine finding nothing by the way to eat, their bark of prouision being not arriued which was come unto him from the ships, the ouersight and charge whereof he had left vnto Burdelois with the rest of the Mariners. Now he had learned that the number of the Spanyards were foure hundred strong, diuided

Three pledges deliuered to Gourges by Satourioua.

The estate of the Spanyards in Florida.

into three forts builded and flanked, and well fortified upon the riuer of May, the great fort especially begunne by the French, and afterward repaired by them: vpon the most dangerous and principall landing place whereof, two leagues lower and neerer [527] towarde the Riuers mouth, they had made two smaller Forts, which were defended, the riuer passing betweene them, with sixe score souldiers, good store of artillery and other munition, which they had in the same. From Saracary vnto these smal forts was two leagues space, which he found very painful, because of the bad waies and continual raines. Afterward he departed from the riuer Catacouru with 10 shot, to view the first fort, and to assault it the next day in the morning by the breake of day, which hee could not doe, because of the foule weather, and darknesse of the night. King Helicopile seeing him out of quiet in that he had failed of his purpose there, assured him to guide him a more easie way, though it were further about. Insomuch as leading him through the woods, he brought him within sight of the fort, where he discerned one quarter which was but begun to bee entrenched. Thus after he had sounded the small riuer that falleth downe thereby, hee stayed vntill ten of the clock in the morning for an ebbe water, that his men might passe ouer there, vnto a place where he had seene a litle groue between the riuer and the fort (that he might not be seene to passe and set his souldiers in array) causing them to fasten their flasks to their Morions, and to hold vp their swords and kaliuers in their hands, for feare least the water, which reached vp to their girdles, should not wet them: where they found such abundance of great oysters, and shels which were so sharpe, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others lost their shoes. Notwithstanding assoone as they were passed ouer, with a French courage they prepared themselues to the assault on the Sunday eue next after Easter day, in April 1568. Insomuch that Gourgues to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gaue twenty shot to his Lieutenant Cazenoue, and ten Mariners laden with pots and balles of wild

fire to burne the gate: and then he assaulted the Fort on another side, after he had made a short speech vnto his men of the strange treasons which the Spanyards had paid their companions. But being descried as they came holding downe their heads within two hundred paces from the Fort, the Gunner being vpon the terrace of the Fort, after he had cried, Arme, Arme, these be French men, discharged twise vpon them a coluerine, wherein the Armes of France were grauen, which had bin taken from Laudonniere. But as he went about to charge it the third time, Olotocara, which had not learned to keepe his ranke, or rather moued with rage, lept on the platforme, and thrust him through the bodie with his pike and slew him. Whereupon Gourgues aduanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenoue cry, that the Spaniards which issued out armed at the cry of the alarme, were fled, hee drew to that part, and so hemmed them in betweene him and his Lieutenant, that of threescore there escaped not a man, sauing only fifteene reserued vnto the same death which they had put the French vnto. The Spanyards of the other fort in the meane while ceased not to play with their ordinance, which much annoied the assailants: although to answere them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the foure pieces found in the first Fort. Whereupon Gourgues being accompanied with fourescore shot went abord the barke which met him there to good purpose to passe into the wood neere vnto the Fort, out of which he supposed the Spanyards would issue to saue themselues thorow the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not past one league distant from the same. Afterward the Sauages not staying for the returne of the bark, lept al into the water holding vp their bowes and arrowes in one hand, and swimming with the other, so that the Spaniards seeing both the shores couered with so great a number of men, thought to flee towards the woods: but being charged by the French, and afterward repulsed by the Sauages, toward whom they would haue retired, they were sooner then they would bereft of their liues. To conclude they al there ended

their dayes sauing 15 of those which were reserued to be executed for the example of others. Whereupon Captaine Gourgues hauing caused al that he found in the second fort to be transported vnto the first, where he ment to strengthen himselfe to take resolution against the great Fort, the state whereof hee did not vnderstand: in fine a Sergeant of a band one of the prisoners assured him that they might be there very neere 300 wel furnished vnder a braue Gouernor, which had fortified there, attending farther succours. Thus hauing obtained of him the platforme, the height, the fortification and passages vnto it, and hauing prepared eight good lathers, and raised all the Countrey against the Spanyard, that he neither might haue newes, nor succours, nor retract on any side, he determined to march forward. In the meane while the Gouernour sent a Spanyard disguised like a Sauage to spie out the state of the French. And though he were discouered by Olotocara, yet he vsed all the cunning he could possibly to perswade them that he was one of the second fort, out of which hauing escaped, and seeing none but sauages on euery side, he hoped more in the Frenchmens then their mercy, vnto whom he came to yeeld himself disguised like a sauage, for feare lest if he should haue bin knowen, he should haue bin massacred by those Barbarians: but the spie being brought face to face with the sergeant of the band, and conuicted to be one of the great fort, was reserued vntil an other time: after that he had assured Gourgues that the bruit was that he had 2000 Frenchmen with him for feare of whom the 200 and threescore Spaniards which remained in the great fort, were greatly astonied. Whereupon Gourgues being resolued to set vpon them, while they were thus amazed, and leauing his Standard-bearer and a Captaine with fifteene shot to keepe the Fort, and the entry of the Riuer, he caused the Sauages to depart by night to lye in ambush within the woods on both sides of the riuer, then he departed in the Morning, leading the Sergeant and the spy fast bound along with him, to shew him that in deede, which they had only made him

vnderstand in paynting. As they marched Olotocara a resolute Sauage which newer left the Captaine, said vnto him, that he had serued him faithfully, and done whatsoeuer hee had commaunded him, that he was assured to dye in the conflict at the great Fort, wherein neuerthelesse he would not faile, though it were to saue his life: but he prayed him to giue that vnto his wife, if hee escaped not, which he had meant to be tow on him, that shee might bury the same with him, that thereby hee might be better welcome vnto the village of the soules or spirits departed. To whom Captaine Gourgues answered, after he had commended his faithfull valour, the loue toward his wife, and his noble care of immortall honour, that he desired rather to honour him aliue then dead, and that by Gods helpe he would bring him home againe with victorie. After the discouerie of the Fort, the Spaniards were no niggards of their Canon shotte, nor of two double Coluerines, which being mounted vpon a Bulwarke, commaunded all along the Riuer, which made captaine Gorgues to get to the hill couered with wood, at the foot whereof the Fort beginneth, and the forrest or wood continueth and stretcheth foorth beyond it: so that he had sufficient couerture to approch thereunto without offence. He purposed also to remaine there vntill the Morning, wherein hee was resolued to assault the Spaniards by scalling their walles on the side toward the hill, where the Trench seemed not sufficiently flanked for the defence of the courtains, and from whence part of his men might draw them that were besieged, which should shew themselues to defend the rampart while the rest were comming vp. But the Gouernour hastened his vnhappie destinie, causing threescore shotte to sallie foorth, which passing through the Trenches, aduanced forward to descrye the number and valour of the French, whereof twentie vnder the conduct of Cazanoue, getting betweene the Fort and them which now were issued forth, cut off their repassage, while Gourgues commanded the rest to charge them in the Front, but not to discharge but neere at hand, and so that they might be sure to hitte them, that

afterward with more ease they might cut them in pieces with their swordes. So that turning their backes assoone as they were charged and compassed in by his Lieutenant, they remayned all slaine vpon the place. Whereat the rest that were besieged were so astonied, that they knew none other meane to saue their liues but by fleeing into the Wooddes adioyning, where neuerthelesse being incountred againe by the arrowes of the Sauages which lay in wayte there for them (whereof one ranne through the target and body of a Spanyard, which therewithall fell downe starke dead) some were constrayned to turne backe, choosing rather to dye by the hand of the French, which pursued them: assuring themselues that none of them coulde finde any fauour neyther with the one nor the other Nation, whom they had alike and so out of measure cruelly intreated, sauing those which were reserued to be an example for the time to come. The Fort when it was taken, was found well prouided of all necessaries: namely of fiue double Coluerines, and foure Mynions, with diuers other small pieces of all sorts, and eighteene grosse cakes of gunne powder, all sorts of weapons, which Gourgues caused with speede to be imbarked, sauing the powder and other moueables, by reason it was all consumed with fire through the negligence of a Sauage, which in seething of his fish, set fire on a tunne of powder which was made and hidden by the Spanyardes, to haue blasted the French at the first assault, thus blowing vp the store house and the other houses buylt of Pine trees. The rest of the Spaniards beeing led away prisoners with the others, after that the generall had shewed them the wrong which they had done without occasion to all the French Nation, were all hanged on the boughes of the same trees, whereon the French hung: of which number fiue were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiuing himselfe in the like miserable estate, confessed his fault, and the iust iudgement which God had brought vpon him. But in stead of the writing which Pedro Melendes had hanged ouer them, imprinting these words in Spanish, I doe not this as vnto French men, but as vnto

Lutherans, Gourgues caused to be imprinted with a searing iron in a table of Firewood, I doe not this as vnto Spaniardes, nor as vnto Mariners, but as vnto Traitors, Robbers, and Murtherers. Afterward considering he had not enough to keep his Forts which he had wonne, much lesse to store them, fearing also lest the Spaniard which hath Dominions neere adioyning should renew his forces, or the Sauages should prevaile against the French men, vnlesse his Maiestie would send thither, hee resolued to raze them. And indeede, after he had assembled and in the ende perswaded all the Sauage kings so to doe, they caused their subiects to runne thither with such affection, that they ouerthrew all the three forts flatte euen with the ground in one day. This done by Gourgues, that he might returne to his Shippes which he had left in the Riuer of Seyne called Tacatacourou, fifteene leagues distant from thence, he sent Cazenoue and the artillery by water: afterward with fourescore harquebusiers, armed with corslets, and matches light, followed with fortie Mariners bearing pikes, by reason of the small confidence he was to haue in so many Sauages, he marched by land alwayes in battell ray, finding the wayes couered with Sauages, which came to honour him with presents and prayses, as the deliuerer of all the countries round about adioyning. An old woman among the rest sayd vnto him, that now she cared not any more to dye, since she had seene the Frenchmen once againe in Florida, and the Spaniards chased out. Briefly being arriued, and finding his ships set in order, and euery thing ready to set sayle, hee counselled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would defend them against all Nations: which they all promised, shedding teares because of his departure. Olocotara especially: for appeasing of whom he promised them to returne within twelue Moones, (so they count the yeeres) and that his king would send them an army, and store of kniues for presents, and other things necessary. So that after he had taken his leaue of them, and assembled his men, he thanked

God of all his successe since his setting foorth, and prayed to him for an happy returne. The third of May 1568, all things were made ready, the Rendez-uous appoynted, and the Ankers weighed to set sayle so prosperously, that in seuenteene dayes they ranne eleuen hundred leagues: continuing which course they arriued at Rochel the sixt of Iune, the foure and thirtieth day after their departure from the Riuer of May, hauing lost but a small Pinnesse and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were slaine in the assaulting of the Forts. After the cheere and good intertainment which he receiued of those of Rochel, hee sayled to Burdeaux to informe Monsieur Monluc of the things aboue mentioned, albeit hee was aduertised of eighteene Pinnesses, and a great Shippe of two hundred Tunnes full of Spanyardes, which being assured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochel, came as farre as Che-de-Bois, the same day that he departed thence, and followed him as farre as Blay (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux) to make him yeeld another account of his voyage, then that, wherewith hee made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholicke king being afterward informed that Gourgues could not easily be taken, offered a great summe of money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreover king Charles to doe iustice on him as of the authour of so bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendshippe. In so much as comming to Paris to present himselfe vnto the King, to signifie vnto him the successe of his Voyage, and the meanes which hee had to subdue this whole Countrey vnto his obedience, (wherein hee offered to imploy his life, and all his goods) hee found his entertainment and answere so contrary to his expectation, that in fine hee was constrayned to hide himselfe a long space in the Court of Roan, about the yeere 1570. And without the assistance of President Marigny, in whose house he remained certayne dayes, and of the Receiuer of Vacquieulx, which alwayes was his faithful friend, hee had beene in great danger. Which grieued not a litle Dominique de Gourgues, con-

sidering the services which hee had done aswell vnto him as to his prdecessours kings of France. Hee was borne in Mount Marsan in Guyenne, and imployed for the seruice of the most Christian Kings in all the Armies made since these twentie fiue or thirty yeeres: at last he had the charge and honour of a Captaine, which in a place neere vnto Siene, with thirtie Souldyers sustayned the brunt of a part of the Spanish Armie, by which beeing taken in the assault, and hauing all his men cutte in pieces, hee was put into a Galley in token of the good warre and singular fauour which the Spanyard is woont to shew vs. But as the Galley was going toward Sicillie, beeing taken by the Turkeys, ledde away to Rhodes, and thence to Constantinople, it was shortly afterwarde recouered by Romeguas, commaunder ouer the Armie of Malta. By this meane returning home, hee made a Voyage on the coast of Africa, whence hee tooke his course to Bresil, and to the South Sea. At length beeing desirous to repayre the honour of France, he set vpon Florida with such successe as you haue heard. So that being become by his continuall warlike actions both by Land and Sea no lesse valiant Captaine then skillfull Mariner, hee hath made himselfe feared of the Spanyard, and acceptable vnto the Queene of England for the desert of his vertues. To conclude, he dyed in the yeere 1582, to the great griefe of such as knew him.

XXXVI. The relation of Pedro Morales a Spaniard, which sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustines in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, touching the state of those parts, taken from his mouth by Master Richard Hakluyt 1586.

Three score leagues vp from the Northwest from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chrystall Mines, named Apalatci.

The riuer of Wateri is thirtie leagues from S. Helena Northward, which is able to receiue any Fleete of ships of great burden. [534]

Wateri and Caiowa are two kings, and two riuers to the North of Saint Helena.

The Spaniards haue killed three hundred of the subiects of Potanou.

The greatest number of Spaniards that haue bene in Florida this sixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

There is a great City sixteene or twentie dayes iourney from Saint Helena Northwestward, which the Spaniards, call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great and haue bene within the sight of it, some of them.

They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to discouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the passage to a sea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes trauel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude: and is that riuer which the French called Port-royal.

He saith also that he hath seene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye vp in the countrey Westward from S. Helena. These hils seeme wholy to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Sauages aduertised Laudonniere; and it may bee they are the hils of Chaunis Temoatam, which Master Lane had aduertisement of.

XXXVII. The relation of Nicholas Burgoignon, aliâs Holy, whom sir Francis Drake brought from Saint Augustine also in Florida, where he had remayned sixe yeeres, in mine and Master Heriots hearing.

This Nicholas Burgoignon sayth, that betweene S. Augustine and S. Helen there is a Casique whose name is Casicôla, which is lord of ten thousand Indians, and another casique whose name is Dicasca, and another called Touppekyn toward the North,
[535] and a fourth named Potanou toward the South, and another called Moscita toward the South likewise. Besides these he acknowledgth Oristou, Ahoia, Ahoiaue, Isamacon, alledged by the Spaniard.

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northwestward from S. Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and is very great and rich, and that in these mountains there is great store of Christal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth fiue thousand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes that slew Ribault, and is now gouerner of Florida, weareth. He saith also, that to make passage vnto these mountaines, it is needefull to haue store of Hatchets to giue vnto the Indians, and store of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which shine so bright in the day in some places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night. Also corslets of Cotton, which the Spanyards call Zecopitz, are necessary to bee had against the arrowes of the Sauages.[123]

[123] See an account of these cotton breastplates in Prescott's *Mexico*.

He say farther, that a Tunne of the sassafras of Florida is solde in Spaine for sixtie ducates: and that they haue there great store of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peason, and that there are great store of pearles.

The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make most account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make baudricks or gyrdles: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne costs, to discouer these mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare lest the English or French would enter into the same action once knowen.

All the Spaniards would passe vp by the riuer of Saint Helena vnto the mountaines of golde and Chrystall.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues vp Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their nostrels and eares. They found also Oxen, but lesse then ours.

Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the sea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a riuer fortie leagues distant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ships may ride safely. I take [536]
this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Christmasse last 1585. the Spaniards sent a barke with fortie men to discouer where we were seated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all these things.

The Spaniards of S. Augustine haue slaine three hundred or the subjects of Potanou. One Potassi is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French history calleth Olala Outina.

Calauai is another casique which they knowe.

[538]

XXXVIII. Virginia Richly Valued, by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida, Her Next Neighbour: Out of the Foure Yeeres Continuall Trauell and Discouuerie, For Aboue One Thousand Miles East and West, of Don Ferdinando De Soto, and Sixe Hundred Able Men in his Companie.

[539]

Preface By Richard Hakluyt.

This worke, right Honourable, right Worshipfull, and the rest, though small in shew, yet great in substance, doth yeeld much light to our enterprise now on foot: whether you desire to know the present and future commodities of our countrie; or the qualities and conditions of the Inhabitants, or what course is best to be taken with them.

Chap. 35.

Touching the commodities, besides the generall report of Cabeça de Vaca to Charles the Emperour (who first trauelled through a great part of the Inland of Florida, next adioyning vpon our Virginia) That Florida was the richest countrie of the world; and that after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, he saw gold and siluer, and stones of great value: I referre you first to the rich mines of gold reported to be in the prouince of Yupaha, and described in the twelfth Chapter of this Treatise to come within our limits: And againe, to the copper hatchets found in Cutifachiqui, standing vpon the Riuer of Santa Helena, which were said to haue a mixture of gold. It seemeth also that the last Chronicler of the West Indies, Antonio de Herrera,[124]

[540]

Decad. 3. lib. 8. cap. 8.

[124] For a full account of Herrera and his writings, consult Prescott's *Mexico*.

speaking of the foresaid Riuer of Santa Helena, which standeth in 32. degrees and an halfe, alludeth to the prouince of Yupaha, in these words: Y el oro, y plata, que hailaron, no era de aquella tierra, sino de 60. leguas, adentro al norte, de los pueblos dichos Otapales y Olagatanos, adonde se intiende, que ay minas de oro, plata, y cobre. That is to say, that the gold and siluer which they found, was not of that countrie (of Santa Helena) but 60. leagues distant toward the North, of the townes called Otapales and Olagatanos, where we vnderstand that there are mines of gold, siluer, and copper. By which reckoning these rich mines are in the latitude of 35. degrees and an halfe. I desire you Chap. 15. likewise to take knowledge of the famous golden prouince of Chisca, stretching further to the North, whereof the Cacique of Coste gaue notice to Ferdinando de Soto in the towne of Chiaha, affirming, that there were mines of copper, and of another mettall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect lustre, and farre better in sight, and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfsame thing was before told the Gouernour in Cutifachiqui: who sent two Christians from Chiaha with certaine Indians which knew the countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof, to view it, and to make report of that which they should find. We likewise reade not long after, that the Chap. 23. Gouernour set forward to seeke a prouince called Pacaha, which hee was informed to bee neere vnto Chisca where the Indians told him, that there was gold. And in another place hee saith: Chap. 24. That from Pacaha hee sent thirtie horsemen and fiftie footmen to the prouince of Caluça, to see if from thence he might trauell to Chisca, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. So that here is fours times mention, and that in sundrie places, of the rich and famous golden mines of Chisca, and that they lie beyond the mountaines toward the North, ouer which they were not able to trauell for the roughnes thereof. But what neede I to stand vpon forren testimonies, since Master Thomas Heriot, a man of much iudgement in these causes, signified vnto

you all, at your late solemne meeting at the house of the right
[541] honourable the Earle of Exeter, how to the Southwest of our old fort in Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red mettall, reporting the manner in working of the same. Besides, our owne Indians haue lately reuealed either this or another rich mine of copper or gold in a towne called Ritanoe, neere certaine mountaines lying West of Roanoac.

Chap. 14. Another very gainfull commoditie is, the huge quantitie of excellent perles, and little babies and birds made of them; that were found in Cutifachiqui. The abundance whereof is reported to be such, that if they would haue searched diuers graues in townes thereabout, they might haue laded many of their horses. Neither are the Turkie stones and cotton wooll found at Guasco to be forgotten, nor passed ouer in silence.

But that, which I make no small account of, is, the multitude of Oxen, which, from the beginning of the 16. to the end of the 26. Chapter, are nine seuerall times made mention of, and that along from Chiaha, Coste, Pacaha, Coligoa, and Tulla, still toward the North, to wit, toward vs, there was such store of them, that they could keepe no corne for them: and that the Indians liued vpon their flesh. The haire of these Oxen is likewise said to be like a soft wooll, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe: and that they vse them for couerlets, because they are very soft and woolled like sheep: and not so onely, but they make bootes, shooes, targets and other things necessarie of the same. Besides the former benefits, their young ones may be framed to the yoke, for carting and tillage of our ground. And I am in good hope, that ere it be long we shall haue notice of their being neerer vs, by that which I reade in the Italian relation of Cabeça de Vaca, the first finder of them; which writeth, That they spread themselues within the countrie aboue foure hundred leagues. Moreouer, Vasquez de Coronado, and long after him, Antonio de Espejo (whose voiages are at large in my third volume) trauelled many leagues among these herds of Oxen, and found them from 33.

degrees ranging very farre to the North and Northeast.

A fourth chiefe commoditie wee may account to be the great number of Mulberrie trees, apt to feede Silke-wormes to make silke: whereof there was such plentie in many places, that, though they found some hempe in the countrie, the Spaniards made ropes of the barks of them for their brigandines, when they were to put to sea for Noua Hispania. [542]

A fifth is the excellent and perfect colours, as blacke, white, greene, yellow, and red, and the materials to dye withall, so often spoken of in this discourse: among which I haue some hope to bring you to the knowledge of the rich graine of Cochonillio, so much esteemed, and of so great price. I speake nothing of the seuerall sorts of passing good grapes for Wine and Raisons.

Neither is it the least benefit, that they found salt made by the Indians at Cayas, and in two places of the prouince of Aguacay: the manner also how the Inhabitants make it, is very well worth the obseruation. Chap. 31 and 32.

One of the chiefest of all the rest may be the notice of the South Sea, leading vs to Iapan and China, which I finde here twice to be spoken of. Whereof long since I haue written a discourse, which I thinke not fit to be made ouer common. Chap. 31 and 32.

For closing vp this point, The distances of places, the qualities of the soiles, the situations of the regions, the diuersities and goodnesse of the fruits, the seuerall sorts of beasts, the varietie of fowles, the difference betweene the Inhabitants of the mountaines and the plaines, and the riches of the Inland in comparison of the Sea coast, are iudicially set downe in the conclusion of this booke, whereunto for mine owne ease I referre you.

To come to the second generall head, which in the beginning I proposed, concerning the manners and dispositions of the Inhabitants: among other things, I finde them here noted to be very eloquent and well spoken, as the short Orations, interpreted by Iohn Ortiz, which liued twelue yeeres among them, make sufficient proofe. And the author, which was a gentleman of

Eluas in Portugall, emploied in all the action, whose name is not set downe, speaking of the Cacique of Tulla, saith, that aswell this Cacique, as the others, and all those which came to the Gouernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could vtter the same more eloquently. But for all their faire and cunning speeches, they are not ouermuch to be trusted: for they be the greatest traitors of the world, as their manifold most craftie contriued and bloody treasons, here set down at large, doe euidently proue. They be also as vnconstant as the wethercock, and most readie to take all occasions of aduantages to doe mischiefe. They are great liars and dissemblers; for which faults often times they had their
[543] deserued paiments. And many times they gaue good testimonie of their great valour and resolution. To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serue, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serue, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained vp in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands. To conclude, I trust by your Honours and Worships wise instructions to the noble Gouernour, the worthy experimented Lieutenant and Admirall, and other chiefe managers of the businesse, all things shall be so prudently carried, that the painfull Preachers shall be reuerenced and cherished, the valiant and forward soldiour respected, the diligent rewarded, the coward emboldened, the weake and sick relieued, the mutinous suppressed, the reputation of the Christians among the Saluages preserued, our most holy faith exalted, all Paganisme and Idolatrie by little and little vtterly extinguished. And her reposing and resting my selfe vpon this sweete hope, I cease, beseeching the Almightie to blesse this good work in your hands to the honour and glorie of his most holy name, to the inlargement of the dominions of his sacred Majestie, and to the generall good of all the worthie Aduenturers and vndertakers. From my lodging

in the Colledge of Westminster this 15. of Aprill, 1609.[125]

By one publikely and anciently deuoted to Gods seruice, and all yours in this so good action,
RICHARD HAKLUYT.

[544]

Chap. I. Which declareth who Don Ferdinando de Soto was, and how he got the gouernment of Florida.

Captaine Soto was the son of a Squire of Xerez of Badaioz. He went into the Spanish Indies, when Peter Arias of Auila was Gouernour of the West Indies: And there he was without any thing else of his owne, saue his sword and target: and for his good qualities and valour, Peter Arias made him Captaine of a troope of horsemen, and by his commandement hee went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of Peru: where (as many persons of credit reported which were there present) as well at the taking [545] of Atabalipa, Lord of Peru, as at the assault of the citie of Cusco, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoeuer hee was present, hee parted all other Captaines and principall persons. For which came, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalipa, he had a good share: whereby in time he gathered an hundred and foure score thousand Duckets together with that which fell to his part: which he brought into Spaine: whereof the Emperour borrowed a certaine part, which he repaied againe with 60000 Rials of plate in the rent of the silkes of Granada, and all the rest was deliuered him in the Contractation house of Siuil. He tooke seruents, to wit, a Steward, a Gentleman Vsher, Pages, a Gentleman of the House, a Chamberlaine, Lakies, and al other officers that the house of a Noble man requireth. From Siuil hee went to the Court, and in the Court, there accompanied him

[125] From this preface it is clear that Hakluyt interested himself in Virginia even after Raleigh's disgrace.

Iohn Doierces of Siuil, and Lewis Moscoso D'Aluarado, Nuncio de Tetuan, and John Rodriguez Lobillo. Except Iohn D, all the rest came with him from Peru: and euery one of them brought fourteene or fifteene thousand Duckets: all of them went well and costly apparelled. And although Soto of his owne nature was not liberall, yet because that was the first time that hee was to showe himselfe in the Court, he spent frankely and went accompanied with those which I haue named, and with his seruants, and many other which resorted vnto him. Hee married with Donna Isabella en Bouadilla, daughter of Peter Arias de Auila. Farie of Punno de Rostro. The Emperour made him the Gouernour of the Isle of Cuba, and Adelantado or President of Florida, with a title of Marques of certaine part of the lands which he should conquer.

Chap. II. How Cabeça de Vaca came to the Court and gave relation of the Countrie of Florida: And of the Companie that was assembled in Siuil to goe with Ferdinando de Soto.

When Don Ferdinando had obtained the gouernment, there came a Gentle man from the Indies to the Court, named Cabeça de Vaca, which had been with the gouernour Pamphilo de Naruaez which died in Florida, who reported that Naruaez was cast away at sea with all the companie that went with him. And how he
[546] with foure more escaped and arrived in Nueua Espanna: Also he brought a relation in writing of that which he had seene in Florida; which said in some places: In such a place I haue seene this; and the rest which here I saw, I leaue to conferre of betweene his Majestie and my selfe. Generally he reported the miserie of the Countrie, and the troubles which hee passed: and he tolde some of his kinsfolke, which were desirous to goe into the Indies, and vrged him very much to tell them whether he had seene any rich country in Florida, that he might not tell them, because

hee and another, whose name was Orantes, (who remained in Nueua Espanna with purpose to returne into Florida: for which intent hee came into Spaine to beg the gouernment thereof of the Emperour) had sworne not to discouer some of those things which they had seene, because no man should preuent them in begging the same: And hee informed them, that it was the richest Countrie of the world. Don Ferdinand de Soto was very desirous to haue him with him, and made him a fauourable offer: and after they were agreed, because Soto gaue him not a summe of money which he demanded to buy a ship they broke off againe. Baltasar de Gallégos, and Christopher de Spindola, the kinesmen of Cabeça de Vaca, told him, that for that which hee had imparted to them, they were resolued to passe with Soto into Florida, and therefore they prayed him to aduise them what they were best to doe. Cabeça de Vaca told them, that the cause why he went not with Soto was, because hee hoped to beg another gouernment, and that hee was loth to goe vnder the command of another: and that hee came to beg the conquest of Florida: but seeing Don Ferdinando de Soto had gotten it alreadie, for his others sake hee might tell them nothing of that which they would know: but he counselled them to sell their goods and goe with him, and that in so doing they should doe well. As soone as he had opportunitie hee spake with the Emperour, and related vnto him whatsoeuer hee had passed and seene, and come to vnderstand. Of this relation made by word of mouth to the Emperour, the Marques of Astorga had notice, and forthwith determined to send with Don Ferdinando de Soto his brother Don Antonio Osorio: and with him two kinsmen of his prepared themselues, to wit, Francis Osorio, and Garcia Osorio. Don Antonio dispossessed himselfe of 60000 Rials of rent which hee held by the Church: and Francis Osorio of a town of Vassals, which he had in the Countrie de Campos. And they made their Rendezuous with [547] the Adelantado in Siuil. The like did Nunnez de Tonar, and Lewis de Moscoso, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo, each of whom

had brought from Peru fourteene or fifteene thousand Duckets. Lewis de Moscoso carried with him two brethren: there went also Don Carlos, which had married the Gouernours Neece, and tooke her with him. From Badaioz there went Peter Calderan, and three kinsemen of the Adelantado, to wit, Arias Tinoco, Alfonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco. And as Lewis de Moscoso passed through Eluas, Andrew de Vasconselos spake with him, and requested him to speake to Don Ferdinando de Soto concerning him, and deliuered him certaine warrants which he had receiued from the Marques of Villa real, wherein he gaue him the Captaineship of Ceuta in Barbarie, that he might shew them vnto him. And the Adelantado saw them; and was informed who hee was, and wrote vnto him, that hee would fauour him in all things, and by al meanes, and would giue him a charge of men in Florida. And from Eluas went Andrew de Vasconselos, and Fernan Pegado, Antonio Martinez Segurado, Men Roiz Fereira, Iohn Cordero, Stephen Pegado, Benedict Fernandez, and Aluaro Fernandez. And out of Salamanca and Iaen, and Valencia, and Albuquerque, and from other partes of Spaine, many people of Noble birth assembled at Siuil: insomuch that in Saint Lucar many men of good account which had sold their goods remained behind for want of shipping, whereas for other known and rich Countries, they are wont to want men: and this fell out by occasion of that which Cabeça de Vaca told the Emperour, and informed such persons as hee had conference withall touching the State of that Countrie. Soto made him great offers: and being agreed to goe with him (as I haue said before) because he would not giue him monie to pay for a ship, which he had brought, they brake off, and he went for Gouernour to the Riuer of Plate. His kinsemen Christopher de Spindola, and Báltasar de Gallégos went with Soto. Baltasar de Gallégos sold houses and vineyards, and rent corne, and ninetie rankes of Oliue trees in the Xarafe of Siuil: Hee had the office of Alcalde Mayor, and tooke his wife with him: and there went also many other persons

Eluas is a Citie in Portugal.

Cabeça de Vaca was the Gouernour of the Riuer of Plate.

of account with the President, and had the officers following by great friendship, because they were officers desired of many: to wit, Antonie de Biedma was Factor, Iohn Danusco was Auditor, [548] and Iohn Gaytan nephew to the Cardinall of Ciguenza had the office of Treasurer.

Chap. III. How the Portugales went to Siuil, and from thence to S. Lucar: he appointed Captaines ouer the ships, and distributed the people which were to goe in them.

The Portugales departed from Eluas the 15. of Ianuarie, and came to Siuil the 19. of the same moneth, and went to the lodging of the Gouernour, and entred into a court, ouer the which were certaine galleries where hee was, who came downe and receiued them at the staires, whereby they went vp into the galleries: when he was come vp, he commanded chaires to be giuen them to sit on. And Andrew de Vasconcellos told him who hee and the other Portugales were, and how they all were come to accompany him, and serue him in his voiage. He gaue him thanks and made shew of great contentment for his comming and offer. And the table being alreadie laid he inuited them to dinner. And being at dinner he commanded his steward to seeke a lodging for them neere vnto his owne, where they might bee lodged. The Adelantado departed from Siuil to Saint Lucar with al the people which were to goe with him: And he commanded a muster to be made, at the which the Portugales shewed themsetues armed in verie bright armour, and the Castellans very gallant with silke vpon silke, with many pinkings and cuts. The Gouernour, because these brauaries in such an action did not like him, commanded that they should muster another day, and euery one should come foorth with his armour: at the which the Portugales came as at the first armed with very good armour. The Gouernour placed

them in order neere vnto the standard which the ensigne-bearer carried. The Castellanes for the most part did weare very bad and rustie shirts of maile, and all of them head peeces and steele cappes, and very bad lances. And some of them sought to come among the Portugales. So those passed and were counted and enroled, which Soto liked and accepted of, and did accompanie him into Florida; which were in all sixe hundred men. He had alreadie bought seuen ships, and had all necessarie prouision aboord them: he appointed Captaines, and deliuered to euery one his ship, and gaue them in a role what people euery one should carrie with them.

Sixe hundred men went with Soto into Florida.

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Chap. IV. How the Adelantado with his people departed from Spaine, and came to the Canaries, and afterward to the Antiles.

In the yeere of our Lord 1538. in the moneth of Aprill, the Adelantado deliuered his shippes to the Captaines which were to goe in them: and tooke for himselfe a new ship, and good of saile, and gaue another to Andrew de Vasconcelos in which the Portugales went: hee went ouer the barre of S. Lucar on Sunday being S. Lazarus day, in the morning, of the moneth and yeere aforesaid, with great ioy, commanding his trumpets to be sounded, and many shots of the ordinance to be discharged. Hee sailed foure daies with a prosperous wind: and suddenly it calmed: the calmes continued eight daies with swelling seas, in such wise, that wee made no way. The 15th day after his departure from S. Lucar, hee came to Gomera, one of the Canaries, on Easter day in the morning. The Earle of that Island was apparrelled all in white, cloke, ierkin, hose, shooes, and cappe, so that hee seemed a Lord of the Gypses. He receiued the Gouernour with much ioy: hee was well lodged, and all the rest had their lodgings gratis, and gat great store of victuals for their monie, as bread,

wine and flesh: and they tooke what was needfull for their ships: and the Sunday following, eight daies after their arriuall, they departed from the Isle of Gomera. The Earle gaue to Donna Isabella the Adelantados wife a bastard daughter that hee had to bee her waiting maid. They arriued at the Antilles, in the Isle of Cuba, at the port of the City of Sant Iago vpon Whitsunday. Assone as they came thither, a Gentleman of the Citie sent to the sea side a very faire roan horse and well furnished for the Gouernour, and a mule for Donna Isabella: and all the horsemen and footemen that were in the towne came to receiue him at the sea side. The Gouernour was well lodged, visited, and serued of all the inhabitants of that Citie, and all his companie had their lodgings freely: those which desired to goe into the countrie, were diuided by foure and foure, and sixe and sixe in the farmes or granges, according to the abilitie of the owners of the farmes, and were furnished by them with all things necessarie.

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Chap. V. Of the inhabitants which are in the Citie of S. Iago, and in the other townes of the Island: and of the qualitie of the soile, and fruites that it yeeldeth.

The Citie of S. Iago hath fourescore houses which are great and well contriued. The most part haue their walls made of bords, and are couered with thatch; it hath some houses builded with lime and stone, and couered with tiles. It hath great Orchards and many trees in them, differing from those of Spaine: there be figgetrees which beare figges as big as ones fist, yellow within, and of small taste; and other trees which beare a fruit which they call Ananes, in making and bignes like to a small Pineapple: it is a fruite very sweete in taste: the shel being taken away, the kernel is like a peece of fresh cheese. In the granges abroad in the countrie there are other great pineapples, which grow on low

Great figges.

trees, and are like the Aloe tree:[126] they are of a very good smell and exceeding good taste. Other trees do beare a fruit, which they call Mameis of the bignes of Peaches. This the Islanders do hold for the best fruit of the country. There is another fruit which they call Guayahas like Filberds, as bigge as figges. There are other trees as high as a iaueline, hauing one only stocke without any bough, and the leaues as long as a casting dart: and the fruite is of the bignesse and fashion of a Cucumber, one bunch beareth 20. or 30. and as they ripen, the tree bendeth downeward with them: they are called in this countrie Plantanos; and are of a good taste, and ripen after they be gathered, but those are the better which ripen vpon the tree it selfe: they beare fruite but once: and the tree being cut downe, there spring vp others out of the but, which beare fruite the next yeere. There is another fruit; whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly the slaues, which are called Batatas. These grow now in the Isle of Terçera, belonging to the Kingdome of Portugal, and they grow within the earth, and are like a fruit called Iname, they haue almost the taste of a chestnut. The bread of this countrie is also made of rootes which are like the Batatas. And the stocke whereon those rootes doe grow is like an Elder tree: they make their ground in little hillocks and in each of them they thrust 4. or 5. stakes; and they gather the rootes a yeere and an halfe after they set them. If any one, thinking it is a Batata or Potato roote, chance to eate of it neuer so little, he is in great danger of death: which was seene by experience in a souldier, which assone as hee had eaten a very little of one of those rootes, hee died quicklie. They pare these rootes and stamp them and squese them in a thing like a presse: the iuyce that commeth from them is of an euill smell. The bread is of little taste and lesse substance. Of the fruits of Spaine, there are Figges and Oranges, and they beare fruite all the yeere, because the soile is very ranke and fruitfull. In this countrie are many good

Batatas, or Potatos.

The Cassaui root.

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Store of good horses.

[126] Marginal note: Erua babosa Mameia, an excellent fruite.

horses, and there is greene grasse all the yeere. There be many wild oxen and hogges, whereby the people of the Island is well furnished with flesh: Without the townes abroad in the Countrie are many fruites. And it happeneth sometimes that a Christian goeth out of the way and is lost 15. or 20. daies, because of the many paths in the thicke groues that crosse too and fro made by the oxen: and being thus lost, they sustaine them selues with fruites and palmitos: for there be many great groues of Palme trees through all the Island: they yeeld no other fruite that is of any profit. The Isle of Cuba is 300. leagues long from the East to the West, and in some places 30. in others 40. leagues from North to South. It hath 6. townes of Christians: to wit, S. Iago, Baracôa, Bayamo, Puerto de Principes, S. Espirito, and Hauana. Euery one hath betweene 30. and 40. households, except S. Iago and Hauana, which hath about 60. or 80. houses. They haue Churches in each of them, and a Chaplen which confesseth them and saith Masse. In S. Iago is a Monasterie of Franciscan Friars: it hath but few Friers, and is well prouided of almes, because the countrie is rich: The Church of S. Iago hath honest reuenew, and there is a Curat and Prebends and many Priests, as the Church of that Citie, which is the chiefe of all the Island. There is in this countrie much gold, and few slaues to get it: For many haue made away themselues, because of the Christians euill vsage of them in the mines. A steward of Vasques Porcallo, which was an inhabitour in that Island, vnderstanding that his slaues would make away themselues, staid for them with a cudgill in his hand at the place where they were to meete, and told them, that they could neither doe nor thinke any thing, that hee did not know before; and that hee came thither to kill himselfe with them, to the end, that if hee had vsed them badly in this world, hee might vse them worse in the world to come: And this was a meane that they changed their purpose, and turned home againe to doe that which he commanded them.

The length and breadth of Cuba.

A wittie stratagem.

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Chap. VI. How the Gouernour sent Donna Isabella with the ships to Hauana, and he with some of his people went thither by land.

The Gouernour sent from S. Iago his Nephew Don Carlos with the ships in company of Donna Isabella to tarrie for him at Hauana, which is an hauen in the west part toward the head of the Island, 180. leagues from the Citie of Saint Iago. The Gouernour and those which staied with him bought horses and proceeded on their iournie. The first towne they came vnto was Bayamo: they were lodged foure and foure, and sixe and sixe, as they went in company, and where they lodged they tooke nothing for their diet, for nothing cost them ought saue the Maiz or corne for their horses, because the Gouernour went to visit them from towne to towne, and seased them in the tribute and seruice of the Indians. Bayamo is 25. leagues from the Citie of S. Iago. Neere vnto the towne passeth a great Riuer, which is called Tanto; it is greater then Guadiana, and in it be very great Crocodiles, which sometimes hurt the Indians, or the cattell which passeth the Riuer. In all the countrie are neither Wolfe, Foxe, Beare, Lion, nor Tiger. There are wild dogges which goe from the houses into the woods and feed vpon swine. There be certaine Snakes as bigge as a mans thigh or bigger, they are very slow, they doe no kind of hurt. From Bayamo to Puerto dellos principes are 50. leagues. In al the Iland from towne to towne, the way is made by stubbing vp the vnderwood: and if it bee left but one yeere vndone, the wood groweth so much, that the way cannot be seene, and the paths of the oxen are so many, that none can trauell without an Indian of the Countrie for a guide: for all the rest is very hie and thicke woods. From Puerto dellos principes the Gouernour went to the house of Vasques Porcallo by sea in a bote, (for it was neere the sea) to know there some newes of Donna Isabella, which at that instant (as afterward was knowne) was in great [553] distresse, in so much that the ships lost one another: and two of

them fell on the coast of Florida, and all of them endured great want of water and victuals. When the storme was ouer, they met together, without knowing where they were: in the end they descried the Cape of S. Anton, a countrie not inhabited of the Island of Cuba: there they watered; and at the end of 40. daies, which were passed since their departure from the City of S. Iago, they arriued at Hauana. The Gouernour was presently informed thereof, and went to Donna Isabella. And those which went by land which were one hundred and fiftie horsemen, being diuided into two parts, because they would not oppresse the inhabitants, trauelled by S. Espirito, which is 60. leagues from Puerto dellos principes. The food which they carried with them was Caçabe bread, which is that whereof I made mention before: and it is of such a qualitie, that if it be wet, it breaketh presently, whereby it happened to some to eate flesh without bread for many daies. They carried dogges with them, and a man of the Country, which did hunt; and by the way, or where they were to lodge that night, they killed as many hogges as they needed. In this iourney they were well prouided of beefe and porke: And they were greatly troubled with Muskitos, especially in a lake, which is called the mere of Pia, which they had much adoe to passe from noone till night, the water might be some halfe league ouer, and to be swome about a crosse bowe shot, the rest came to the waste, and they waded vp to the knees in the mire, and in the bottome were cockle shels, which cut their feete very sore; in such sort, that there was neither boote nor shoe sole that was hole at halfe way. Their clothes and sandels were passed in baskets of Palme trees. Passing this lake, stripped out of their clothes, there came many muskitos, vpon whose bitting there arose a wheale that smarted very much: they strooke them with their hands, and with the blow which they gaue they killed so many, that the blood did runne downe the armes and bodies of the men. That night they rested very little for them, and other nights also in the like places and times. They came to Santo Espirito, which

is a towne of thirtie houses; there passeth by it a little Riuer: it is very pleasant and fruitfull, hauing great store of Oranges and citrons, and fruites of the Countrie: One halfe of the companie were lodged here, and the rest passed forward 25. leagues to another towne called la Trinidad of 15 or 20 households. Here is an hospitall for the poore, and there is none other in all the
[554] Island. And they say, that this towne was the greatest of all the Countrie and that before the Christians came into this land, as a ship passed along the coast, there came in it a very sicke man which desired the Captaine to set him on shore: and the Captaine did so, and the ship went her way: The sicke man remained set on shore in that countrie, which vntill then had not bene haunted by Christians; wherevpon the Indians found him, carried him home, and looked vpon him till he was whole; and the Lord of that towne maried him vnto a daughter of his, and had warre withall the inhabitants round about, and by the industrie and valour of the Christian, he subdued and brought vnder his command all the people of that Island. A great while after, the Gouernour Diego Velasques went to conquer it, and from thence discouered new Spaine: And this Christian which was with the Indians did pacifie them, and brought them to the obedience and subiection of the Gouernour. From this towne della Trinidad vnto Hauana are 80. leagues, without any habitation, which they trauelled. They came to Hauana in the end of March; where they found the Gouernor, and the rest of the people which came with him from Spaine. The Gouernour sent from Hauana Iohn Danusco with a carauele and two brigantines with 50. men to discouer the hauen of Florida; and from thence hee brought two Indians, which he tooke vpon the coast, wherwith (aswell because they might be necessarie for guides and for interpretours, as because they said by signes that there was much gold in Florida) the Gouernour and all the companie receiued much contentment, and longed for the houre of their departure, thinking in himselfe that this was the richest Countrie, that vnto that day had been discouered.

Chap. VII. How we departed from Hauana, and ariued in Florida, and of such things as happened vnto vs.

Before our departure, the Gouernour depriued Nunno de Touar of the office of Captaine Generall, and gaue it to Porcallo de Figueroa, an inhabitant of Cuba, which was a meane that the shippes were well furnished with victuals: for he gaue a great many loads of Casabe bread, and manie hogges. The Gouernour [555] tooke away this office from Nonno de Touar, because he had fallen in loue with the daughter of the Earle of Gomera, Donna Isabellas waighting maid, who, though his office were taken from him, (to returne againe to the Gouernours fauour) though she were with child by him, yet tooke her to his wife, and went with Soto into Florida. The Gouernour left Donna Isabella in Hauana; and with her remained the wife of Don Carlos, and the wiues of Baltasar de Gallégos, and of Nonno de Touar. And hee left for his lieutenant a Gentleman of Hauana, called Iohn de Roias, for the gouernment of the Island.

On Sunday the 18. of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1539. the Adelantado or president departed from Hauana in Cuba with his fleete, which were nine vessels, fiue great ships, two carauels, and two brigantines: They sailed seuen daies with a prosperous wind. The 25. day of May, the day de Pasco de Spirito Santo, (which we call Whitson Sonday,) they saw the land of Florida; and because of the shoalds, they came to an anchor a league from the shore. On Friday the 30. of May they landed in Florida, two leagues from a towne of an Indian Lord, called Vcita. They set on land two hundred and thirteene horses, which they brought with them, to vnburden the shippes, that they might draw the lesse water. Hee landed all his men, and only the sea men remained in the shippes, which in eight daies, going vp with the tide euery day a little, brought them vp vnto the towne. Assoone as the people were come on shore, hee pitched his campe on the sea

This place was called Baya de Sirito Sancto, being on the West side of Florida, in 29 degrees. 1/2.

The ships came vp to the towne of Vcita.

side, hard vpon the Bay which went vp vnto the towne. And presently the Captaine generall Vasques Porcallo with other 7. horsemen foraged the Countrie halfe a league round about, and found sixe Indians, which resisted him with their arrowes, which are the weapons which they vse to fight withall: The horsemen killed two of them, and the other foure escaped; because the countrie is cumbersome with woods and bogs, where the horses stacke fast, and fell with their riders, because they were weake with trauelling vpon the sea. The same night following the Gouernour with an hundred men in the brigantines lighted vpon a towne, which he found without people, because, that assoone as the Christians had sight of land, they were descried, and saw along the coast many smokes, which the Indians had made to
[556] giue aduice the one to the other. The next day Luys de Moscoso, Master of the Campe set the men in order, the horsemen in three squadrons, the Vantgard, the Batallion, and the Rerewarde: and so they marched that day, and the day following, compassing great Creekes which came out of the Bay: They came to the towne of Vcita, where the Gouernour was, on Sunday the first of Iune, being Trinitie Sunday. The towne was of seuen or eight houses. The Lordes house stoode neere the shore vpon a very hie mount, made by hand for strength. At another ende of the towne stood the Church, and on the top of it stood a fowle made of wood with gilded eies. Heere were found some pearles of small valew, spoiled with the fire, which the Indians do pierce and string them like beades, and weare them about their neckes and hand wrists, and they esteeme them very much. The houses were made of timber, and couered with Palme leaues. The Gouernour lodged himselfe in the Lords houses, and with him Vasques Porcallo, and Luys de Moscoso: and in others that were in the middest of the towne, was the chiefe Alcalde or Iustice, Baltasar de Gallégos lodged; and in the same houses was set in a place by it selfe, al the prouision that came in the ships: the other houses and the Church were broken down, and euery three or foure

souldiers made a little cabin wherein they lodged. The Countrie round about was very fennie, and encombred with great and hie trees. The Gouernor commanded to fel the woods a crossebow shot round about the towne, that the horses might runne, and the Christians might haue the aduantage of the Indians, if by chance they should set vpon them by night. In the waies and places conuenient, they had their Centinelles of footemen by two and two in euery stand, which did watch by turnes, and the horsemen did visit them, and were readie to assist them, if there were any alarme. The Gouernour made foure Captaines of the horsemen, and two of the footemen. The Captaines of the horsemen were, one of them Andrew de Vasconcelos, and another Pedro Calderan de Badaioz: and the other two were his kinsemen, to wit, Arias Tinoco, and Alfonso Romo, borne likewise in Badaioz. The Captaines of the footemen, the one was Francisco Maldonado of Salamanca, and the other Iuan Rodriguez Lobillo. While wee were in this towne of Vcita, the two Indians, which Iohn Danusco had taken on that coast, and the Gouernor caried along with him for guides and interpretours, through carelessnes of two men, which had the charge of them, escaped away one night. For [557] which the Gouernour and all the rest were very sorie, for they had alreadie made some roades, and no Indians could bee taken, because the countrie was full of marish grounds, and in many places full of very hie and thicke woods.

Chap. VIII. Of some inrodes that were made into the Countrie: and how there was a Christian found, which had bin long time in the power of an Indian Lord.

From the towne of Vcita, the Gouernour sent the Alcalde Mayor, Baltasar de Gallégos with 40. horsemen and 80. footemen into

the Countrie to see if they could take any Indians: and the Captaine Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo another way with 50. footemen, the most of them were swordmen and targettours, and the rest were shot and crossebowmen. They passed through a countrie full of bogges, where horses could not trauell. Halfe a league from the campe, they lighted vpon certaine cabins of Indians neere a Riuer: The people that were in them leaped into the Riuer; yet they tooke foure Indian women; And twentie Indians charged vs, and so distressed vs, that wee were forced to retire to our campe, being, as they are, exceeding readie with their weapons. It is a people so warlike and so nimble, that they care not awhit for any footemen. For if their enemies charge them, they runne away, and if they turne their backs, they are presently vpon them. And the thing that they most flee, is the shot of an arrow. They neuer stand still, but are alwaies running and trauersing from one place to another: by reason whereof neither crossebow nor arcubuse can aime at them: and before one crossebowman can make one shot, an Indian will discharge three or foure arrowes; and he seldome misseth what hee shooteth at. An arrow, where it findeth no armour, pierceth as deeply as a crossebow. Their bowes are very long, and their arrowes are made of certaine canes like reedes, very heauie, and so strong, that a sharpe cane passeth thorow a target: Some they arme in point with a sharpe bone of a fish like a chisel, and in others they fasten certaine stones like points of Diamants. For the most part when they light vpon an armour, they breake in the place where they are bound together. Those of cane do split and pierce a coate of maile,
[558] and are more hurtfull then the other. Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo returned to the campe with sixe men wounded, whereof one died; and brought the foure Indian women which Baltasar Gallégos had taken in the cabins or cotages. Two leagues from the towne, comming into the plaine field, he espied ten or eleuen Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked, and scorched with the Sunne, and had his armes razed after the manner of the

Indians, and differed nothing at all from them. And assoone as the horsemen saw them they ran toward them. The Indians fled, and some of them hid themselues in a wood, and they ouertooke two or three of them, which were wounded: and the Christian, seeing an horseman runne vpon him with his lance, began to crie out, Sirs, I am a Christian, slay me not, nor these Indians, for they haue saued my life. And straightway he called them, and put them out of feare, and they came foorth of the wood vnto them. The horse men tooke both the Christian and the Indians vp behind them; and toward night came into the Campe with much ioy; which thing being known by the Gouernour, and them that remained in the Campe, they were receiued with the like.

Chap. IX. How this Christian came to the land of Florida, and who he was: and what conference he had with the Gouernour.

Iohn Ortiz liued 12. yeeres, among the Floridians of Vcita and Mocoço.

This Christians name was Iohn Ortiz, and he was borne in Siuil, of worshipful parentage. He was 12. yeeres in the hands of the Indians. He came into this Countrie with Pamphilo de Naruaez, and returned in the ships to the Island of Cuba, where the wife of the Gouernour Pamphilo de Naruaez was: and by his commandement with 20. or 30. other in a brigandine returned backe againe to Florida: and comming to the port in the sight of the towne, on the shore they saw a cane sticking in the ground, and riuen at the top, and a letter in it: and they beleeued that the Gouernour had left it there to giue aduertisement of himselfe, when he resolued to goe vp into the land: and they demanded it of foure or fiue Indians, which walked along the sea shore: and they had them by signes to come on shore for it: which against the will of the rest Iohn Ortiz and another did. And assoone as they wereon land, from the houses of the towne issued a great number of Indians, which compassed them about, and tooke them in a place

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Mocoço dwelleth two daies iournie from Vcita.

where they could not flee: and the other which sought to defend himselfe, they presentlie killed vpon the place, and tooke Iohn Ortiz aliue, and carried him to Vcita their Lord. And those of the brigandine sought not to land, but put themselues to sea, and returned to the Island of Cuba. Vcita commaunded to bind Iohn Ortiz hand and foote vpon foure stakes aloft vpon a raft, and to make a fire vnder him, that there he might bee burned: But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleaging, that one only Christian could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him, that it was more for his honor to keepe him as a captiue. And Vcita granted her request, and commaunded him to be cured of his wounds: and assoone as he was whole, he gaue him the charge of the keeping of the Temple: because that by night the wolues did cary away the dead corpse out of the towne, who commended himselfe to God and tooke vpon him the charge of his temple. One night the wolues gatte from him the corpse of a little child, the sonne of a principal Indian: and going after them he threw a darte at one of the wolues and wounde him that carried away the corps, who feeling himselfe wounded, left it, and fell downe dead neere the place: and hee not seeing what he had done, because it was night, went backe againe to the Temple: the morning being come, and finding not the bodie of the child, he was very sad. Assoone as Vcita knew therof, he resolued to put him to death; and sent by the track, which he said the wolues went, and found the bodie of the child and the wolfe dead a little beyond: whereat Vcita was much concerned with the Christian, and with the watch which hee kept in the Temple, and from thence forward esteemed him much. Three yeeres after he fell into his hands there came another Lord called Mocoço, who dwelleth two daies iourney from the Port, and burned his towne. Vcita fled to another towne that he had in another sea port. Thus Iohn Ortiz lost his office and fauour that he had with him. These people being worshippers of the deuill, are wont to offer vp vnto him the liues and blood of their Indians, or of any other people

they can come by: and they report, that when he will haue them doe that sacrifice vnto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them, that he is athirst, and willeth them to sacrifice vnto him. [560] Iohn Ortiz had notice by the damsell that had deliuered him from the fire, how her father was determined to sacrifice him the day following, who willed him to flee to Mocoço: for shee knew that he would vse him wel: for she heard say, that he had asked for him, and said hee would bee glad to see him: and because he knew not the way, she went with him halfe a league out of the towne by night, and set him in the way, and returned, because she would not be discouered. Iohn Ortiz trauailed all that night, and by the morning came vnto a Riuer, which is in the territorie of Mocoço: and there he saw two Indians fishing; and because they were in war with the people of Vcita, and their languages were different, and hee knew not the language of Mocoço, he was afraid, because he could not tell them who hee was, nor how hee came thither, nor was able to answer any thing for himselfe, that they would kill him, taking him for one of the Indians of Vcita; and before they espied him he came to the place where they had laid their weapons: and assoone as they saw him, they fled toward the towne, and although he willed them to stay, because he meant to do them no hurt, yet they vnderstood him not, and ran away as fast as euer they could. And assone as they came to the towne with great outcries, many Indians came forth against him, and began to compasse him to shoote at him: Iohn Ortiz seeing himselfe in so great danger, sheilded himselfe with certaine trees, and began to shreeke out, and crie very loud, and to tell them that he was a Christian, and that he was fled from Vcita, and was come to see and serue Mocoço his Lord. It pleased God that at that very instant there came thither an Indian that could speake the language and vnderstood him; and pacified the rest; who told them what hee said. Then ran from thence three or foure Indians to beare the newes to their Lord: who came foorth a quarter of a league from the towne to receiue him; and was very glad of him.

He caused him presently to sweare according to the custome of the Christians, that hee would not run away from him to any other Lord: and promised him to entreate him very well; and that if at any time there came any Christians into that countrie, he would freely let him goe, and giue him leaue to goe to them: and likewise tooke his oth to performe the same according to the Indian custome. About three yeeres after certaine Indians, which were fishing at sea two leagues from the towne, brought newes to Mocoço that they had seene ships: and hee called Iohn Ortiz, and gaue him leaue to go his way: who taking his leaue of him, with all the haste he could came to the sea, and finding no ships, he thought it to be some deceit, and that the Cacique had done the same to learne his mind. So he dwelt with Mocoço nine yeeres, with small hope of seeing any Christians. Assoone as our Gouernour arriued in Florida, it was knowne to Mocoço, and straightway he signified to Iohn Ortiz, that Christians were lodged in the towne of Vcita: And he thought he had iested with him, as he had done before, and told him, that by this time he had forgotten the Christians, and thought of nothing else but to serue him. But he assured him that it was so, and gaue him licence to goe vnto them: saying vnto him, that if hee would not doe it, and if the Christians should goe their way, he should not blame him, for hee had fulfilled that which he had promised him. The ioy of Iohn Ortiz was so great, that he could not beleeue that it was true: notwithstanding he gaue him thankes, and tooke his leaue of him: and Mocoço gaue him tenne or eleuen principall Indians to beare him companie: and as they went to the port where the Gouernour was, they met with Baltasar de Gallégos, as I haue declared before. Assoone as he was come to the campe, the Gouernour commanded to giue him a suite of apparell, and very good armour, and a faire horse: and enquired of him, whether hee had notice of any countrie, where there was any gold or siluer: He answered, No, because he neuer went ten leagues compasse from the place where he dwelt: But 30. leagues from thence

Mocoço his towne within 2. leagues of the sea.

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Paracossi 30. leagues from Puerto de Spirito Santo.

dwelt an Indian Lord, which was called Parocossi, to whom Mocoço and Vcita, with al the rest of that coast paied tribute, and that hee peraduenture might haue notice of some good countrie: and that his land was better then that of the sea coast, and more fruitfull and plentifull of maiz. Whereof the Gouernour receiued great contentment: and said that he desired no more then to finde victuals, that hee might goe into the maine land, for the land of Florida, was so large, that in one place or other there could not chuse but bee some rich Countrie. The Cacique Mocoço came to the Port to visit the Gouernor and made this speech following.

Right hie and mightie Lord, I being lesser in mine owne conceit for to obey you, then any of those which you haue vnder your command; and greater in desire to doe you greater seruices, doe appeare before your Lordship with so much confidence of receiuing fauour, as if in effect this my good will were manifested vnto you in workes: not for the small seruice I did vnto you touching the Christian which I had in my power, in giuing him freely his libertie, (For I was bound to doe it to preserue mine honour, and that which I had promised him:) but because it is the part of great men to vse great magnificences: And I am perswaded, that as in bodily perfections, and commanding of good people, you doe exceede all men in the world, so likewise you doe in the parts of the minde, in which you may boast of the bountie of nature. The fauour which I hope for of your Lordship is, that you would hold mee for yours, and bethinke your selfe to command me any thing, wherein I may doe you seruice. [562]

The Gouernour answereth him, That although in freeing and sending him the Christian, he had presented his honour and promise, yet he thanked him, and held it in such esteeme, as it had no comparison; and that hee would alwaies hold him as his brother, and would fauour him in all things to the vtmost of his power. Then he commanded a shirt to be giuen him, and other things, where with the Cacique being verie well contented, tooke his leaue of him, and departed to his owne towne.

Chap. X. How the Gouernour sent the ships to Cuba: and left an hundred men at the Hauen de Spirito Santo, and himself with the rest of his people went into the maine land.

From the Port de Spirito Santo where the Gouernour lay, he sent the Alcalde Mayor Baltasar de Gallégos with 50. horsemen, and 30. or 40. footemen to the prouince of Paracoussi, to view the disposition of the countrie, and enforme himselfe of the land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. Likewise he sent his shippes backe to the Iland of Cuba, that they might returne within a certaine time with victuals. Vasques Porcallo de Figueroa, which went with the Gouernour as Captaine Generall, (whose principall intent was to send slaues from Florida, to the Iland of Cuba, where he had his goods and mines;) hauing made some inrodes, and seeing no Indians were to be got, because of the great bogs and thicke woods that were in the Countrie, considering the disposition of the same, determined to returne to Cuba. And though there was
[563] some difference between him and the Gouernour, whereupon they neither dealt nor conuersed together with good countenance, yet notwithstanding with louing words he asked him leaue and departed from him. Baltasar de Gallégos came to the Paracossi: There came to him 30. Indians from the Cacique, which was absent from his town, and one of them made this speech:

Paracossi, the Lord of this prouince, whose vassals we are sendeth vs vnto your worship, to know what it is that you seeke in this his countrie, and wherein he may doe you seruice.

Baltasar de Gallégos said vnto him, that hee thanked them very much for their offer, willing them to warne their Lord to come to his towne, and that there they would talke and confirme their peace and friendship, which he much desired. The Indians went their way, and returned the next day, and said, that their

Lord was ill at ease, and therefore could not come, but that they came on his behalfe to see what he demanded. He asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich Countrie where there was gold or siluer. They told them, they did: and that toward the West, there was a prouince which was called Cale; and that others that inhabited other Countries had warre with the people of that Countrie, where the most part of the yeere was sommer, and that there was much gold: and that when those their enemies came to make ware with them of Cale, these inhabitants of Cale did weare hats of gold, in manner of head peeces. Baltasar de Gallégos, seeing that the Cacique came not, thinking all that they said was fained, with intent that in the meane time they might set themselues in safetie, fearing, that if he did let them goe, they would returne no more, commanded the thirty Indians to be chained, and sent word to the Gouernour, by eight horsemen, what had passed: whereof the Gouernour and al that were with him, at the Port de Spirito Santo receiued great comfort, supposing, that that which the Indians reported, might be true. Hee left Captaine Calderan at the Port, with thirtie horsemen, and seuentie footemen, with prouision for two yeeres, and himselfe with all the rest marched into the maine land, and came to the Paracossi, at whose towne Baltasar de Gallégos was: and from thence with all his men tooke the way to Cale. He passed by a little towne called Acela, and came to another called Tocaste: and from thence he went before with 30 horsemen, and 50 footemen toward Cale. And passing by a towne, whence the people were fled, they saw Indians a little from thence in a lake; to whom [564] the Interpreter spake. They came vnto them and gaue them an Indian for a guide: and hee came to a Riuer with a great current, and vpon a tree, which was in the midst of it, was made a bridge, whereon the men passed: the horses swam ouer by a hawser, that they were pulled by from the otherside: for one, which they droue in without it, was drowned. From thence the Gouernour sent two horsemen to his people that were behind, to make haste

after him; because the way grew long and their victuals short. Hee came to Cale, and found the towne without people. He tooke three Indians, which were spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were sore vexed with hunger and euill waies, because the Countrie was very barren of Maiz, low, and full of water, bogs, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port de Spirito Santo, were spent. Whersoeuer any towne was found, there were some beetes, and hee that came first gathered them, and sodden with water and salt, did eate them without any other thing: and such as could not get them, gathered the stalkes of Maiz and eate them, which because they were young, had no Maiz in them. When they came to the Riuer which the Gouernour had passed, they found palmitos vpon lowe Palmetrees like those of Andaluzia. There they met with the two horsemen which the Gouernour sent vnto them, and they brought newes that in Cale there was plentie of Maiz: at which newes they all reioyced. Assoone as they came to Cale, the Gouernour commanded them to gather all the Maiz that was ripe in the field, which was sufficient for three moneths. At the gathering of it the Indians killed three Christians and one of them which were taken told the Gouernour that within seuen dayes iournie, there was a very great Prouince, and plentifull of Maiz, which was called Apalache. And presently he departed from Cale with 50 horsemen and 60. footemen. He left the master of the Campe Luys de Moscoso with all the rest of the people there, with charge that hee should not depart thence vntill hee had word from him. And because hitherto none had gotten any slaues, the bread that euery one was to eate, he was faine himselfe to beate in a morter made in a piece of timber with a pestle, and some of them did sift the flower through their shirts of maile. They baked their bread vpon certaine tileshares which they set ouer the fire, in such sort as heretofore I haue said they vse to doe in Cuba. It is so troublesome to grind their Maiz, that
[565] there were many that would rather not eate it, then grind it: and

did eate the Maiz parched and sodden.

Chap. XI. How the Gouernour came to Caliquen, and carrying from thence the Cacique with him went to Napetuca, where the Indians sought to haue taken him from him, and in an assault many of them were slaine, and taken prisoners.

The 11. day of August 1539, the Gouernour departed from Cale: hee lodged in a little town called Ytara, and the next day in another called Potano, and the third day at Vtinama, and came to another towne, which they named the towne of Euil peace; because an Indian came in peace, saying, That he was the Cacique, and that he with his people would serue the Gouernour, and that if he would set free 28. persons, men and women, which his men had taken the night before, he would command prouision to be brought him, and would giue him a guide to instruct him in his way: The Gouernour commanded them to be set at libertie, and to keepe him in safegard. The next day in the morning there came many Indians, and set themselues round about the towne neere to a wood. The Indian wished them to carrie him neere them; and that he would speake vnto them, and assure them, and that they would doe whatsoeuer hee commanded them. And when he saw himselfe neere vnto them he brake from them, and ran away so swiftly from the Christians, that there was none that could ouertake him, and all of them fled into the woods. The Gouernour commanded to loose a grayhound, which was alreadie fleshed on them, which passing by many other Indians, caught the counterfait Cacique, which had escaped from the Christians, and held him till they came to take him. From thence the Gouernour lodged at a towne called Cholupaha: and because it had store of Maiz in it, they named it Villa farta. Beyond the same there was a Riuer, on which he made a bridge of timber,

and trauelled two daies through a desert. The 17. of August, he came to Caliquen, where he was informed of the Prouince of Apalache: They told him that there Pamphilo de Naruaez had bin there, and that hee tooke shipping, because hee could find no way to goe forward: that there was none other towne at al; but that on
[566] both sides was all water. The whole companie were very sad for these newes: and counselled the Gouernour to goe backe to the Port de Spirito Santo, and to abandon the Countrie of Florida, lest hee should perish as Naruaez had done: declaring, that if he went forward, he could not returne backe when he would, and that the Indians would gather vp that small quantitie of Maiz which was left. Whereunto the Gouernour answered, that he would not go backe, till he had seene with his eies that which they reported: saying, that he could not beleeue it, and that wee should be put out of doubt before it were long. And he sent to Luys de Moscoso to come presently from Cale, and that he tarried for him here. Luys de Moscoso and many others thought, that from Apalache they should returne backe; and in Cale they buried their yron tooles, and diuers other things. They came to Caliquen with great trouble; because the Countrie, which the Gouernour had passed by, was spoiled and destitute of Maiz. After all the people were come together, hee commanded a bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer that passed neere the towne. Hee departed from Caliquen the 10. of September, and carried the Cacique with him. After hee had trauelled three daies, there came Indians peaceably, to visit their Lord, and euery day met vs on the way playing vpon flutes: which is a token that they vse, that men may know that they come in peace. They said, that in our way before there was a Cacique, whose name was Vzachil, a kinseman of the Cacique of Caliquen their Lord, waiting for him with many presents, and they desired the Gouernour that he would loose the Cacique. But he would not, fearing that they would rise, and would not giue him any guides, and sent them away from day to day with good words. He trauelled fiue daies, he passed by some smal townes,

he came to a towne called Napetuca, the 15. day of September. Thither came 14. or 15. Indians, and besought the Gouernor to let loose the Cacique of Caliquen their Lord. He answered them that he held him not in prison, but that hee would haue him to accompanie him to Vzachil. The Gouernour had notice by Iohn Ortiz, that an Indian told him how they determined to gather themselues together, and come vpon him, and giue him battell, and take away the Cacique from him. The day that it was agreed vpon, the Gouernour commanded his men to bee in a readines, and that the horsemen should bee readie armed and on horsebacke euery one in his lodging, because the Indians might [567] not see them, and so more confidently come to the towne. There came four hundred Indians in sight of the campe, with their bowes and arrowes, and placed themselues in a wood, and sent two Indians to bid the Gouernour to deliuer them the Cacique. The Gouernour with sixe footemen leading the Cacique by the hand, and talking with him, to secure the Indians, went toward the place where they were: And seeing a fit time, commanded to sound a trumpet: and presently those that were in the towne in the houses, both horse and foot, set vpon the Indians, which were so suddenly assaulted, that the greatest care they had was which way they should flee: They killed two horses; one was the Gouernours, and hee was presently horsed againe vpon another. There were 30. or 40. Indians slaine. The rest fled to two very great lakes, that were somewhat distant the one from the other: There they were swimming, and the Christians round about them. The caliuermen and crossebowmen shot at them from the banke: but the distance being great and shooting afarre off, they did them no hurt. The Gouernour commanded that the same night they should compasse one of the lakes, because they were so great, that there were not men enow to compasse them both: being beset, assoone as night shut in, the Indians, with determination to runne away, came swimming very softly to the banke; and to hide themselues, they put a water lillie leafe on their heads. The

horsemen assoone as they perceiued it to stirre, ran into the water to the horses breasts, and the Indians fled againe into the lake. So this night passed without any rest on both sides, Iohn Ortiz perswaded them, that seeing they could not escape, they should yeeld themselues to the Gouernour: which they did, enforced thereunto by the coldnes of the water; and one by one, hee first whom the cold did first ouercome, cried to Iohn Ortiz desiring that they would not kill him, for he came to put himselfe into the hands of the Gouernour. By the morning watch they made an end of yeelding themselues: only 12. principall men, being more honorable and valorous then the rest, resolued rather to die then to come into his hands. And the Indians of Paracossi, which were now loosed out of chaines, went swimming to them, and pulled them out by the haire of their heads, and they were all put in chaines; and the next day were diuided among the Christians for their seruice. Being thus in captiuitie, they determined to rebell; and gaue in charge to an Indian, which was interpretour, and held to be valiant, that assoone as the Goueruour did come to speak with him, hee should cast his hands about his necke, and choke him: Who, when he saw opportunitie, laid hands on the Gouernour, and before he cast his hands about his necke, he gaue him such a blow on the nostrils, that hee made them gush out with blood, and presently all the rest did rise. He that could get any weapons at hand, or the handle wherewith he did grind the Maiz, sought to kill his master, or the first hee met before him: and hee that could get a lance or sword at hand, bestirred himselfe in such sort with it, as though he had vsed it all his life time. One Indian in the market place enclosed betweene 15. or 20. footemen, made a way like a bull with a sword in his hand, till certaine halbardiers of the Gouernour came, which killed him. Another gat vp with a lance to a left made of canes, which they build to keep their Maiz in, which they call a Barbacoa, and there hee made such a noise, as though tenne men had been there defending the doore: they slew him with a partisan. The Indians

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A new conspiracie.

Two hundred Indians taken.

were in all about two hundred men. They were all subdued. And some of the youngest the Gouernour gaue to them which had good chaines, and were carefull to looke to them that they gat not away. Al the rest he commanded to be put to death, being tied to a stake in the midst of the market place: and the Indians of the Paracossi did shoote them to death.

Chap. XII. How the Gouernour came to Apalache, and was informed, that within the land, there was much gold.

The Gouernour departed from Napetuca the 23. of September: he lodged by a Riuer, where two Indians brought him a buck from the Cacique of Vzachil. The next day he passed by a great towne called Hapaluya and lodged at Vzachil, and found no people in it, because they durst not tarrie for the notice the Indians had of the slaughter of Napetuca. He found in that towne great store of Maiz, French beanes, and pompions, which is their foode, and that wherewith the Christians there sustained themselues. The Maiz is like course millet, and the pompions are better and more [569] sauorie than those of Spaine. From thence the Gouernour sent two Captaines each a sundry way to seeke the Indians. They tooke an hundred men and women: of which aswel there as in other places where they made any inrodes, the Captaine chose one or two for the Gouernour, and diuided the rest to himselfe, and those that went with him. They led these Indians in chaines with yron collars about their neckes: and they serued to carrie their stuffe, and to grind their Maiz, and for other seruices that such captiues should doe. Sometimes it happened that going for wood or Maiz with them, they killed the Christian that led them, and ran away with the chaine: others filed their chaines by night with a peece of stone, wherewith they cut them, and vse it in stead of yron. Those that were perceiued paid for themselues,

and for the rest, because they should not dare to doe the like another time. The women and young boyes, when they were once an hundred leagues from their Countrie, and had forgotten things, they let goe loose, and so they serued; and in a very short space they vnderstood the language of the Christians. From Vzachil the Gouernour departed toward Apalache, and in two daies iournie, hee came to a towne called Axille, and from thence forward the Indians were carelesse, because they had as yet no notice of the Christians. The next day in the morning, the first of October, he departed from thence, and commanded a bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer which hee was to passe. The deepe of the Riuer where the bridge was made, was a stones cast, and forward a crossebow shot the water came to the waste; and the wood, whereby the Indians came to see if they could defend the passage, and disturbe those which made the bridge, was very hie and thicke. The crossebow men so bestirred themselues that they made them giue back: and certaine plancks were cast into the Riuer, whereon the men passed, which made good the passage. The Gouernour passed vpon Wednesday, which was S. Francis his day, and lodged at a towne which was called Vitachuco, subiect to Apalache: he found it burning; for the Indians had set it on fire. From thence forward the countrie was much inhabited, and had great store of Maiz. Hee passed by many granges, like hamlets. On Sunday the 25. of October, he came to a towne, which is called Vzela, and vpon Tuesday to Anaica Apalache,
[570] where the Lord of all that Countrie and Prouince was resident: in which towne the Campemaster, whose office it is to quarter out, and lodge men, did lodge all the companie round about within a league, and halfe a league of it. There were other townes, where was great store of Maiz, Pomions, French Beanes, and Plummes of the Countrie, which are better then those of Spaine, and they grow in the fields without planting. The victuals that were thought necessarie to passe the winter, were gathered from these townes to Anaica Apalache. The Gouernour was informed,

that the sea was ten leagues from thence. Hee presently sent a Capiaine thither with horsemen and footemen: And sixe leagues on the way, he found a towne, which was named Ochete, and so came to the Sea: and found a great tree felled, and cut into peeces, with stakes set vp like mangers, and saw the skulles of horses. Hee returned with this newes. And that was held for certaine, which was reported of Pamphilo de Naruaez, that there hee had builded the barkes wherewith he went out of the land of Florida, and was cast away at sea. Presently the Gouernour sent Iohn Danusco with 30. horsemen to the port de Spirito Santo, where Calderan was, with order, that they should abandon the port, and all of them come to Apalache. Hee departed on Saturday the 17 of Nouember. In Vzachil and other townes that stood in the way he found great store of people already carelesse. Hee would take none of the Indians, for not hindring himselfe, because it behoued him to giue them no leasure to gather themselues together. Hee passed through the townes by night, and rested without the townes three or foure houres. In tenne daies he came to the Port de Spirito Santo. Hee carried with him 20. Indian women which hee tooke in Ytara, and Potano, neere vnto Cale, and sent them to Donna Isabella in the two carauels, which hee sent from the Port de Spirito Santo to Cuba. And he carried all the footemen in the brigandines, and coasting along the shore, came to Apalache. And Calderan with the horsemen, and some crossebowmen on foot went by land; and in some places the Indians set vpon him, and wounded some of his men. Assoone as he came to Apalache presently the Gouernour sent sawed plankes and spikes to the sea side, wherewith was made a piragua or barke, wherein were embarked 30. men well armed; which went out of the Bay to the Sea, looking for the brigandines. Sometimes they fought with the Indians, which passed along the harbour in their canoes. Vpon Saturday the 29. of Nouember, there came an Indian [571]
through the Watch vndiscouered, and set the towne on fire, and with the great wind that blew, two parts of it were consumed

in a short time. On Sonday the 28. of December came Iohn Danusco with the brigandines. The Gouernour sent Francisco Maldonado a captaine of footemen with 50 men to discouer the coast Westward, and to seeke some Port, because he had determined to goe by land, and discouer that part. That day there went out eight horsemen by commandement of the Gouernour into the field, two leagues about the towne to seeke Indians: for they were now so emboldened, that within two crossebow shot of the camp, they came and slew men. They found two men and a woman gathering French Beanes: the men, though they might haue fled, yet because they would not leaue the woman, which was one of their wiues, they resolued to die fighting: and before they were slaine, they wounded three horses, whereof one died within a few daies after. Calderan going with his men by the Sea-coast, from a wood that was neere the place, the Indians set vpon him, and made him forsake his way, and many of them that went with him forsooke some necessarie victuals, which they carried with them. Three or foure daies after the limited time giuen by the Gouernour to Maldonado for his going and comming, being alreadie determined and resolued, if within eight daies he did not come to tarrie no longer for him, he came and brought an Indian from a Prouince, which was called Ochus, sixtie leagues Westward from Apalache; where he had found a good Port of good depth and defense against weather. And because the Gouernour hoped to find a good countrie forward he was well contented. And he sent Maldonado for victuals to Hauana, with order, that he should tarrie for him at the Port of Ochus, which hee had discouered, for hee would goe seeke it by land: and if he should chance to stay, and not come thither that summer, that then he should returne to Hauana, and should come again the next summer after and tarrie for him at that port, for he said hee would doe none other thing but goe to seeke Ochus. Francisco Maldonado departed, and in his place for captaine of the footemen remained Iohn de Guzman. Of those Indians which

Chap. 11.

were taken in Napetuca, the treasurer Iohn Gaytan had a young man, which said, that he was not of that countrie, but of another farre off toward the Sunrising, and that it was long since he had trauelled to see countries; and that his countrie was called Yupaha, and that a woman did gouern it; and that the towne [572] where she was resident was of a wonderfull bignesse, and that many lords round about were tributaries to her; and some gaue her clothes, and others gold in abundance; and hee told, how it was taken out of the mines, and was moulten and refined, as if hee had seene it done, or the diuel had taught it him. So that all those which knew anything concerning the same, said that it was impossible to giue so good a relation, without hauing seene it; And all of them, as if they had seene it, by the signes that he gaue, beleeued all that hee said to be true.

Chap. XIII. How the Gouernour departed from Apalache to seeke Yupaha, and of that which happened vnto him.

On Wednesday the third of March, of the yeere 1540. the Gouernor departed from Anaica Apalache to seeke Yupaha. He commanded his men to goe prouided with Maiz for sixtie leagues of desert. The horsemen carried their Maiz on their horses, and the footemen at their sides; because the Indians that were for seruice, with their miserable life that they lead that winter, being naked and in chaines, died for the most part. Within foure daies iournie they came to a great Riuer: and they made a piragua or ferrie bote, and because of the great current, they made a cable with chaines, which they fastened on both sides of the Riuer; and the ferrie bote went along by it; and the horses swam ouer, being drawne with capstans. Hauing passed the Riuer, in a day and an halfe, they came to a towne called Capachiqui. Vpon Friday the 11. of March, they found Indians in armes. The next

day fiue Christians went to seeke morters, which the Indians haue to beate their Maiz, and they went to certaine houses on the backside of the Campe enuironed with a wood: And within the wood were many Indians which came to spie vs; of the which came other fiue and set vpon vs. One of the Christians came running away, giuing an alarme vnto the Campe. Those which were most readie answered the alarme. They found one Christian dead, and three sore wounded. The Indians fled vnto a lake adioyning neere a very thicke wood, where the horses could not enter. The Gouernour departed from Capachiqui, and passed
[573] through a desert. On Wednesday the 21. of the moneth he came to a towne called Toalli. And from thence forward there was a difference in the houses. For those which were behind vs were thatched with straw, and those of Toalli were couered with reeds in manner of tiles. These houses are verie cleanly. Some of them had walles daubed with clay, which shewed like a mudwall. In all the cold countrie the Indians haue euery one a house for the winter daubed with clay within and without, and the doore is very little: they shut it by night, and make fire within; so that they are in it as warme as in a stoue: and so it continueth all night that they need not clothes: and besides these, they haue others for summer; and their kitchins neere them, where they make fire and bake their bread: and they haue barbacoas wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set vp in the aire vpon foure stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The difference which Lords or principall mens houses haue from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they haue great galleries in their fronts, and vnder them seates made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they haue many lofts, wherein they lay vp that which the Indians doe giue them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barke of trees, and some of a kind of grasse like vnto nettles, which being beaten, is like vnto flaxe. The women

couer themselues with these mantles; they put one about them from the wast downeward; and another ouer their shoulder, with their right arme out, like vnto the Egyptians. The men weare but one mantle vpon their shoulders after the same manner: and haue their secrets hid with a Deeres skin, made like a linen breech, which was wont to be vsed in Spaine. The skins are well corried, and they giue them what colour they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloath in graine, and the blacke is most fine: and of the same leather they make shooes; and they die their mantles in the same colours. The Gouernour departed from Toalli the 24. of March: he came on Thursday at euening to a small Riuer, where a bridge was made whereon the people passed, and Benit Fernandez a Portugall fell off from it, and was drowned. Assoone as the Gouernour had passed the Riuer, a little distance thence he found a towne called Achese. The Indians had no notice of the Christians: they leaped into a Riuer: some men and women were taken; among which was one that vnderstood [574] the youth which guided the Gouernour to Yupaha: whereby that which he had reported was more confirmed. For they passed through Countries of diuers languages, and some which he vnderstood not. The Gouernour sent by one of the Indians that were taken to call the Cacique, which was on the other side of the Riuer. Hee came and made this speech following:

Right high, right mightie, and excellent Lord, those things which seldome happen doe cause admiration. What then may the sight of your Lordship, and your people doe to mee and mine, whom we neuer saw? especially being mounted on such fierce beasts as your horses are, entring with such violence and furie into my Countrie, without my knowledge of your comming. It was a thing so strange, and caused such feare and terrour in our mindes, that it was not in our power to stay and receiue your Lordship with the solemnitie due to so high and renowmed a Prince, as your Lordship is. And trusting in your greatnesse and singular vertues, I doe not onely hope to be freed from blame,

but also to receiue fauours: and the first which I demand of your Lordship is, that you will vse me, my Countrie, and subiects as your owne; and the second, that you will tell mee who you are, and whence you come, and whither you goe, and what you seeke, that I the better may serue you therein.

The Gouernour answered him that hee thanked him as much for his offer and good will, as if hee had receiued it, and as if hee had offered him a great treasure; and told him that he was the sonne of the Sun, and came from those parts where he dwelt, and trauelled through that Countrie, and sought the greatest Lord, and richest Prouince that was in it. The Cacique told him; that farther forward dwelt a great Lord, and that his dominion was called Ocute. He gaue him a guide, and an interpretour for that Prouince. The Gouernour commanded his Indians to bee set free, and trauelled through his Countrie vp a Riuer very well inhabited. He departed from his towne the first of Aprill; and left a very high crosse of Wood set vp in the middest of the market place: and because the time gaue no more leasure, hee declared to him onely, that that crosse was a memorie of the same, whereon Christ, which was God and man, and created the heauens and the earth, suffered for our saluation: therefore he exhorted them that they should reuerence it: and they made
[575] shew as though they would doe so. The fourth of Aprill the Gouernour passed by a towne called Altamaca, and the 10. of the moneth he came to Ocute. The Cacique sent him two thousand Indians with a present, to wit, many conies, and partridges, bread of Maiz, two hens, and many dogs: which among the Christians were esteemed as if they had been fat wethers, because of the great want of flesh meate and salt, and hereof in many places, and many times was great need; and they were so scarse, that if a man fell sicke, there was nothing to cherish him withall: and with a sicknesse, that in another place easilie might haue been remedied, he consumed away till nothing but skinne and bones were left: and they died of pure weaknes, some of them saying,

If I had a slice of meate, or a few cornes of salt, I should not die. The Indians want no fleshmeat; for they kill with their arrowes many deere, hennes, conies, and other wild fowle: for they are very cunning at it: which skill the Christians had not: and though they had it, they had no leasure to vse it: for the most of the time they spent in trauell, and durst not presume to straggle aside. And because they were thus scanted of flesh, when sixe hundred men that went with Soto, came to any towne, and found 30. or 40. dogs, he that could get one and kill it, thought himselfe no small man: and he that killed it, and gaue not his Captaine one quarter, if he knew it, he frowned on him, and made him feele it, in the watches, or in any other matter of labour that was offered, wherein hee might doe him a displeasure. On Monday the 12. of Aprill, the Gouernour departed from Ocute. The Cacique gaue him two hundred Tamenes, to wit, Indians to carrie burdens: hee passed through a towne, the Lord whereof was named Cofaqui, and came to a prouince of an Indian Lord, called Patofa, who, because he was in peace with the Lord of Ocute, and with the other bordering Lords, had many daies before notice of the Gouernour, and desired to see him: He came to visit him, and made this speech following.

Cosaqui. Patofa.

Mightie Lord, now with good reason I will craue of fortune to requite this my so great prosperitie with some small aduersitie; and I will count my selfe verie rich, seeing I haue obtained that, which in this world I most desired, which is, to see, and bee able to doe your Lordship some seruice. And although the tongue bee the image of that which is in the heart, and that the contentment which I feele in my heart I cannot dissemble, yet is it not sufficient wholly to manifest the same. Where did this your countrie, which I doe gouerne, deserue to be visited of so soueraigne, and so excellent a Prince, whom all the rest of the world ought to obey and serue? And those which inhabite it being so base, what shall be the issue of such happines, if their memorie doe not represent vnto them some aduersitie that may betide them,

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according to the order of fortune? If from this day forward we may be capable of this benefit, that your Lordship will hold vs for your owne, we cannot faile to be fauoured and maintained in true iustice and reason, and to haue the name of men. For such as are void of reason and iustice, may be compared to brute beastes. For mine owne part, from my very heart with reuerence due to such a Prince, I offer my selfe vnto your Lordship, and beseech you; that in reward of this my true good will, you will vouchsafe to make vse of mine owne person, my countrie and subiects.

The Gouernour answered him, that his offers and good wil declared by the effect, did highly please him, whereof he would alwaies be mindfull to honour and fauour him as his brother. This countrie, from the first peaceable Cacique, vnto the Prouince of Patofa, which were fiftie leagues, is a fat countrie, beautifull, and very fruitfull, and very well watered, and full of good Riuers. And from thence to the Port de Spirito Santo, where wee first arriued in the land of Florida, (which may bee 350. leagues little more or lesse) is a barren land, and the most of it groues of wild Pine-trees, low and full of lakes, and in some places very hie and thicke groues, whither the Indians that were in armes fled, so that no man could finde them, neither could any horses enter into them. Which was an inconuenience to the Christians, in regard of the victuals which they found conueied away: and of the trouble which they had in seeking of Indians to bee their guides.

Chap. XIIII. How the Gouernour departed from the Prouince of Patofa, and went through a desert, where he and all his men fell into great distresse, and extreme miserie.

In the towne of Patofa the youth, which the Gouernour carried with him for an interpretour and a guide, began to fome at the
[577] mouth, and tumble on the ground, as one possessed with the

diuell: They said a Gospell ouer him; and the fit left him. And he said, that foure daies iournie from thence toward the Sunne rising, was the Prouince that he spake of. The Indians of Patofa said, that toward that part they knew no habitation; but that toward the Northwest, they knew a Prouince which was called Coça, a verie plentifull countrie, which had very great townes in it. The Cacique told the Gouernour, that if he would go thither, he would giue him guides and Indians for burdens; and if he would goe whither the youth spake of, that he would likewise giue him those that he needed: and so with louing words and offers of courtesie, they tooke their leaues the one of the other. Hee gaue him seuen hundred Indians to beare burdens. He tooke Maiz for foure daies iournie. Hee trauelled sixe daies by a path which grew narrow more and more, till it was lost altogether: He went where the youth did lead him, and passed two Riuers which were waded: each of them was two crossebowshot ouer: the water came to the stirrops, and had so great a current, that it was needfull for the horsemen to stand one before another, that the footemen might passe aboue them leaning vnto them. He came to another Riuer of a greater current and largenes, which was passed with more trouble, because the horses did swim at the comming out about a lances length. Hauing passed this Riuer, the Gouernor came to a groue of pinetrees, and threatned the youth, and made as though hee would haue cast him to the dogges, because he had told him a lie, saying it was but foure daies iournie, and they had trauelled nine, and euery day 7. or 8. leagues, and the men by this time were growne wearie and weake, and the horses leane through the great scanting of the Maiz. The youth said, that hee knew not where hee was. It saued him that he was not cast to the dogges, that there was neuer another whom Iohn Ortiz did vnderstand. The Gouernour with them two, and with some horsemen and footemen, leauing the Campe in a groue of pinetrees, trauelled that day 5. or 6. leagues to seek a way, and returned at night very comfortlesse, and without finding any signe of way or towne.

Two swift Riuers.

Another greater Riuer.

The next day there were sundrie opinions deliuered, whether they should goe backe, or what they should doe: and because backward the Countrie whereby they had passed was greatly spoiled and destitute of Maiz, and that which they brought with them was spent, and the men were very weake, and the horses [578] likewise, they doubted much whether they might come to any place where they might helpe themselues. And besides this, they were of opinion, that going in that sort out of order, that any Indians would presume to set vpon them, so that with hunger, or with warre, they could not escape. The Gouernour determined to send horsemen from thence euery way to seeke habitation: and the next day he sent foure Captaines, euery one a sundrie way with eight horsemen. At night they came againe, leading their horses, or driuing them with a sticke before; for they were so wearie, that they could not lead them; neither found they any way nor signe of habitation. The next day, the Gouernour sent other foure with as many horsemen that could swim, to passe the Ose and Riuers which they should find, and they had choice horses the best that were in the Campe. The Captaines were Baltasar de Gallégos, which went vp the Riuer; and Iohn Danusco, downe the Riuer: Alfonso Romo, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo went into the inward parts of the land. The Gouernour brought with him into Florida thirteene sowes, and had by this time three hundred swine: He commanded euery man should haue halfe a pound of hogs flesh euery day: and this hee did three or foure daies after the Maiz was all spent. With this small quantitie of flesh, and some sodden hearbs, with much trouble the people were sustained. The Gouernour dismissed the Indians of Patofa, because hee had no food to giue them; who desiring to accompanie and serue the Christians in their necessitie, making shew that it grieued them very much to returne, vntill they had left them in a peopled Countrie, returned to their owne home. Iohn Danusco came on Sunday late in the euening, and brought newes that he had found a little towne 12. or 13. leagues from

The great increase of swine.

thence: he brought a woman and a boy that he tooke there. With his comming and with those newes, the Gouernour and all the rest were so glad, that they seemed at that instant to haue returned from death to life. Vpon Monday the twentie sixe of Aprill, the Gouernour departed to goe to the towne, which was called Aymay; and the Christians named it the towne of Reliefe. He left where the Camp had lien at the foote of a Pinetree a letter buried, and letters carued in the barke of the pine, the contents whereof was this: Dig heere at the foot of this pine, and you shal find a letter. And this he did, because when the Captaines came, which were sent to seeke some habitation, they might see the letter, [579] and know what was become of the Gouernour, and which way he was gone. There was no other way to the town, but the markes that Iohn Danusco left made vpon the trees. The Gouernour with some of them that had the best horses came to it on the Monday: And all the rest inforcing themselues the best they could, some of them lodged within two leagues of the towne, some within three or foure, euery one as he was able to goe, and his strength serued him. There was found in the towne a storehouse full of the flowre of parched Maiz; and some Maiz, which was distributed by allowance. Here were foure Indians taken, and none of them would confesse any other thing, but that they knew of none other habitation. The Gouernour commanded one of them to be burned; and presently another confessed, that two daies iourney from thence, there was a Prouince that was called Cutifa Chiqui. Vpon Wednesday came the Captaines Baltasar de Gallégos, Alfonso Romo, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo: for they had found the letter, and followed the way which the Gouernour had taken toward the towne. Two men of Iohn Rodriguez companie were lost, because their horses tired: the Gouernour checked him very sore for leauing them behind, and sent to seeke them: and assoone as they came, he departed toward Cutifa Chiqui. In the way three Indians were taken, which said, that the Ladie of that Countrie had notice alreadie of the Christians, and staied for them in a

An Indian burned for his falsehood.

towne of hers. The Gouernour sent by one of them to offer her his friendship, and to aduertise her how he was comming thither. The Gouernour came vnto the towne: and presently there came foure canoes to him; in one of them came a sister of the Ladie, and approching to the Gouernour she said these words:

Excellent Lord, my sister sendeth vnto you by me to kisse your Lordships hands, and to signifie vnto you, that the cause why she came not in person, is, that she thinketh to do you greater seruice staying behind, as she doth, giuing order, that with all speed, al her canoes be readie, that your Lordship may passe the Riuer, and take your rest, which shall be presentlie performed.

The Gouernour gaue her thankes, and she returned to the other side of the Riuer. Within a little while the Ladie came out of the towne in a Chaire, whereon certaine of the principall Indians
[580] brought her to the Riuer. She entred into a barge, which had the sterne tilted ouer, and on the floore her mat readie laied with two cushions vpon it one vpon another, where she sate her downe; and with her came her principall Indians in other barges, which did wait vpon her. She went to the place where the Gouernour was, and at her comming she made this speech following:

Excellent Lord, I wish this comming of your Lordship into these your Countries, to be most happie: although my power be not answerable to my wil, and my seruices be not according to my desire, nor such as so high a Prince, as your Lordship, deserueth; yet since the good will is rather to be accepted, then all the treasures of the world, that without it are offered, with most vnfaileable and manifest affection, I offer you my person, lands, and subiects, and this small seruice.

And therewithal she presented vnto him great store of clothes of the Countrie, which shee brought in other canoes; to wit, mantles and skinnes; and tooke from her owne necke a great cordon of perles, and cast it about the necke of the Gouernour, entertaining him with very gracious speeches of loue and courtesie, and commanded canoes to be brought thither, wherein the

Gouernour and his people passed the Riuer. Assoone as hee was lodged in the towne, she sent him another present of many hens. This Countrie was verie pleasant, fat, and hath goodly meadows by the Riuers. Their woods are thin, and ful of Walnut trees and Mulberrie trees. They said the sea was two daies journey from thence. Within a league, and a halfe a league about this towne, was great townes dispeopled, and ouergrowne with grasse; which shewed, that they had been long without inhabitants. The Indians said, that two yeere before there was a plague in that countrie, and that they remooued to other townes. There was in their store-houses great quantitie of clothes, mantles of yarne made of the barkes of trees, and others made of feathers, white, greene red, and yellow, very fine after their vse, and profitable for winter. There were also many Deeres skinnes, with many compartiments traced in them, and some of them made into hose, stockings and shooes. And the Ladie perceiuing, that the Christians esteemed the perles, aduised the Gouernour to send to search certaine graues that were in that towne, and that hee should find many: and that if hee would send to the dispeopled townes, hee might load all his horses. They sought the graues of the towne, and there found fourteene rooues of perles, and little babies and birdes made of them. The people were browne, well made, and well proportioned, and more ciuill then any others that were seene in all the countrie of Florida, and all of them well shod and clothed. The youth told the Gouernour, that hee began now to enter into the land which hee spake of: and some credit was giuen him that it was so, because hee vnderstood the language of the Indians: and hee requested that hee might bee christened, for hee said he desired to become a Christian: Hee was christened, and named Peter; and the Gouernour commanded him to be loosed from a chaine, in which vntill that time he had gone. This countrie, as the Indians reported, had beene much inhabited, and had the fame of a good countrie. And, as it seemeth, the youth which was the Gouernours guide, had heard of it, and that which he knew by

Cutifa-Chiqui.

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heresay, hee affirmed that hee had seene, and augmented at his pleasure. In this towne was found a dagger, and beades, that had belonged to Christians. The Indians reported that Christians had been in the hauen, which was two daies iourney from this towne, many yeeres agoe. Hee that came thither was the Gouernour, the Licenciate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, which went to conquer this countrie, and at his comming to the Port hee died; and there was a diuision, quarrels and slaughters betweene some principall men which went with him, for the principall gouernment: And without knowing anything of the countrie they returned home to Hispaniola. All the company thought it good to inhabite that countrie, because it was in a temperat climate: And that if it were inhabited, al the shippes of New Spaine, of Peru, Santa Martha, and Tierra firme in their returne for Spaine, might well touch there: because it was in their way; and because it was a good countrie, and sited fit to raise commoditie. The Gouernour, since it was his intent to seeke another treasure, like that of Atabalipa Lord of Peru, was not contented with a good countrie, nor with perles, though many of them were worth their weight in gold. And if the countrie had been diuided among the Christians, those which the Indians had fished for afterward, would haue been of more value; for those which they had, because they burned them in the fire, did leese their colour. The Gouernour answered them, that vrged him to inhabit, That in all the countrie there were not victuals to susteine his men one moneth; and that it was needfull to resort to the Port of Ocus, where Maldanado was to stay for them: and that if no richer Countrie were found, they might returne againe to that whensoeuer they would: and in the meane time the Indians would sow their fields, and it would be better furnished with Maiz. He inquired of the Indians, whether they had notice of any great Lord farther into the land. They told him, that 12. daies iournie from thence, there was a Prouince called Chiaha, subiect to the Lord of Coça. Presently the Gouernour determined to seeke that land. And being a sterne man, and of

This towne was but two daies iourney from the hauen of Santa Helena. In the yeere 1525. It is 32 degrees 1/2.

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few words, though he was glad to sift and know the opinion of all men, yet after hee had deliuered his owne, he would not be contraried, and alwaies did what liked himselfe, and so all men did condescend vnto his will. And though it seemed an errour to leaue that Countrie, (for others might haue been sought round about, where the people might haue been sustained, vntill the haruest had been readie there, and the Maiz gathered) yet there was none that would say any thing against him, after they knew his resolution.

Chap. XV. How the Gouernour departed from Cutifa-Chiqui to seeke the Prouince of Coça; and what happened vnto him in the way.

The Gouernour departed from Cutifa-Chiqui the third day of May. And because the Indians had reuolted, and the will of the Ladie was perceiued, that if she could, she would depart without giuing any guides or men for burdens, for the wrongs which the Christians had done to the Indians: (for there neuer want some among many of the base sort, that for a little doe put themselues and others in danger of vndoing.) The Gouernour commanded her to be kept in safegard, and carried with him, not with so good vsage as she deserued for the good wil she shewed and good entertainment that she had made him. And he verified that old prouerb which saith; For weldoing I receiue euill. And so he carried her on foot with his bondwomen to looke vnto her. In all the townes where the Gouernour passed, the Ladie commanded [583] the Indians to come and carrie the burdens from one towne to another. We passed through her Countrie an hundred leagues, in which, as we saw, she was much obeyed; For the Indians did all that she commanded them with great efficacie and diligence. Peter the youth that was our guide, said, that she was not the Ladie her selfe, but a neece of hers, which came to that towne to

execute certaine principal men by commandement of the Ladie, which had withheld her tribute: which words were not beleeued, because of the lies which they had found in him before: but they bare with all things, because of the need which they had of him, to declare what the Indians said. In seuen daies space the Gouernour came to a Prouince called Chalaque, the poorest Country of Maiz that was seene in Florida. The Indians fed vpon rootes and herbes which they seeke in the fields, and vpon wild beasts, which they kil with their bowes and arrowes: and it is a verie gentle people. All of them goe naked, and are very leane. There was a Lord, which for a great present, brought the Gouernour two Deeres skins: and there were in that Countrie many wild hennes. In one towne they made him a present of 700. hennes, and so in other townes they sent him those which they had or could get. From this Prouince to another, which is called Xualla, he spent fiue daies: here he found very little Maiz; and for this cause, though the people were wearied, and the horses very weake, he staied no more but two daies. From Ocute to Cutifa-chiqui, may bee some hundred and thirtie leagues, whereof 80. are wildernesse. From Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, two hundred and fiftie, and it is an hillie Countrie. The Gouernour departed from Xualla toward Guaxule: he passed very rough and hie hilles. In that iournie, the Ladie of Cutifa-chiqui (whom the Gouernour carried with him, as is afore said, with purpose to carrie her to Guaxule, because her territorie reached thither) going on a day with the bondwomen which lead her, went out of the way, and entred into a wood, saying, she went to ease her selfe, and so she deceiued them, and hid her selfe in the wood; and though they sought her they could not find her. She carried away with her a little chest made of canes in manner of a coffer, which they call Petaca, full of vnbored perles. Some which could iudge of them, said, that they were of great value. An Indian woman that waited on her did carrie them. The Gouernour not to discontent her altogether, left them with her, making account that in Guaxule he would ask them of her, when

Chalaque seuen daies iournie from Cutifa-Chiqui.

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he gaue her leaue to returne: which coffer she carried away, and went to Xualla with three slaues which fled from the Campe, and one horseman which remained behind, who falling sicke of an ague went out of the way, and was lost. This man, whose name was Alimamos, dealt with the slaues to change their euill purpose, and returne with him to the Christians: which two of them did; and Alimamos and they ouertooke the Gouernour 50. leagues from thence in a Prouince called Chiaha; and reported how the Ladie remained in Xualla with a slaue of Andrew de Vasconcellos, which would not come backe with them, and that of a certaintie they liued as man and wife together, and meant to goe both to Cutifa-chiqui. Within fiue daies the Gouernour came to Guaxule. The Indians there gaue him a present of 300 dogges, because they saw the Christians esteeme them, and sought them to feed on them: for among them they are not eaten. In Guaxule, and all that way was very little Maiz: The Gouernour sent from thence an Indian with a message to the Cacique of Chiaha, to desire him to gather some Maiz thither, that he might rest a few daies in Chiaha. The Gouernour departed from Guaxule, and in two daies iournie came to a towne called Canasagua. There met him on the way 20. Indians euery one laden with a basket full of Mulberries: for there be many, and those very good, from Culifa-chiqui thither, and so forward in other Prouinces, and also nuts and plummes. And the trees grow in the fields without planting or dressing them, and are as big and rancke, as though they grew in gardens digged and watered. From the time that the Gouernour departed from Canasagua, hee iournied fiue daies through a desert; and two leagues before hee came to Chiaha, there met him 15. Indians loaded with Maiz, which the Cacique had sent; and they told him on his behalfe that he waited his comming with 20. barnes full of it; and farther that himselfe his countrie, and subiects, and al things els were at his seruice. On the 5. day of Iune, the Gouernour entred into Chiaha: The Cacique voided his owne houses, in which he lodged and

receiued him with much ioy, saying these words following:

Mightie and excellent Lord, I hold my selfe for so happie a man, in that it hath pleased your Lordship to vse me, that nothing could haue happened vnto me of more contentment, nor that I
[585] would haue esteemed so much. From Guaxule your Lordship sent vnto me, that I should prepare Maiz for you in this towne for two moneths: Here I haue for you 20. barnes full of the choisest that in all the countrie could be found. If your lordship bee not entertained by mee in such sort, as is fit for so hie a Prince, respect my tender age, which excuseth me from blame, and receiue my good will, which with much loyaltie, truth, and sinceritie, I will alwaies shew in any thing, which shall concerne your Lordships seruice.

The Gouernour answered him, that he thanked him very much for his seruice and offer, and that he would alwaies account him as a brother. There was in this towne much butter in gourds melted like oile: they said it was the fat of beares. There was found also great store of oile of walnuts, which was cleare as butter, and of good taste, and a pot full of honie of bees, which neither before or afterward was seene in all the countrie. The towne was in an Island betweene two armes of a Riuer, and was seated nigh one of them. The Riuer diuided it selfe into those two branches two crossebow shot aboue the towne, and meeteth againe a league beneath the same. The plaine betweene both the branches is sometimes one crosse-bowe shot ouer. The branches are very broad, and both of them may be waded ouer. There were all along them verie good meadowes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. And because the Indians staid in their towns the Gouernour only lodged in the houses of the Cacique, and his people in the fields; where there was euer a tree, euerie one tooke one for himselfe. Thus the camp lay separated one from another, and out of order. The Gouernour winked at it, because the Indians were in peace, and because it was very hot, and the people should haue suffered great extremities, if it had not

bin so. The horses came thither so weake, that for feeblenesse, they were not able to carrie their masters: because that from Cutifa-chiqui, they alwaies trauelled with very little prouender, and were hunger-starued and tired euer since they came from the desert of Ocute. And because the most of them were not in case to vse in battell, though need should require, they sent them to feed in the night a quarter of a league from the Camp. The Christians were there in great danger, because that if at this time the Indians had set vpon them, they had been in euill case to haue defended themselues. The Gouernour rested there thirtie daies, in which time, because the Countrie was very fruitfull, the horses grew fat. At the time of his departure, by the importunitie of some, which would haue more then was reason, hee demanded of the Cacique 30. women to make slaues of. Hee answered that hee would conferre with his chiefe men. And before hee returned answere, one night all of them with their wiues and children forsooke the towne, and fled away. The next day the Gouernour purposing to goe to seeke them, the Cacique came vnto him, and at his comming vsed these words vnto the Gouernour:

The desert of Ocute, chap. 14.

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Mightie Lord, with shame and feare of your Lordship, because my subiects against my will haue done amisse in absenting themselues, I went my way without your license; and knowing the errour which I haue committed, like a loyall subiect, I come to yeeld my selfe into your power, to dispose of mee at your owne pleasure. For my subiects do not obey mee, nor do any thing but what an Vncle of mine commandeth, which gouerneth this Countrie for me, vntill I be of a perfect age. If your lordship will pursue them, and execute on them that, which for their disobedience they deserue, I will be your guide, since at this present my fortune will not suffer me to performe any more.

Presently the Gouernour with 30. horsemen, and as many footmen, went to seeke the Indians, and by passing by some townes of the principall Indians which had absented themselues, hee cut and destroyed great fields of Maiz; and went vp the

Certaine townes.

Riuer, where the Indians were in an Island, where the horsemen could not come at them. There he sent them word by an Indian to returne to their towne and feare nothing, and that they should giue him men to carrie burdens, as al those behind had done; for he would haue no Indian women, seeing they were so loth to part with them. The Indians accepted his request, and came to the Gouernour to excuse themselues; and so all of them returned to their towne. A Cacique of a Prouince called Coste, came to this towne to visit the Gouernour. After hee had offered himselfe, and passed with him some words of tendring his seruice and curtesie; the Gouernour asking him whether he had notice of any rich Countrie? he said, yea: to wit, "that toward the North, there was a Prouince named Chisca: and that there was a melting of copper, and of another metall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect colour, and farre better to the sight and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer." And the selfe same thing was told the Gouernour in Cutifa-chiqui; where we saw some little hatchets of copper, which were said to haue a mixture of gold. But in that part the Countrie was not well peopled, and they said there were mountaines, which the horses could not passe: and for that cause the Gouernour would not goe from Cutifa-chiqui directly thither: And hee made account, that trauelling through a peopled Countrie, when his men and horses should be in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing, he would returne toward it, by mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrie, whereby hee might haue better passage. He sent two Christians from Chiaha with certain Indians which knew the Countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find; where he told them that he would tarrie for them.

Mines of copper and gold in Chisca toward the North.

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Chisca is directly North from Cutifa-Chiqui which is within two daies of Santa Helena.

Two Christians sent from Chiaha to seeke Chisca.

Chap. XVI. How the Gouernour departed from Chiaha, and at Coste was in danger to haue been slaine by the hands of the Indians, and by a stratageme escaped the same: And what more happened vnto him in this iourney, and how he came to Coça.

When the Gouernour was determined to depart from Chiaha to Coste, he sent for the Cacique to come before him, and with gentle words tooke his leaue of him, and gaue him certaine things, wherewith he rested much contented: In seuen daies he came to Coste. The second of Iulie he commanded his campe to be pitched two crossebow shot from the towne: and with eight men of his guard he went where he found the Cacique, which to his thinking receiued him with great loue. As hee was talking with him, there went from the campe certaine footemen to the towne to seeke some Maiz, and not contented with it, they ransacked and searched the houses, and tooke what they found. With this despite the Indians began to rise and take their armes: and some of them with cudgils in their hands, ran vpon fiue or sixe Christians, which had done them wrong, and beat them [588] at their pleasure. The Gouernour seeing them al in an vprore, A wise strategem. and himselfe among them with so few Christians, to escape their hands vsed a stratagem, farre against his owne disposition, being as hee was very francke and open: and though it grieued him very much that any Indian should be so bold, as with reason, or without reason to despise the Christians, he tooke vp a cudgel, and tooke their parts against his owne men; which was a meanes to quiet them: And presently he sent word by a man very secretly to the Campe, that some armed men should come toward the place where he was; and hee tooke the Cacique by the hand, vsing very mild words vnto him, and with some principall Indians that did accompanie him, he drew them out of the towne into a plaine

way, and vnto the sight of the Campe, whither by little and little with good discretion the Christians began to come and to gather about them. Thus the Gouernour led the Cacique, and his chiefe men vntill he entred with them into the Campe: and neere vnto his tent, hee commanded them to be put in safe custodie: and told them, that they should not depart without giuing him a guide and Indians for burthens, and till certaine sicke Christians were come, which he had commanded to come downe the Riuer in canoes from Chiaha; and those also which he had sent to the Prouince of Chisca: (for they were not returned; and he feared that the Indians had slaine the one, and the other.) Within three daies after, those which were sent to Chisca returned, and made report, that the Indians had carried them through a countrie so poore of Maiz, and so rough, and ouer so hie mountaines, that it was impossible for the armie to trauell that way; and that seeing the way grew very long, and that they lingered much, they consulted to returne from a little poore towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an oxe hide, which the Indians gaue them, as thinne as a calues skinne, and the haire like a soft wool, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe. The Cacique gaue a guide, and men for burdens, and departed with the Gouernours leaue. The Gouernour departed from Coste the ninth of Iulie, and lodged at a towne called Tali: the Casique came foorth to receiue him on the way, and made this speech:

Excellent Lord and Prince, worthie to be serued and obeyed of all the Princes in the world; howsoeuer for the most part by the outward phisiognomie, the inward vertue may bee iudged,
[589] and that who you are, and of what strength was knowne vnto mee before now: I will not inferre hereupon how meane I am in your presence, to hope that my poore seruices will be gratefull and acceptable: since whereas strength faileth, the will doth not cease to be praised and accepted. And for this cause I presume to request your Lordship, that you will be pleased onely to respect the same, and consider wherein you will command my seruice in

this your countrie.

The Gouernour answered him, that his good will and offer was as acceptable vnto him, as if he had offered him all the treasures of the world, and that hee would alwaies intreate, fauour, and esteeme him as if he were his owne brother. The Cacique commanded prouision necessarie for two daies, while the Gouernour was there, to be brought thither: and at the time of his departure, he gaue him foure women and two men, which hee had need of to beare burthens. The Gouernour trauelled sixe daies through many townes subiect to the Cacique of Coça: and as he entred into his Countrie many Indians came vnto him euery day from the Cacique, and met him on the way with messages, one going, and another comming. Hee came to Coça vpon Friday, the 26. of Iulie. The Cacique came foorth to receiue him two crossebow shot from the towns in a chaire, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting vpon a cushion, and couered with a garment of Marterns, of the fashion and bignes of a womans huke: hee had on his head a diadem of feathers, and round about him many Indians playing vpon flutes, and singing. Assoone as he came vnto the Gouernour, he did his obeysance, and vttered these words following:

Excellent and mightie Lord, aboue all them of the earth; although I come but now to receiue you, yet I haue receiued you many daies agoe in my heart, to wit, from the day wherein I had first notice of your Lordship; with so great desire to serue you, with so great pleasure and contentment, that this which I make shew of is nothing in regard of that which is in my heart neither can it haue any kind of comparison. This you may hold for certaine, that to obtaine the dominion of the whole world, would not haue reioyced me so much, as your sight, neither would I haue held it for so great a felicitie. Doe not looke for me to offer you that which is your owne: to wit, my person, my lands, and subiects: onely I busie my selfe in commanding my men with all diligence and due reuerence to welcome you from hence to the

[590] towne with playing and singing, where your Lordship shall be lodged and attended ypon by my selfe and them: and all that I possesse, your Lordship shall vse as it were your owne. For your Lordship shall doe mee a verie great fauour in so doing.

The Gouernour gaue him thankes, and with great ioy they both were conferring together, till they came to the towne: and he commanded his Indians to void their houses, wherein the Gouernour and his men lodged. There was in the barnes, and in the fields, great store of Maiz and French Beanes: The Country was greatly inhabited with many great townes, and many sowne fields, which reach from the one to the other. It was pleasant, fat, full of good meadowes vpon Riuers. There were in the fields, many Plum trees, aswell of such as grow in Spaine, as of the Countrie: and wild tall vines, that runne vp the trees; and besides these, there were other low vines with big and sweet grapes; but for want of digging and dressing, they had great kirnels in them. The Gouernour vsed to set a guard ouer the Caciques, because they should not absent themselues, and carried them with him, till he came out of their Countries, because that carrying them along with him, hee looked to find people in the townes, and they gaue him guides, and men to carrie burdens: and before hee went out of their Countries, he gaue them licence to returne to their houses, and to their porters likewise, assoone as he came to any other Lordship, where they gaue him others. The men of Coça seeing their Lord detained, tooke it in euill part, and reuolted and hid themselues in the woods, aswell those of the towne of the Cacique, as those of the other townes of his principall subjects. The Gouernour sent out foure Captaines, euery one his way to seeke them. They tooke many men and women, which were put into chaines: They seeing the hurt which they receiued, and how little they gained in absenting themselues, came againe, promising to do whatsoeuer they were commanded. Of those which were taken prisoners, some principall men were set at libertie, whom the Cacique demanded: and euery one that had

any, carried the rest in chaines like slaues, without letting them goe to their Countrie: neither did any returne, but some few, whose fortune helped them with the good diligence which they vsed to file off their chaines by night, or such as in their trauelling could slippe aside out of the way, seeing any negligence in them that kept them: some escaped away with the chaines, and with the burdens, and clothes which they carried.

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Chap. XVII. How the Gouernour went from Coça to Tascaluca.

The Gouernour rested in Coça 25. daies. He departed from thence the 20. of August to seeke a Prouince called Tascaluca: hee carried with him the Cacique of Coça. He passed that day by a great towne called Tallimuchase, the people were fled: he lodged halfe a league farther neere a brooke. The next day he came to a towne called Ytaua, subiect to Coça. Hee staied there sixe daies because of a Riuer that passed by it, which at that time was very hie; and assoone as the Riuer suffered him to passe, he set forward, and lodged at a towne named Vllibahali. There came to him on the way, on the Caciques behalfe of that Prouince, ten or twelue principall Indians to offer him his seruice; all of them had their plumes of feathers, and bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour comming to the towne with twelue horsemen, and some footemen of his guard, leauing his people a crossebow shot from the towne, entred into it, hee found all the Indians with their weapons: and as farre as he could ghesse, they seemed to haue some euill meaning. It was knowne afterward, that they were determined to take the Cacique of Coça, from the Gouernour, if hee had requested it. The Gouernour commanded all his people to enter the towne, which was walled about, and neere vnto it passed a small Riuer. The wall, aswell of that, as of others,

Vllibahali walled about.

which afterward wee saw, was of great posts thrust deepe into the ground and very rough, and many long railes as big as ones arme laid acrosse between them, and the wall was about the height of a lance, and it was daubed within and without with clay, and had loope holes. On the other side of the Riuer was a towne, where at that present the Cacique was. The Gouernour sent to call him, and hee came presently. After he had passed with the Gouernour some words of offering his seruices, he gaue him such men for his cariages as he needed, and thirtie women for slaues. In that place was a Christian lost, called Mançano, home in Salamanca, of noble parentage, which went astray to seeke for grapes, whereof there is great store, and those very good. The day that the Gouernour departed from thence, he lodged at a towne subiect to the Lord of Vllibahali: and the next
[592] day hee came to another towne called Toasi. The Indians gaue the Gouernour thirtie women, and such men for his cariages as he needed. Hee trauelled ordinarily 5. or 6. leagues a day when he trauelled through peopled Countries: and going through deserts, he marched as fast as he could, to eschew the want of Maiz. From Toasi, passing through some townes subiect to a Cacique, which was Lord of a prouince called Tallise, hee trauelled fiue daies: He came to Tallise the 18. of September: The towne was great, and situated neere vnto a maine Riuer. On the other side of the Riuer were other townes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. On both sides it was a very plentifull Countrie, and had store of Maiz: they had voided the towne. The Gouernour commanded to call the Cacique; who came, and betweene them passed some words of loue and offer of his seruices, and hee presented vnto him 40. Indians. There came to the Gouernour in this towne a principall Indian in the behalfe of the Cacique of Tascaluca, and made this speech following:

Mightie, vertuous, and esteemed Lord, the great Cacique of Tascaluca my Lord, sendeth by me to kisse your Lordships hands, and to let you vnderstand, that he hath notice, how you iustly

rauish with your perfections and power, all men on the earth; and that euerie one by whom your Lordship passeth doth serue and obey you; which he acknowledgeth to be due vnto you, and desireth, as his life, to see, and to serue your Lordship. For which cause by me he offereth himselfe, his lands and subiects, that when your Lordship pleaseth to go through his Countrie, you may be receiued with all peace and loue, serued and obeyed; and that in recompence of the desire he hath to see you, you will doe him the fauour to let him know when you will come: for how much the sooner, so much the greater fauour he shall receiue.

The Gouernour receiued and dispatched him graciously, giuing him beades, which among them were not much esteemed, and some other thinges to carrie to his Lord. And he gaue licence to the Cacique of Coça to returne home to his owne Countries. The Cacique of Tallise gaue him such men for burthens as he needed. And after he had rested there 20. daies, hee departed thence toward Tascaluca. That day when he went from Tallise, hee lodged at a great towne called Casiste. And the next day passed by another, and came to a small towne of Tascaluca; and the next day hee camped in a wood two leagues from the towne where the Cacique resided, and was at that time. And he sent [593] the Master of the Camp, Luys de Moscoso, with 15. horsemen, to let him know how hee was comming. The Cacique was in his lodgings vnder a Canopie: and without doores, right against his lodgings, in an high place, they spread a mat for him, and two cushions one vpon another, where he sat him downe, and his Indians placed themselues round about him, somewhat distant from him, so that they made a place, and a void roome where he sate: and his chiefest men were neerest to him, and one with a shadow of Deeres skinne, which keept the Sunne from him, being round, and of the bignes of a target, quartered with black and white, hauing a rundell in the middest: a farre off it seemed to be of taffata, because the colours were very perfect. It was set on a small staffe stretched wide out. This was the deuice which

hee carried in his warres. He was a man of a very tall stature, of great limmes, and spare, and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and subiects. He was Lord of many territories and much people: In his countenance hee was very graue. After the Master of the Campe had spoken with him, hee and those that went with him coursed their horses, pransing them to and fro, and now and then toward the place where the Cacique was, who with much grauitie and dissimulation now and then lifted vp his eies, and beheld them as it were with disdaine. At the Gouernours comming, hee made no offer at all to rise. The Gouernour tooke him by the hand, and both of them sate downe together on a seate which was vnder the cloth of estate. The Cacique said these words vnto him:

Mighty Lord, I bid your Lordship right hartily welcome. I receiue as much pleasure and contentment with your sight, as if you were my brother whom I dearly loued: vpon this point it is not needfull to vse many reasons; since it is no discretion to speake that in many wordes, which in few may be vttered. How much the greater the will is, so much more giueth it name to the workes, and the workes giue testimonie of the truth. Now touching my will, by it you shall know, how certaine and manifest it is, and how pure inclination I haue to serue you. Concerning the fauour which you did me, in the things which you sent me, I make as much account of them as is reason to esteeme them: and chiefly because they were yours. Now see what seruice you will
[594] command me.

The Gouernor satisfied him with sweet words, and with great breuitie. When hee departed from thence he determined to carrie him along with him for some causes, and at two daies iournie he came to a towne called Piache, by which there passed a great Riuer. The Gouernour demanded canoes of the Indians: they said, they had them not, but that they would make rafts of canes and drie timber, on which he might passe well enough. And they made them with all diligence and speed, and they gouerned

them; and because the water went very slow, the Gouernour and his people passed very well.

From the Port de Spirito Santo to Apalache, which is about an hundred leagues, the Gouernour went from East to West: And from Apalache to Cutifa-chiqui, which are 430. leagues, from the Southwest to the Northeast: and from Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, which are about two hundred and fiftie leagues, from the South to the North: And from Xualla to Tascaluca, which are two hundred and fiftie leagues more, an hundred and ninetie of them he trauelled from East to West, to wit, to the Prouince of Coça: and the other 60. from Coça to Tascaluca from the North to the South.

Hauing passed the Riuer of Piache, a Christian went from his companie from thence to seeke a woman slaue that was runne away from him, and the Indians either tooke him captiue, or slue him. The Gouernor vrged the Cacique that he should giue account of him, and threatened him, that if he were not found, he would neuer let him loose. The Cacique sent an Indian from thence to Mauilla, whither they were trauelling, which was a towne of a principall Indian and his subiect, saying, that he sent him to aduise them to make readie victuals, and men for carriages. But, (as afterward appeared) hee sent him to assemble all the men of warre thither, that hee had in his Countrie. The Gouernour trauelled three daies; and the third day he passed all day through a peopled Countrie: and he came to Mauilla vpon Monday the 18. of October. He went before the Camp with 15. horsemen and 30. footemen. And from the towne came a Christian, whom he had sent to the principall man, three or foure daies before, because he should not absent himselfe, and also to learne in what sort the Indians were: who told him that hee thought they were in an euill purpose: for while hee was there, there came manie people into the towne, and many weapons, and that they made great haste to fortifie the wall. Luys de Moscoso told the Gouernour, that it would bee good to lodge in [595] Mauilla walled.

the field, seeing the Indians were of such disposition: and hee answered, that he would lodge in the towne, for hee was wearie of lodging in the field. When hee came neere vnto the towne, the Cacique came foorth to receiue him with many Indians playing vpon flutes and singing: And after hee had offered himselfe, hee presented him with three mantels of marterns. The Gouernour, with both the Caciques, and seuen or eight men of his guard, and three or foure horsemen which alighted to accompanie him, entred into the towne, and sat him downe vnder a cloth of estate. The Cacique of Tascaluca requested him, that hee would let him remaine in that towne, and trouble him no more with travelling: And seeing he would not giue him leaue, in his talke he changed his purpose, and dissemblinglie fained that he would speake with some principall Indians, and rose vp from the place where hee sate with the Gouernour, and entred into a house, where many Indians were with their bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour when he saw he returned not, called him, and he answered, that he would not come out from thence, neither would he goe any farther then that towne, and that if he would goe his way in peace, hee should presently depart, and should not seeke to carrie him perforce out of his Countrie and territorie.

Chap. XVIII. How the Indians rose against the Gouernour, and what ensued thereupon.

The Gouernour seeing the determination, and furious answere of the Cacique, went about to pacifie him with faire words: to which he gaue no answere, but rather with much pride and disdaine, withdrew himselfe where the Gouernor might not see him, nor speake with him. As a principall Indian passed that way, the Gouernor called him, to send him word, that hee might remaine at his pleasure in his Countrie, and that it would please him to giue him a guide, and men for carriages, to see if he could pacifie

him with mild words. The Indians answered with great pride, that hee would not hearken vnto him. Baltasar de Gallégos, which stood by tooke hold of a gowne of marternes which hee had on; and he cast it ouer his head, and left it in his hands: and because [596] all of them immediatly began to stirre, Baltasar de Gallégos gaue him such a wound with his coutilas, that hee opened him downe the backe, and presently all the Indians with a great crie came out of the houses shooting their arrowes. The Gouernour considering, that if hee tarried there, hee could not escape, and if hee commanded his men to come in, which were without the towne, the Indians within the houses might kill their horses, and doe much hurt, ranne out of the towne, and before hee came out, hee fell twice or thrice, and those that were with him did helpe him vp againe; and he and those that were with him were sore wounded: and in a moment there were fiue Christians slaine in the towne. The Gouernour came running out of the towne, crying out, that euery man should stand farther off, because from the wall they did them much hurt. The Indians seeing that the Christians retired, and some of them, or the most part, more then an ordinary pase, shot with great boldnesse at them, and strooke downe such as they could ouertake. The Indians which the Christians did lead with them in chaines, had laid downe their burthens neere vnto the wall: and assoone as the Gouernour and his men were retired, the men of Mauilla laid them on the Indians backs againe, and tooke them into the towne, and loosed them presently from their chaines, and gaue them bowes and arrowes to fight withall. Thus they possessed themselues of al the clothes and perles, and all that the Christians had, which their slaues carried. And because the Indians had been alwaies peaceable vntill wee came to this place, some of our men had their weapons in their fardels and remained vnarmed. And from others that had entred the towne with the Gouernour they had taken swords and halebards, and fought with them. When the Gouernour was gotten into the field, hee called for an horse, and

Al the clothes and perles of the Christians were lost.

with some that accompanied him, hee returned and slew two or three Indians: All the rest retired themselues to the towne, and shot with their bowes from the wall. And those which presumed of their nimblenes, sallied foorth to fight a stones cast from the wall: And when the Christians charged them, they retired themselues at their leasure into the towne. At the time that the broile began, there were in the towne a Frier, and a Priest, and a seruant of the Gouernour, with a woman slave: and they had
[597] no time to come out of the towne: and they tooke an house, and so remained in the towne. The Indians beeing become Masters of the place, they shut the doore with a field gate: and among them was one sword which the Gouernors seruant had, and with it he set himselfe behind the doore, thrusting at the Indians which sought to come into them: and the Frier and the Priest stood on the other side, each of them with a barre in their hands to beate him downe that first came in. The Indians seeing they could not get in by the doore, began to vncouer the house top. By this time, all the horsemen and footemen which were behind, were come to Mauilla. Here there were sundrie opinions, whether they should charge the Indians to enter the towne, or whether they should leaue it, because it was hard to enter: and in the end it was resolued to set vpon them.

Chap. XIX. How the Gouernour set his men in order, and entred the towne of Mauilla,

Assoone as the battell and the rereward were come to Mauilla, the Gouernour commanded all those that were best armed to alight, and made foure squadrons of footmen. The Indians, seeing how he was setting his men in order, concluded with the Cacique, that hee should goe his way, saying vnto him, as after it was knowne by certaine women that were taken there, that he was but one man, and could fight but for one man, and that they

A consultation of the Indians to send away their Cacique.

had there among them many principall Indians verie valiant and expert in feates of armes, that any one of them was able to order the people there; and forasmuch as matters of warre were subiect to casualtie, and it was vncertaine which part should overcome, they wished him to saue himselfe, to the end, that if it fel out that they should end their daies there, as they determined, rather then to be ouercome, there might remaine one to gouerne the Countrie. For all this hee would not haue gon away: but they vrged him so much, that with fifteene or twentie Indians of his owne, hee went out of the towne, and carried away a skarlat cloke, and other things of the Christians goods; as much as hee was able to carrie, and seemed best vnto him. The Gouernour was informed how there went men out of the towne, and hee commanded the horsemen to beset it, and sent in euery squadron [598] of footemen one souldier with a firebrand to set fire on the houses, that the Indians might haue no defense: all his men being set in order, hee commanded an harcubuz to bee shot off. The signe being giuen, the foure squadrons, euery one by it selfe with great furie, gaue the onset, and with great hurt on both sides they entred the towne. The Frier and the Priest, and those that were with them in the house were saued, which cost the liues of two men of account, and valiant, which came thither to succour them. The Indians fought with such courage, that many times they draue our men put of the towne. The fight lasted so long, that for wearinesse and great thirst many of the Christians went to a poole that was neere the wal, to drink, which was all stained with the blood of the dead, and then came againe to fight. Thie Gouernour seeing this, entred among the footemen into the towne on horseback, with certaine that accompanied him, and was a meane that the Christians came to set fire on the houses, and brake and ouercame the Indians, who running out of the towne from the footemen, the horsemen without draue in at the gates again, where being without all hope of life, they fought valiantly, and after the Christians came among them to handy blowes,

seeing themselues in great distresse without any succour, many of them fled into the burning houses, where one vpon another they were smothered and burnt in the fire. The whole number of the Indians that died in this towne, were two thousand Indians and fiue hundred, little more or lesse. Of the Christians there died eighteene; of which one was Don Carlos, brother in law to the Gouernour, and a nephew of his, and one Iohn de Gamez, and Men Rodriguez Portugals, and Iohn Vasquez de Villanoua de Barca Rota, all men of honour, and of much valour: the rest were footemen. Besides those that were slaine, there were an hundred and fiftie wounded with 700. wounds of their arrowes: and it pleased God that of very dangerous wounds they were quickly healed; Moreouer, there were twelue horses slaine, and seuentie hurt. All the clothes which the Christians carried with them to clothe themselues withall, and the ornaments to say Masse, and the perles, were all burnt there: and the Christians did set them on fire themselues; because they held for a greater inconuenience, the hurt which the Indians might doe them from those houses, where they had gathered all those goods together, then the losse of them. Here the Gouernour vnderstood, that Francisco Maldonado waited for him at the Port of Ochuse, and that it was sixe daies iournie from thence; and he dealt with Iohn Ortiz to keepe it secret, because he had not accomplished that which he determined to doe; and because the perles were burnt there, which he meant to haue sent to Cuba for a shew, that the people hearing the newes, might be desirous to come to that Countrie. He feared also, that if they should haue newes of him without seeing from Florida neither gold nor siluer, nor any thing of value, it would get such a name, that no man would seeke to goe thither, when he should haue neede of people. And so he determined to send no newes of himselfe, vntill hee had found some rich Countrie.

The death of 2500. Indians.

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The Port of Ochuse sixe daies iournie from Mauilla.

Chap. XX. How the Gouernour departed from Mauilla toward Chicaça, and what happened vnto him.

From the time that the Gouernour entred into Florida, vntill his departure from Mauilla, there died an hundred and two Christians, some of sicknesse, and others which the Indians slew. He staied in Mauilla, because of the wounded men, eight and twentie daies: all which time he lay in the field. It was a well inhabited and a fat countrie, there were some great and walled townes: and many houses scattered all about the fields, to wit, a crossebow shot or two, the one from the other. Vpon Sonday, the eighteenth of Nouember, when the hurt men were knowne to bee healed, the Gouernour departed from Mauilla. Euery one furnished himselfe with Maiz for two daies, and they trauelled fiue daies through a desert: they came to a Prouince called Pafallaya, vnto a towne, named Taliepataua: and from thence they went to another, called Cabusto: neere vnto it ran a great Riuer. The Indians on the other side cried out, threatning the Christians to kill them, if they sought to passe it. The Gouernour commanded his men to make a barge within the towne, because the Indians should not perceiue it: it was finished in foure daies, and being ended, he commanded it to be carried one night vpon sleds halfe a league vp the Riuer. In the morning there entred into it thirtie men well armed. The Indians perceiued what was attempted, and those which were neerest, came to defend the passage. They resisted [600] what they could, till the Christians came neere them; and seeing that the barge came to the shore, they fled away into the groues of canes. The Christians mounted on horsebacke, and went vp the Riuer to make good the passage, whereby the Gouernour and his companie passed the Riuer. There was along the Riuer some townes well stored with Maiz and French Beanes. From thence to Chicaça the Gouernour trauelled fiue daies through a desert. Hee came to a Riuer, where on the otherside were Indians to

defend the passage. He made another barge in two daies; and when it was finished, the Gouernour sent an Indian to request the Cacique to accept of his friendship, and peaceably to expect his comming: whom the Indians that were on the other side the Riuer slew before his face, and presently making a great shout went their way. Hauing passed the Riuer, the next day, being the 17. of December, the Gouernour came to Chicaça, a small towne of twentie houses. And after they were come to Chicaça, they were much troubled with cold, because it was now winter and it snowed, while most of them were lodged in the field, before they had time to make themselues houses. This countrie was very well peopled, and the houses scattered like those of Mauilla, fat and plentifull of Maiz, and the most part of it was fielding: they gathered as much as sufficed to passe the winter. Some Indians were taken, among which was one whom the Cacique esteemed greatly. The Gouernour sent an Indian to signifie to the Cacique, that he desired to see him and to haue his friendship. The Cacique came vnto him, to offer him his person, countrie and subiects, and told him, that he would cause two other Caciques to come to him in peace; who within few daies after came with him, and with their Indians: the one was called Alimamu, the other Nicalasa. They gaue a present vnto the Gouernour of an hundred and fiftie conies, and of the countrie garments, to wit, of mantles and skinnes. The Cacique of Chicaça came to visit him many times; and sometimes the Gouernour sent to call him, and sent him a horse to goe and come. He complained vnto him, that a subiect of his was risen against him, and depriued him of his tribute, requesting his aide against him, for he meant to seeke him in his countrie, and to punish him according to his desert. Which was nothing els but a fained plot. For they determined assoone as the Gouernour was gone with him, and the campe was diuided into two parts, the one of them to set vpon the Gouernour, and the other vpon them that remained in Chicaça. Hee went to the towne where he vsed to keepe his

An Indian stratagem.

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residence, and brought with him two hundred Indians with their bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour tooke thirtie horsemen, and eightie footemen, and they went to Saquechuma (for so was the Prouince called of that chiefe man, which he said had rebelled.) They found a walled towne, without any men: and those which went with the Cacique set fire on the houses, to dissemble their treason. But by reason of the great care and heedfullnesse, that was as well in the Gouernors people which hee carried with him, as of those which remained in Chicaça, they durst not assault them at that time. The Gouernour inuited the Cacique, and certaine principall Indians, and gaue them hogges flesh to eate. And though they did not commonly vse it, yet they were so greedie of it, that euery night there came Indians to certaine houses a crossebow shot from the Camp, where the hogges lay, and killed, and carried away as many as they could. And three Indians were taken in the manner. Two of them the Gouernour commanded to be shot to death with arrowes; and to cut off the hands of the other; and he sent him so handled to the Cacique. Who made as though it grieued him that they had offended the Gouernor, and that he was glad that he had executed that punishment on them. He lay in a plaine countrie half a league from the place, where the Christians lodged. Foure horsemen went a straggling thither, to wit Francisco Osorio, and a seruant of the Marques of Astorga, called Reynoso, and two seruants of the Gouernour, the one his page called Ribera, and the other Fuentes his Chamberlaine: and these had taken from the Indians some skinnes, and some mantles, wherewith they were offended and forsooke their houses. The Gouernour knew of it, and commanded them to be apprehended; and condemned to death Francisco Osorio, and the Chamberlaine as principalls, and all of them to losse of goods. The Friers and Priests and other principall persons were earnest with him to pardon Francisco Osorio his life, and to moderate his sentence, which hee would not grant for any of them. While he was readie to command them to be drawne to the market

place to cut off their heads, there came certaine Indians from the Cacique to complaine of them. Iohn Ortiz, at the request of Baltasar de Gallégos and other persons changed their words, [602] and told the Gouernour that the Cacique said he had notice how his Lordship held those Christians in prison for his sake, and that they were in no fault, neither had they done him any wrong, and that if he would do him any fauour he would set them free. And he told the Indians; That the Gouernour said, he had them in prison, and that he would punish them in such sort, that they should bee an example to others. Hereupon the Gouernour March, 1541. commanded the prisoners to be loosed. Assoone as March was come, hee determined to depart from Chicaça, and demanded of the Cacique two hundred men for cariages. He sent him answere, that hee would speake with his principall men. Vpon Twesday the eight of March, the Gouernour went to the towne where he was, to aske him for the men; Hee told him, he would send them the next day. Assoone as the Gouernour was come to Chicaça, he told Luys de Moscoso the Camp-master, that hee misliked the Indians, and that he should keepe a strong watch that night, which hee remembred but a little. The Indians came at the second watch in foure squadrons, euery one by it selfe, and assoone as they were descried, they sounded a drum, and gaue the assault with a great cry, and with so great celeritie, that presently they entred with the scoutes, that were somewhat distant from the Chicaça set on fire by the Indians. Campe. And when they were perceiued of them which were in the towne, halfe the houses were on fire, which they had kindled. That night three horsemen chanced to bee skouts, two of them were of base calling, and the worst men in all the Camp, and the other, which was a nephew of the Gouernour, which vntill then was held for a tall man, shewed himselfe there as great a coward, as any of them: for all of them ran away. And the Indians without any resistance came and set the towne on fire; and taried without behind the doores for the Christians, which ran out of the houses, not hauing any leasure to arme themselues: and as they

ran hither and thither amazed with the noise, and blinded with the smoke and flame of the fire, they knew not which way they went, neither could they light vpon their weapons, nor saddle their horses, neither saw they the Indians that shot them. Manie of the horses were burned in the stables, and those which could breake their halters gat loose. The disorder and flight was such, that euery man fled which way he could, without leauing any to resist the Indians. But God (which chastiseth his according to his pleasure, and in the greatest necessities and dangers sustaineth [603] them with his hand,) so blinded the Indians, that they saw not what they had done, and thought that the horses which ran loose, were men on horsebacke, that gathered themselues together to set vpon them. The Gouernour only rod on horsebacke, and with him a souldier called Tapia, and set vpon the Indians, and striking the first he met with his lance, the saddle fell with him, which with haste was euill girded, and so hee fell from his horse. And all the people that were on foote were fled to a wood out of the towne, and there assembled themselues together. And because it was night, and that the Indians thought the horses were men on horsebacke which came to set vpon them, as I said before, they fled; and one onely remained dead, and that was he whom the Gouernour slew with his lance. The towne lay all burnt to ashes. There was a woman burned, who, after shee and her husband were both gone out of their house, went in againe for certaine perles, which they had forgotten and when she would haue come out, the fire was so great at the doore that shes could not, neither could her husband succour her. Other three Christians came out of their lodgings so cruelly burned, that one of them died within three daies, and the other two were carried many daies each of them vpon a couch betweene staues, which the Indians carried on their shoulders, for otherwise they could not trauell. There died in this hurlieburlie eleuen Christians, and fiftie horses; and there remained an hundred hogges, and foure hundred were burned. If any perchance had saued any clothes from the fire of Mauilla,

here they were burned, and many were clad in skinnes, for they had no leasure to take their coates. They endured much cold in this place, and the chiefest remedie were great fires. They spent all night in turnings without sleepe: for if they warmed one side, they freesed on the other. Some inuented the weauing of certaine mats of drie iuie, and did weare one beneath, and another aboue: many laughed at this deuice, whom afterward necessitie inforced to doe the like. The Christians were so spoiled, and in such want of saddles and weapons which were burned, that if the Indians had come the second night, they had ouercome them with little labour. They remooued thence to the towne where the Cacique was wont to lie, because it was in a champion countrie. Within eight daies after, there were many lances and saddles made. There were ash trees in those parts, whereof they made as good lances as in Biscay.

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Chap. XXI. How the Indians set againe vpon the Christians, and how the Gouernour went to Alimamu, beyond which towne in warlike sort they tarried for him in the way.

Vpon Wednesday the 15. of March 1541. after the Gouernour had lodged 8. daies in a plaine, halfe a league from the place which he had wintered in, after he had set vp a forge, and tempered the swords which in Chicaça were burned, and made many targets, saddles, and lances, on Tuesday night, at the morning watch, many Indians came to assault the Campe in three squadrons, euery one by themselues: Those which watched gaue the alarme. The Gouernour with great speed set his men in order in other three squadrons, and leauing some to defend the Campe, went out to incounter them. The Indians were ouercome and put to flight. The ground was champion and fit for the Christians to

take the aduantage of them; and it was now breake of day. But there happened a disorder, whereby there were not past thirtie or fortie Indians slaine: and this it was: that a Frier cried out in the Campe without any iust occasion, To the Campe, To the Campe: Whereupon the Gouernour and all the rest repaired thither, and the Indians had time to saue themselues. There were some taken, by whom the Gouernour informed himselfe of the Countrie, through which he was to passe. The 25. of Aprill, he departed from Chicaça, and lodged at a small towne called Alimamu. They had very little Maiz, and they were to passe a desert of seuen daies iournie. The next day, the Gouernour sent three Captaines euerie one his way with horsemen and footemen to seeke prouision to passe the desert. And Iohn Dannusco the Auditor went with fifteene horsemen, and 40. footemen that way that the Gouernour was to goe, and found a strong fort made, where the Indians staied for him, and many of them walked on the top of it with their weapons, hauing their bodies, thighes and armes okered and died with blacke, white, yellow and red, striped like vnto paines, so that they shewed as though they went in hose and doublets: and some of them had plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and their faces blacke, and their eies done round about with strakes of red, to seeme more fierce. Assoone as they saw that the Christians approched, with a great crie sounding two drummes with great furie they sallied foorth [605] to receiue them. Iohn Dannusco and those that were with him, thought good to auoid them, and to acquaint the Gouernour therewith. They retired to a plaine place, a crossebowshot from the fort in sight of it, the footemen, the crossebowmen, and targetters placed themselues before the horsemen, that they might not hurt the horses. The Indians sallied out by seuen and seuen, and eight and eight to shoote their arrowes, and retired againe: and in sight of the Christians they made a fire, and tooke an Indian, some by the feete, and some by the head, and made as though they went to cast him into the fire, and gaue him first many

knocks on the head: signifying, that they meant so to handle the Christians. Iohn Danusco sent three horsemen to aduertise the Gouernour hereof. He came presently: for his intent was to driue them from thence, saying, that if he did it not, they would be emboldened to charge him another time, when they might doe him more harme. He made the horsemen to alight, and set his men in foure squadrons: The signe being giuen, they set vpon the Indians, which made resistance till the Christians came neere the fort, and assoone as they saw they could not defend themselues, by a place where a brooke passed neere the fort, they ran away, and from the otherside they shot some arrowes: and because at that instant we knew no ford for the horses to passe, they had time enough to get out of our danger. Three Indians were slaine there, and many Christians were hurt, whereof within few daies, there died fifteene by the way. All men thought the Gouernour to bee in fault, because he sent not to see the disposition of the place on the other side of the Riuer, and to know the passage before hee set vpon them. For with the hope they had to saue themselues by flight that way, when they saw none other meanes, they fought til they were broken, and it was an incouragement to defend themselues vntill then, and to offend the Christians without any danger to themselues.

Chap. XXII. How the Gouernour went from Alimamu to Quizquiz, and from thence to Rio Grande, or the great Riuer.

Three daies after they had sought some Maiz, whereof they found
[606] but little store, in regard of that which was needfull, and that for this cause, as well for their sakes that were wounded, it was needfull for them to rest, as for the great iournie they were to march to come where store of Maiz was: yet the Gouernour was inforced to depart presentlie toward Quizquiz. He trauelled seuen

daies through a desert of many marishes and thicke woods: but it might all be trauelled on horseback, except some lakes which they swamme ouer. Hee came to a towne of the Prouince of Quizquiz without being descried, and tooke all the people in it before they came out of their houses. The mother of the Cacique was taken there: and he sent vnto him by an Indian, that he should come to see him, and that he would giue him his mother, and al the people which he had taken there. The Cacique sent him answere againe, that his Lordship should loose and send them to him, and that he would come to visit and serue him. The Gouernour, because his people for want of Maiz were somewhat weake and wearie, and the horses also were leane, determined to accomplish his request, to see if hee could haue peace with him, and so commanded to set free his mother and all the rest, and with louing words dismissed them and sent them to him. The next day, when the Gouernour expected the Cacique, there came many Indians with their bowes and arrowes with a purpose to set vpon the Christians. The Gouernour had commanded all the horsemen to be armed, and on horsebacke, and in a readines. When the Indians saw that they were readie, they staied a crossebowe shot from the place where the Gouernour was neere a brooke. And after halfe an houre that they had stood there stil, there came to the Camp sixe principall Indians, and said, they came to see what people they were, and that long agoe, they had been informed by their forefathers, "That a white people should subdue them: and that therefore they would returne to their Cacique, and bid him come presently to obey and serue the Gouernour:" and after they had presented him with sixe or seuen skinnes and mantles which they brought, they tooke their leaue of him, and returned with the other, which waited for them by the brookeside. The Cacique neuer came againe nor sent other message. And because in the towne where the Gouernour lodged, there was small store of Maiz, he remooued to another halfe a league from Rio Grande, where they found plentie of Maiz: And he went to see the Riuer,

An olde prophecie.

Another towne, Rio Grande, or Rio de Espiritu Santo.

and found, that neere vnto it was great store of timber to make barges, and good situation of ground to incampe in. Presently [607] he remooued himselfe thither. They made houses, and pitched their Campe in a plaine field a crossebow shot from the Riuer. And thither was gathered all the Maiz of the townes, which they had lately passed. They began presently to cut and hew down timber, and to saw plankes for barges. The Indians came presently down the Riuer: they leaped on shore, and declared to the Gouernor, That they were subiects of a great Lord, whose name was Aquixo, who was Lord of many townes, and gouerned many people on the other side of the Riuer, and came to tell him on his behalfe, that the next day he with al his men would come to see, what it would please him to command him. The next day with speed, the Cacique came with two hundred canoes full of Indians with their bowes and arrowes, painted, and with great plumes of white feathers, and many other colours, with shields in their hands, wherewith they defended the rowers on both sides, and the men of warre stood from the head to the sterne, with their bowes and arrowes in their hands. The canoe wherein the Cacique was, had a tilt ouer the sterne, and hee sate vnder the tilt; and so were other canoes of the principall Indians. And from vnder the tilt where the chiefs man sat, hee gouerned and commanded the other people. All ioyned together, and came within a stones cast of the shore. From thence the Cacique said to the Gouernour, which walked along the Riuers side with others that waited on him, that he was come thither to visit, to honour, and to obey him; because he knew he was the greatest and mightiest Lord on the earth: therefore he would see what he would command him to doe. The Gouernour yeelded him thankes, and requested him to come on shore, that they might the better communicate together. And without any answere to that point, hee sent him three canoes, wherein was great store of fish and loaues, made of the substance of prunes like vnto brickes. After he had receiued al, he thanked him, and prayed him againe

Aquixo, a great Lord on the West side of Rio grande.

to come on shore. And because the Caciques purpose was, to see if with dissimulation he might doe some hurt, when they saw that the Gouernour and his men were in readinesse, they began to goe from the shore: and with a great crie, the crossebowmen which were ready, shot at them, and slue fiue or sixe of them. They retired with great order: none did leaue his oare, though the next to him were slaine; and shielding themselues, they went farther off. Afterward they came many times and landed: and [608] when any of vs came toward them, they fled vnto their canoes, which were verie pleasant to behold: for they were very great and well made, and had their tilts, plumes, paueses, and flagges, and with the multitude of people that were in them, they seemed to be a faire armie of gallies. In thirtie dayes space, while the Gouernour remained there, they made foure barges: In three of which hee commanded twelue horsemen to enter, in each of them foure; in a morning, three houres before day, men which hee trusted would land in despight of the Indians, and make sure the passage, or die, and some footemen being crossebowmen went with them, and rowers to set them on the other side. And in the other barge he commanded Iohn de Guzman to passe with the footemen, which was made Captaine in stead of Francisco Maldonado. And because the streame was swift, they went a quarter of a league vp the Riuer along the bancke, and crossing ouer, fell downe with the streame, and landed right ouer against the Camp. Two stones cast before they came to land, the horsemen went out of the barges on horsebacke to a sandie plot very hard and cleere ground, where all of them landed without any resistance. Assoone as those that passed first, were on land on the other side, the barges returned to the place where the Gouernour was: and within two houres after Sunnerising, all the people were ouer. The Riuer was almost halfe a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned, whether he were a man or no. The Riuer was of great depth, and of a strong current: the water was alwaies muddie: there came downe

They passe ouer Rio Grande.

the Riuer continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and streame brought downe. There was great store of fish in it of sundrie sorts, and the most of it differing from the freshwater fish of Spaine, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Chap. XXIII. How the Gouernour departed from Aquixo to Casqui, and from thence to Pacaha: and how this Countrie differeth from that which we had passed.

Hauing passed Rio grande, the Gouernour trauelled a league and an halfe, and came to a great towne of Aquixo, which was dispeopled before hee came thither. They espied thirtie Indians
[609] comming ouer a plaine, which the Cacique sent, to discouer the Christians determination: and assoone as they had sight of them, they tooke themselues to flight. The horsemen pursued them, and slue tenne, and tooke fifteene. And because the towne, whither the Gouernour went, was neere vnto the Riuer, he sent a Captaine, with as many men as he thought sufficient to carrie the barges vp the Riuer. And because in his trauelling by land many times he went farre from the Riuer to compasse the creekes that came from it, the Indians tooke occasion to set vpon them of the barges, and put them in great danger, because that by reason of the great current, they durst not leaue the shore, and from the bancke they shot at them. Assoone as the Gouernour was come to the towne, hee presently sent crossebow men downe the Riuer, which came to rescue them; and vpon the comming of the barges to the towne, hee commanded them to bee broken, and to saue the iron for others, when it should bee needfull. Hee lay there one night, and the day following, hee set forward to seeke a Prouince, called Pacaha: which hee was informed to bee neere vnto Chisca, where the Indians told him there was gold. He passed through great townes of Aquixo, which were

all abandoned for feare of the Christians. Hee understood by certaine Indians that were taken, that three daies iournie from thence dwelt a great Cacique, whose name was Casqui. Hee came to a small Riuer, where a bridge was made, by which they passed: that day till Sunset, they went all in water, which in some places came to the waste, and in some to the knees. When they saw themselues on dry land, they were very glad, because they feared they should wander vp and downe as forlorne men al night in the water. At noone they came to the first towne of Casqui: they found the Indians carelesse, because they had no knowledge of them. There were many men and women taken, and store of goods, as mantles and skinnes, as well in the first towne, as in another, which stood in a field halfe a league from thence in sight of it; whither the horsemen ran. This Countrie is higher, drier, and more champion, than any part bordering neere the Riuer, that vntill then they had seene. There were in the fields many Walnut trees, bearing soft shelled Walnuts in fashion like bullets, and in the houses they found many of them, which the Indians had laid vp in store. The trees differed in nothing else from those of Spaine, nor from those which we had seene before, but onely that they have a smaller leafe. There were many Mulberrie [610] trees and Plum trees, which bare red plums like those of Spaine, and other gray, somewhat differing, but farre better. And all the trees are all the yeere so fruitfull, as if they were planted in orchards: and the woods were verie thinne. The Gouernour trauelled two daies through the Countrie of Casqui, before hee came to the towne where the Cacique was: and most of the way was alway by champion ground, which was full of great townes, so that from one towne, you might see two or three. He sent an Indian to certifie the Cacique, that hee was comming to the place where he was, with intent to procure his friendship, and to hold him as his brother. Whereunto he answered, That he should be welcome, and that he would receiue him with speciall good wil, and accomplish all that his Lordship would command him. Hee

sent him a present vpon the way; to wit, skinnes, mantles, and fish: And after these complements, the Gouernour found all the townes, as he passed, inhabited with people, which peaceablie attended his comming, and offered him skinnes, mantles, and fish. The Cacique accompanied with many Indians came out of the towne, and staied halfe a league on the way to receiue the Gouernour, and when hee came to him, he spake these words following:

Right high, right mighty, and renowned Lord, your Lorship is most hartilie welcome. Assoone as I had notice of your Lordship, of your power, and your perfections, although you came into my Countrie, killing and taking captiues the inhabitants thereof and my subiects: yet I determined to conforme my will vnto yours, and as your owne to interpret in good part all that your Lordship did: beleeuing, that it was conuenient it should be so for some iust respect, to preuent some future matter reuealed vnto your Lordship, and concealed from me. For well may a mischiefe be permitted to auoid a greater, and that good may come thereof: which I beleeue will so fall out. For it is no reason to presume of so excellent a Prince, that the noblenesse of his heart, and the effect of his will would permit him to suffer any vniust thing. My abilitie is so small to serue you as your Lordship deserueth, that if you respect not mine abundant good will, which humblie offereth all kind of seruice, I deserue but little in your presence. But if it bee reason that this be esteemed, receiue the same; my selfe, my Countrie, and subiects for yours, and dispose of me
[611] and them at your pleasure. For if I were Lord of all the world, with the same good will should your Lordship by me be receiued, serued and obeyed.

The Gouernour answered him to the purpose, and satisfied him in few words. Within a while after both of them vsed words of great offers and courtesie the one to the other, and the Cacique requested him to lodge in his houses. The Gouernour, to preserue the peace the better, excused himselfe, saying, that hee would

lodge in the fields. And because it was very hot, they camped neere certaine trees a quarter of a league from the towne. The Cacique went to his towne, and came againe with many Indians singing. Assoone as they came to the Gouernour, all of them prostrated themselues vpon the ground. Among these came two Indians that were blind. The Cacique made a speech: to auoid tediousnesse, I will onely tell in few words the substance of the matter. Hee said, that seeing the Gouernour was the sonne of the Sunne, and a great Lord, he besought him to doe him the fauour to giue sight to those two blind men. The blind men rose vp presently, and very earnestly requested the same of the Gouernour. He answered, That in the high heauens was he that had power to giue them health, and whatsoeuer they could aske of him, whose seruant he was: And that this Lord made the heauens and the earth, and man after his owne likenesse, and that he suffered vpon the crosse to saue mankind, and rose againe the third day, and that he died as he was man, and as touching his diuinitie, he was, and is immortall; and that he ascended into heauen, where he standeth with his armes open to receiue all such as turne vnto him: and straightway he commanded him to make a verie high crosse of wood, which was set vp in the highest place of the towne; declaring vnto him, that the Christians worshipped the same in resemblance and memorie of that whereon Christ suffered. The Gouernour and his men kneeled downe before it, and the Indians did the like. The Gouernour willed him, that from thencefoorth hee should worship the same, and should aske whatsoeuer they stood in need of, of that Lord that he told him was in heauen. Then he asked him how far it was from thence to Pacaha: He said, one daies iournie, and that at the end of his Countrie, there was a lake like a brooke which falleth into Rio Grande, and that hee would send men before to make a bridge whereby he might passe. The same day that the Gouernour departed thence, he lodged at a towne belonging to Casqui: and the next day hee passed in sight of other townes, and came to the

The chiefe towne of the Cacique of Casqui.

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lake, which was halfe a crossebow shot ouer, of a great depth and current. At the time of his comming, the Indians had made an end of the bridge, which was made of timber, laid one tree after another: and on one side it had a course of stakes higher then the bridge, for them that passed to take hold on. The Cacique of Casqui came to the Gouernour, and brought his people with him. The Gouernour sent word by an Indian to the Cacique of Pacaha, that though hee were enemie to the Cacique of Casqui, and though hee were there, yet he would doe him no disgrace nor hurt, if he would attend him peaceablie, and embrace his friendship; but rather would intreate him as a brother. The Indian, which the Gouernour sent, came againe, and said, that the Cacique made none account of that which hee told him, but fled with all his men out at the other side of the towne. Presentlie the Gouernour entred, and ran before with the horsemen, that way, by which the Indians fled; and at another towne distant a quarter of a league from thence, they tooke many Indians: and assoone as the horsemen had taken them, they deliuered them to the Indians of Casqui, whom, because they were their enemies, with much circumspection and reioycing, they brought to the towne where the Christians were: and the greatest griefe they had, was this, that they could not get leaue to kill them. There were found in the towne many mantles, and Deere skinnes, Lions skins, and Beares skinnes, and many Cats skins. Many came so farre poorely apparrelled, and there they clothed themselues: of the mantles, they made them cotes and cassocks, and some made gownes, and lined them with Cats skins; and likewise their cassocks. Of the Deeres skinnes, some made them also ierkins, shirts, hose and shooes: and of the Beare skinnes, they made them verie good clokes: for no water could pierce them. There were targets of raw oxe hides found there; with which hides they armed their horses.

Chap. XXIIII. How the Cacique of Pacaha came peaceablie to the Gouernour, and the Cacique of Casqui absented himselfe, and came againe to make his excuse, and how the Gouernour made them both friends.

Vpon Wednesday, the 19. of Iune, the Gouernour entred into Pacaha: He lodged in the towne, where the Cacique vsed to [613] reside, which was very great, walled, and beset with towers, and many loopeholes were in the towers and wall. And in the towne was great store of old Maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league and halfe a league were great townes all walled. Where the Gouernour was lodged, was a great lake, that came neere vnto the wall: and it entred into a ditch that went round about the towne, wanting but a little to enuiron it round. From the lake to the great Riuer was made a weare by the which the fish came into it; which the Cacique kept for his recreation and sport: with nets, that were founde in the towne, they tooke as much as they would: and tooke they neuer so much, there was no want perceiued. There was also great store of fish in many other lakes that were thereabout, but it was soft, and not so good as that which came from the Riuer, and the most of it was different from the fresh water fish of Spaine. There was a fish which they call Bagres: the third part of it was head, and it had on both sides the gilles, and along the sides great pricks like very sharpe aules: those of this kind that were in the lakes were as big as pikes: and in the Riuer, there were some of an hundred, and of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hooke. There was another fish like barbilles; and another like breames, headed like a delicate fish, called in Spaine besugo,[127] betweene red and gray. This was

[127] "Pez muy comun en los mares setentrionales de Espana, de un pie de largo, comprimido, de color por el lomo azul claro, y por el vientre bianco."

there of most esteeme. There was another fish called a pele fish: it had a snout of a cubit long, and at the end of the vpper lip it was made like a peele. There was another fish like a Westerne shad; And all of them had scales, except the bagres, and the pele fish. There was another fish, which sometimes the Indians brought vs, of the bignes of a hog, they call it the Pereo fish: it had rowes of teeth beneath and aboue. The Cacique of Casqui sent many times great presents of fish, mantles, and skinnes. Hee told the Gouernour that he would deliuer the Cacique of Pacaha into his hands. He went to Casqui, and sent many canoes vp the Riuer, and came himselfe by land with many of his people. The Gouernour with 40. horsemen and 60. footemen tooke him along with him vp the Riuer. And his Indians which were in the canoes,
[614] discouered where the Cacique of Pacaha was in a little Island, situated betweene two armes of the River. And fiue Christians entred into a canoe, wherein Don Antonio Osorio went before, to see what people the Cacique had with him. There were in the Isle fiue or six thousand soules. And assoone as they saw them, supposing that the Indians which were in the other canoes were also Christians, the Cacique, and certaine which were in three canoes, which they had there with them, fled in great haste to the other side of the Riuer: The rest with great feare and danger, lept into the Riuer, where much people was drowned, especially women and little children. Presently the Gouernour which was on land, not knowing what happened to Don Antonio, and those that went with him, commanded the Christians with all speed to enter with the Indians of Casqui in the canoes, which were quickly with Don Antonio in the little Island, where they tooke many men and women, and much goods. Great store of goods, which the Indians had lain vpon hurdles of canes, and rafts of timber to carrie ouer to the other side, draue downe the river, wherewith the Indians of Casqui filled their canoes: and for feare lest the Christians would take it from them, the Cacique went

(*Diccionario de la Academia*.)—Probably the Sparus of Pliny.

home with them downe the Riuer, without taking his leave of the Gouernour: whereupon the Gouernour was highly offended with him: and presently returned to Pacaha, he ouerran the Countrie of Casqui the space of two leagues, where hee tooke twentie or thirtie of his men. And because his horses were wearie, and he wanted time that day to goe any farther, hee returned to Pacaha, with determination within three or four daies after to inuade Casqui. And presently hee let loose one of the Indians of Pacaha, and sent word by him to the Cacique, that if hee would haue his friendship, he should repaire vnto him, and that both of them would make warre upon Casqui. And presently came many Indians that belonged to Pacaha, and brought an Indian, in stead of the Cacique, which was discouered by the Caciques brother which was taken prisoner. The Gouernour wished the Indians that their Master himselfe should come: for hee knew very well that that was not hee, and told them, that they could doe nothing which he knew not before they thought it. The next day the Cacique came, accompanied with many Indians, and with a present of much fish, skinnes and mantles. He made a speech that all were glad to heare, and concluded, saying, That though his Lordship, without his giuing occasion of offence had done him hurt in his Countrie and subiects; yet hee would not therefore refuse to bee his, and that he would alwaies be at his commandement. The Gouernour commanded his brother to be loosed, and other principall Indians that were taken prisoners. That day came an Indian from the Cacique of Casqui, and said, that his Lord would come the next day to excuse himselfe of the error which he had committed, in going away without licence of the Gouernour. The Gouernour willed the messenger to signifie vnto him that if he came not in his owne person, hee would seeke him himselfe, and giue him such punishment as he deserued. The next day with all speede came the Cacique of Casqui, and brought a present to the Gouernour of many mantles, skinnes, and fish, and gaue him a daughter of his, saying, that he greatly

The Cacique of Pacaha cometh to the Gouernour.

[615]

desired to match his blood with the blood of so great a Lord as he was, and therefore he brought him his daughter, and desired him to take her to his wife. Hee made a long and discreet oration, giuing him great commendations, and concluded, saying, that hee should pardon his going away without licence, for that Crosses sake, which he had left with him: protesting that hee went away for shame of that which his men had done without his consent. The Gouernour answered him, that hee had chosen a good patrone; and that if hee had not come to excuse himselfe, hee had determined to seeke him, to burne his townes, to kill him and his people, and to destroy his countrie. To which he replied saying:

My Lord, I and mine are yours, and my countrie likewise is yours: therefore if you had done so, you should haue destroyed your owne countrie, and haue killed your owne people: whatsoeuer shall come vnto me from your hand, I will receiue as from my Lord, as well punishment as reward: And know you, that the fauour which you did me in leauing me the Crosse, I do acknowledge the same to be a very great one, and greater then I haue euer deserued. For you shall vnderstand, that with great droughts, the fields of Maiz of my countrie were withered; and assoone as I and my people kneeled before the Crosse, and prayed for raine, presently our necessitie was relieued.

The Gouernour made him and the Cacique of Pacaha friends; and set them with him at his table to dine with him: and the Caciques fell at variance about the seats, which of them should
[616] sit on his right hand. The Gouernour pacified them; telling them that among the Christians, all was one to sit on the one side or on the other, willing them so to behaue themselues, seeing they were with him, that no bodie might heare them, and that euery one should sit in the place that first hee lighted on. From thence he sent thirtie horse men, and fiftie footemen to the Prouince of Caluça, to see if from thence hee might trauel to Chisca, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. They

trauelled seuen daies iournie through a desert, and returned verie wearie, eating greene plummes and stalkes of Maiz, which they found in a poore towne of sixe or seuen houses. From thence forward toward the North; the Indians said, That countrie was very ill inhabited, because it was very cold: And that there were such store of Oxen, that they could keep no corne for them: that the Indians liued vpon their flesh. The Gouernour seeing that toward that part the countrie was so poore of Maiz, that in it they could not be sustained, demanded of the Indians, which way it was most inhabited; and they said, they had notice of a great Prouince, and a verie plentifull countrie, which was called Quigaute, and that it was toward the South.

Great store of Oxen toward the North of Pacaha. This is like Quiuira.

Footnotes

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